
This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<https://books.google.com>



This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<https://books.google.com>





[Handwritten signature]

The Journal
of
Theological Studies

VOLUME XXII

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1921

COMMITTEE OF DIRECTION:

REV. DR BARNES, Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
F. C. BURKITT, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
REV. DR COOKE, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.
REV. DR KENNETT, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge.
VERY REV. DR KIRKPATRICK, Dean of Ely.
REV. DR LOCK, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford.
REV. DR MASON, Canon of Canterbury.
VERY REV. DR J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, Dean of Wells.
REV. DR STANTON, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
RIGHT REV. DR STRONG, Bishop of Ripon.

EDITORS:

REV. DR. BETHUNE-BAKER, 23 Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
REV. F. E. BRIGHTMAN, Magdalen College, Oxford.

I

INDEX OF WRITERS

	PAGE
ABRAHAM, I.	
<i>Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament</i> (M. R. James)	300
ARMSTRONG, C. B.	
THE SYNOD OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE SCHISM AT ANTIOCH IN A.D. 362	206, 347
BADCOCK, F. J.	
THE TRANSFIGURATION	321
BALL, C. J.	
BABYLONIAN RESEARCH IN AMERICA	405
BARTLET, V.	
THE DIDACHE RECONSIDERED	239
BAXTER, J. H.	
THE HOMILIES OF ST PETER CHRYSOLOGUS	250
BESSIÈRES, J., AND C. H. TURNER.	
LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA CORRESPONDANCE DE SAINT BASILE	105
BETHUNE-BAKER, J. F.	
<i>History of Sacrament in relation to Thought and Progress</i> (A. Gardner)	299
<i>Is Christianity the Final Religion?</i> (A. C. Bouquet)	399
PUBLICATIONS OF THE S.P.C.K. AND BOOKS OF REFERENCE	84
<i>The Early Christian Attitude to War</i> (C. J. Cadoux)	294
<i>The Mind of the Early Converts</i> (C. N. Moody)	398
<i>Thesaurus Doctrinae Catholicae</i> (F. Cavallera)	400
BINDLEY, T. H.	
<i>Testimonies</i> (R. Harris and V. Burch)	279
BINNS, L. E.	
<i>Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration</i> (R. H. Murray)	286
<i>Le Livre de Jérémie</i> (A. Condamin)	402
BROOKE, A. E.	
<i>A Handbook to the Septuagint</i> (R. R. Ottley)	74
<i>The Pastoral Epistles</i> (R. St J. Parry)	179
<i>The Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul</i> (A. E. Hillard)	183

	PAGE
BURKITT, F. C.	
A NEW NESTORIAN MONUMENT IN CHINA	269
<i>Deuteronomy and the Decalogue</i> (R. H. Kennett)	61
<i>Israel's Settlement in Canaan</i> (C. F. Burney)	93
ON <i>Celtis</i> 'A CHISEL': A FURTHER NOTE	380
<i>r</i> ₂ — <i>New and Complete Edition of the Irish Latin Gospel, Codex</i> <i>Usser. 2</i> (H. C. Hoskier)	172
<i>Sol Salutis</i> (F. J. Dölger)	283
<i>The First Book of Psalms in the Text of G. 1</i> (H. W. Sheppard) .	165
THE 'SONG OF LIGHT'	377
BURNEY, C. F.	
A HEBRAIC CONSTRUCTION IN THE APOCALYPSE	371
BUTLER, E. C.	
PALLADIANA	21, 138, 222
CHARLES, R. H.	
THE DATE AND PLACE OF WRITING OF THE SLAVONIC ENOCH	161
COLSON, F. H.	
ΑΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΟΣ	156
CONNOLLY, R. H.	
THE ODES AND PSALMS OF SOLOMON: AN AMENDS	159
<i>The Odes and Psalms of Solomon</i> (R. Harris and A. Mingena) .	76
THE PROLOGUE TO THE <i>Apostolic Tradition</i> OF HIPPOLYTUS .	356
COOK, S. A.	
THE THEORY OF SACRIFICE	327
CREED, J. M.	
<i>The Apostolic Gnosis</i> (F. B. Bond and T. S. Lea)	404
<i>A preliminary investigation of the Cabala contained in the Coptic</i> <i>Gnostic Books, and of a similar Gematria in the Greek</i> <i>Text of the New Testament</i> (F. B. Bond and T. S. Lea) .	404
DRIVER, G. R.	
THE MEANING OF קָאָח AND קָפָר IN HEBREW	382
EMMET, C. W.	
<i>The Epistles of St John</i> (C. Gore)	71
<i>The Philosophy of Faith and the Fourth Gospel</i> (H. S. Holland) .	71
GARDNER-SMITH, P.	
<i>The Bible and Modern Thought</i> (J. R. Cohu)	289
<i>The Bible Doctrine of Society in its Historical Evolution</i> (C. R. Smith)	290
HARDEN, J. M.	
<i>The Ethiopic Liturgy: its sources, developement, and present</i> <i>form</i> (S. A. B. Mercer)	89

	PAGE
HOSKYNs, E. C.	
<i>The Epistle to the Hebrews</i> (A. Nairne)	188
<i>The Faith of the New Testament</i> (A. Nairne)	188
<i>The Gospel according to St Paul</i> (H. Shears)	184
<i>St Paul, his Life and Letters and Christian Doctrine</i> (A. H. McNeile)	186
INGE, W. R.	
<i>Les Actes des Apôtres</i> (A. Loisy)	392
JAMES, M. R.	
NOTES ON MR BURCH'S ARTICLE 'THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS'	160
THE APOCALYPSE (R. H. Charles, E-B. Allo)	384
KENNEDY, J.	
PSALM XXXII 3	381
LOCK, W.	
WILLIAM SANDAY	98
MARRIOTT, G. L.	
THE HOMILIES OF MACARIUS	259
MAYO, C. H.	
ST PETER'S TOKEN OF THE COCK-CROW	367
METCALFE, W.	
ORIGEN'S EXHORTATION TO MARTYRDOM AND 4 MACCABEES	268
MICHAEL, J. H.	
THE MEANING OF ἐξηγήσατο IN ST JOHN i 18	14
MOZLEY, J. K.	
<i>The Catholic Doctrine of Grace</i> (G. H. Joyce)	393
<i>The Doctrine of Grace in the Synoptic Gospels</i> (H. Townsend)	393
<i>The Evangelical Revival</i> (S. Baring-Gould)	293
<i>The History of the Christian Church to the Separation of East and West</i> (A. R. Whitham)	292
<i>The World to come and Final Destiny</i> (J. H. Leckie)	395
NAIRNE, A.	
<i>The Message of Plato</i> (E. J. Urwick)	397
SAYCE, A. H.	
THE HITTITE NAME ARAUNAH	267
SCOTT, C. A.	
<i>The Beginnings of Christianity</i> (F. J. F. Jackson and K. Lake)	270
<i>Landmarks in the Early History of Christianity</i> (K. Lake)	270
SEYMOUR, St J. D.	
THE BRINGING FORTH OF THE SOUL IN IRISH LITERATURE	16
SHEPPARD, H. W.	
VARIANTS IN THE CONSONANTAL TEXT OF G. I IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL AND KINGS	36
SLOTKI, I. W.	
BREAKS IN THE MIDST OF VERSES	263

	PAGE
SOUTER, A.	
A SUPPOSED FRAGMENT OF THE LOST CODEX FULDENSIS OF TERTULLIAN	163
<i>S. Aureli Augustini Tractatus sive Sermones inediti</i> (G. Morin)	178
<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (H. J. Vogels)	174
<i>Die Reichenauer Handschriften beschrieben und erläutert</i> (A. Holder)	175
STEPHENSON, T.	
OUR LORD'S TEACHING IN ST MARK'S GOSPEL	6
STEWART, H. F.	
<i>The Power of Prayer</i> (Walker Trust Essays)	276
<i>The Realm of Prayer</i> (R. H. Coats)	276
TURNER, C. H. SEE ALSO BESSIÈRES, J.	
NICETA OF REMESIANA <i>De Vigiliis</i>	305
A LAON MS IN 1906 AND 1920	I
WALKER, C. T. H.	
<i>Das Werden des Gottesglaubens</i> (N. Söderblom)	296
WATERHOUSE, E.	
<i>An Introduction to Old Testament Study for Teachers and</i> <i>Students</i> (E. B. Redlich)	189
WATSON, E. W.	
THE <i>De Habitu Virginum</i> OF ST CYPRIAN	361
WELCH, A. C.	
JOEL IV 17-21	266
WHITAKER, G. H.	
'Ο ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου (I Cor. xiv 16).	268
WHITNEY, J. P.	
CHRONICLE OF CHURCH HISTORY	408

II

INDEX OF ARTICLES

ARTICLES:

PAGE

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF THE LATE

WILLIAM SANDAY 193

WILLIAM SANDAY. By W. Lock 98

DOCUMENTS:

A LAON MS IN 1906 AND 1920. By C. H. Turner 1

NICETA OF REMESIANA *De Vigiliis*. By C. H. Turner 305

NOTES AND STUDIES:

ΑΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΟΣ. By F. H. Colson 156

APOCALYPSE, A HEBRAIC CONSTRUCTION IN THE. By C. F. Burney 371

Apostolic Tradition OF HIPPOLYTUS, THE PROLOGUE TO THE. By R. H. Connolly 356

BREAKS IN THE MIDST OF VERSES. By I. W. Slotki 263

Celtis 'A CHISEL': A FURTHER NOTE. By F. C. Burkitt 377

De Habitu Virginum OF ST CYPRIAN, THE. By E. W. Watson 361

DIDACHE RECONSIDERED, THE. By V. Bartlet 239

HEBRAIC CONSTRUCTION IN THE APOCALYPSE, A. By C. F. Burney 371

HIPPOLYTUS, THE PROLOGUE TO THE *Apostolic Tradition* OF. By R. H. Connolly 356

HITTITE NAME ARAUNAH, THE. By A. H. Sayce 267

JOEL IV 17-21. By A. C. Welch 266

MACARIUS, THE HOMILIES OF. By G. L. Marriott 259

4 MACCABEES, ORIGEN'S EXHORTATION TO MARTYRDOM AND. By W. Metcalfe 268

MEANING OF ἐξηγήσατο IN ST JOHN i 18, THE. By J. H. Michael 14

MEANING OF חָסֵד AND חֶסֶד IN HEBREW, THE. By G. R. Driver 382

NESTORIAN MONUMENT IN CHINA, A NEW. By F. C. Burkitt 269

Ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου (1 Cor. xiv 6). By G. H. Whitaker 268

ODES AND PSALMS OF SOLOMON, THE: AN AMENDS. By R. H. Connolly 159

ORIGEN'S EXHORTATION TO MARTYRDOM AND 4 MACCABEES. By W. Metcalfe 268

	PAGE
OUR LORD'S TEACHING IN ST MARK'S GOSPEL. By T. Stephenson	6
PALLADIANA: the <i>Lausiac History</i> . By E. C. Butler	21, 138, 222
PETER CHRYSOLOGUS, THE HOMILIES OF ST. By J. H. Baxter	250
PSALM XXXII 3. By J. Kennedy	381
SACRIFICE, THE THEORY OF. By S. A. Cook	327
SAINT BASILE, LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA CORRESPON- DANCE DE. By J. Bessières and C. H. Turner	105
ST CYPRIAN, THE <i>De Habitu Virginum</i> OF. By E. W. Watson .	361
ST PETER'S TOKEN OF THE COCK-CROW. By C. H. Mayo . . .	367
SAMUEL AND KINGS, VARIANTS IN THE CONSONANTAL TEXT OF G. I IN THE BOOKS OF. By H. W. Sheppard	36
SCHISM AT ANTIOCH A.D. 362, THE SYNOD OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE. By C. B. Armstrong	206, 347
SLAVONIC ENOCH, THE DATE AND PLACE OF WRITING OF. By R. H. Charles	161
'SONG OF LIGHT', THE. By F. C. Burkitt	377
SOUL IN IRISH LITERATURE, THE BRINGING FORTH OF THE. By J. D. Seymour	16
SYNOD OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE SCHISM AT ANTIOCH IN A.D. 362, THE. By C. B. Armstrong	206, 347
TERTULLIAN, A SUPPOSED FRAGMENT OF THE LOST CODEX FULDENSIS OF. By A. Souter	163
'THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS', NOTES ON MR BURCH'S ARTICLE. By M. R. James	160
THEORY OF SACRIFICE, THE. By S. A. Cook	327
TRANSFIGURATION, THE. By F. J. Badcock	321

III

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND BOOKS REVIEWED OR NOTICED

	PAGE
<i>Acts</i>	270, 392
ALLO, E-B. <i>Saint Jean : L'Apocalypse</i>	390
ST AMBROSE. <i>De Mysteriis</i>	86
<i>Apocalypse of Esdras</i>	17
„ <i>St John</i>	371
„ <i>Sedrach</i>	17
<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>	401
<i>Assumption of Moses</i>	17
ST AUGUSTINE. <i>Epistolae</i>	87
BARING-GOULD, S. <i>The Evangelical Revival</i>	293
BARRY, G. D. <i>The Inspiration and Authority of Holy Scripture</i>	88
ST BASIL. <i>Letters</i>	105
BIGG, C. <i>Christian Platonists of Alexandria</i>	156
BOND, F. B., and T. S. LEA. <i>The Apostolic Gnosis</i>	404
„ „ „ <i>A preliminary investigation of the Cabala contained in the Coptic Gnostic Books, and of a similar Gematria in the Greek Text of the New Testament</i>	404
BOUQUET, A. C. <i>Is Christianity the Final Religion ?</i>	399
B. AND F. BIBLE SOCIETY. <i>The New Testament in Syriac</i>	66
BURCH, V. See HARRIS, R.	
BURNEY, C. F. <i>Israel's Settlement in Canaan</i>	93
BUTLER, C. <i>Benedictine Monachism : Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule</i>	408
CADBURY, H. J. <i>The Style and Literary Method of Luke</i>	68
CADOUX, C. J. <i>The Early Christian Attitude to War</i>	294
CAMPBELL, C. <i>The First Three Gospels in Greek</i>	89
CAVALLERA, F. <i>Thesaurus Doctrinae Catholicae</i>	400
CHAPMAN, J. <i>John the Presbyter</i>	389
CHARLES, R. H. <i>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John</i>	384
CHIERA, E. <i>Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur : Lists of Sumerian Personal Names</i>	406
CLAY, A. T. <i>Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech</i>	405
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. <i>Strom.</i> iv 25	156
COATS, R. H. <i>The Realm of Prayer</i>	276
COHU, J. R. <i>The Bible and Modern Thought</i>	289
„ See THOMPSON, T.	
CONDAMIN, A. <i>Le Livre de Jérémie : traduction et commentaire</i>	402
<i>1 Cor.</i> xiv 16	268
CRAFER, W. <i>The Apocriticus of Macarius Magnes</i>	84
ST CYPRIAN. <i>De Habitu Virginum</i>	361
DAVENPORT, E. H. <i>The False Decretals</i>	410

x AUTHORS AND BOOKS REVIEWED OR NOTICED

	PAGE
<i>De Morte Mosis</i>	17
<i>De Sacramentis</i>	86
<i>Deuteronomy</i>	61
<i>De Vitis Patrum</i>	18
<i>Didache</i>	239
<i>Dionysius the Areopagite</i>	85
<i>Dispute between the Soul and the Body</i>	17
DÜLGER, F. J. <i>Sol Salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung in Gebet und Liturgie</i>	283
<i>Enoch</i>	161
<i>Etheria Peregrinatio</i>	86
FERRAR, W. J. <i>The Early Christian Books</i>	87
FIGGIS, J. N. <i>Our Place in Christendom</i>	411
FREESE, J. H. <i>The Library of Photius</i>	85
FELTOE, J. <i>See</i> McCCLURE, MRS.	
GARDNER, A. <i>History of Sacrament in relation to Thought and Progress</i>	299
GINZBERG, L. <i>The Legends of the Jews</i>	300
GORE, C. <i>The Epistles of St John</i>	71
„ and C. H. TURNER. <i>The Church and the Ministry</i>	411
<i>Gospel according to the Hebrews</i>	160
ST GREGORY THAUMATURGUS. <i>Address to Origen</i>	84
HARDEN, J. M. <i>The Ethiopic Didascalia</i>	401
HARRIS, R., and V. BURCH. <i>Testimonies</i>	279
HARRIS, R., and A. MINGANA. <i>The Odes and Psalms of Solomon</i>	76
<i>Hebrews</i>	188
HILLARD, A. E. <i>The Pastoral Epistles of St Paul</i>	179
ST HIPPOLYTUS. <i>Apostolic Tradition</i>	356
HOLDER, A., and K. PREISENDANZ. <i>Die Reichenauer Handschriften beschrieben und erläutert</i>	175
HOLLAND, H. S. <i>The Philosophy of Faith and the Fourth Gospel</i> (ed. W. J. Richmond)	71
HOSKIER, H. C. <i>v. 2 — New and Complete Edition of the Irish Latin Gospel, Codex Ussev. 2</i>	172
ST IGNATIUS. <i>Epistles</i>	84
ST IRENAEUS. <i>Epideixis</i>	86
JACKSON, F. J. F., and K. LAKE. <i>The Beginnings of Christianity; Part I: The Acts of the Apostles</i>	270
JAMES, M. R. <i>Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament</i>	300
<i>Jeremiah</i>	402
<i>St John</i>	14, 71
JOYCE, G. H. <i>The Catholic Doctrine of Grace</i>	393
KENNETT, R. H. <i>Deuteronomy and the Decalogue</i>	61
KIDD, B. J. <i>Documents illustrative of the History of the Church to A. D. 313</i>	87
<i>Kings</i>	36
LAKE, K. <i>Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity</i>	270
„ <i>See</i> JACKSON, F. J. F.	
LANGDON, S. <i>Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms</i>	407
LEA, T. S. <i>See</i> BOND, F. B.	
<i>Leabhar Breac</i>	18
LECKIE, J. H. <i>The World to come and Final Destiny</i>	395
LOISY, A. <i>Les Actes des Apôtres</i>	392

AUTHORS AND BOOKS REVIEWED OR NOTICED xi

	PAGE
LOISY, A. <i>Essai historique sur le Sacrifice</i>	327
<i>St Luke</i>	68, 69
LUTZ, H. F. <i>Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts</i>	405
ST MACARIUS. <i>Homilies</i>	259
MACARIUS MAGNES. <i>Apocriticus</i>	84
MCCLURE, MRS, and J. FELTOE. <i>The Pilgrimage of Etheria</i>	86
MCNEILE, A. H. <i>St Paul, his Life and Letters, and Christian Doctrine</i>	186
MANNING, B. L. <i>The People's Faith in the time of Wyclif</i>	413
MARETT, R. R. <i>The Threshold of Religion</i>	333, 342
<i>St Mark</i>	6
<i>St Matthew</i> xvii 3	321
MERCER, S. A. B. <i>The Ethiopic Liturgy : its sources, developement, and present form</i>	89
METCALFE, W. <i>St Gregory Thaumaturgus : Address to Origen</i>	84
MINGANA, A. See HARRIS, R.	
MOODY, C. N. <i>The Mind of the Early Converts</i>	398
MOORE, H. <i>The Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity</i>	86
MORIN, G. <i>Sancti Aureli Augustini Tractatus . . . inediti ex codice Guelferby-</i> <i>tano 4096</i>	178
MURRAY, R. H. <i>Erasmus and Luther : Their Attitude to Toleration</i>	286
NAIRNE, A. <i>The Faith of the New Testament</i>	188
„ <i>The Epistle to the Hebrews</i>	188
<i>New China Review</i>	269
<i>New Testament</i>	174
<i>New Testament in Syriac, The</i>	66
NICETA OF REMESIANA. <i>De Vigiliis</i>	305
NOVATIAN. <i>De Trinitate</i>	86
<i>Odes of Solomon</i>	76, 159
OMAN, J. <i>Grace and Personality</i>	395
<i>Origen</i>	84, 268
OTLEY, R. R. <i>A Handbook to the Septuagint</i>	74
PALLADIUS. <i>Historia Lausiaca</i>	21, 138, 222
PARRY, R. ST J. <i>The Pastoral Epistles</i>	179
<i>Pastoral Epistles, The</i>	179
PEAKE, A. S. <i>Commentary on the Bible</i>	88
PENNIMAN, J. H. <i>A Book about the English Bible</i>	89
PERRY, A. M. <i>The Sources of Luke's Passion-Narrative</i>	69
ST PETER CHRYSOLOGUS. <i>Homilies</i>	250
PHOTIUS. <i>Bibliotheca</i>	85
PLATO. <i>Republic</i>	397
<i>Power of Prayer, The</i> (Walker Trust Essays)	276
PREISENDANZ, K. See HOLDER, A.	
<i>Psalms</i> xxxii 3	381
<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>	76, 159
REDLICH, E. B. <i>An Introduction to Old Testament Study for Teachers and Students</i>	189
REITZENSTEIN, R. <i>Hellenistische Wundererzählungen</i>	22
„ <i>Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca</i>	22, 222
RICHMOND, W. J. See HOLLAND, H. S.	
ROBINSON, J. A. <i>Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache</i>	239
„ <i>St Irenaeus : the Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching</i>	86

xii AUTHORS AND BOOKS REVIEWED OR NOTICED

	PAGE
ROLT, C. E., and W. J. SPARROW-SIMPSON. <i>Dionysius the Areopagite on the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology</i>	85
<i>Samuel</i>	36
<i>Sermo de Fluxu Sanguinis</i>	3
SHEARS, H. <i>The Gospel according to St Paul</i>	184
SHEPPARD, H. W. <i>The First Book of Psalms in the Text of G. 1</i>	165
SMITH, C. R. <i>The Bible Doctrine of Society in its Historical Evolution</i>	290
SÜDERBLOM, N. <i>Das Werden des Gottesglaubens</i>	296
<i>Song of Light</i>	377
SOUTER, A. <i>Tertullian's Concerning Prayer, Concerning Baptism, and Against Praxeas</i>	85
SPARROW-SIMPSON, W. J. <i>The Letters of St Augustine</i>	87
" See ROLT, C. E.	
SPEARING, E. <i>The Patrimony of the Roman Church in the time of Gregory the Great</i>	410
SRAWLEY, J. H. <i>The Epistles of St Ignatius</i>	84
" See THOMPSON, T.	
<i>Subject Index of Periodicals, The</i>	89
ST SYMEON THE STYLITE	261
TERTULLIAN	85, 163
<i>Theology</i> , ed. E. G. Selwyn	85
<i>The Two Deaths</i>	19
THOMPSON, T., F. H. COLSON, and J. H. SRAWLEY. <i>St Ambrose 'On the Mysteries' and the treatise 'On the Sacraments'</i>	86
TOWNSEND, H. <i>The Doctrine of Grace in the Synoptic Gospels</i>	393
TURNER, C. H. See GORE, C.	
URWICK, E. J. <i>The Message of Plato: a re-interpretation of the Republic</i>	397
VILLECOURT, L. <i>La date et l'origine des Homélies spirituelles attribuées à Macaire</i>	259
" <i>Homélies spirituelles de Macaire en arabe</i>	261
<i>Vision of St Paul</i>	18
VOGELS, H. I. <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i>	174
WHITHAM, A. R. <i>The History of the Christian Church to the Separation of East and West</i>	292
WILMART, A. <i>L'origine véritable des Homélies pneumatiques</i>	259
WOODWARD, E. L. <i>Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire</i>	411

The Journal *of* *Theological Studies*

OCTOBER, 1920

DOCUMENTS

A LAON MS. IN 1906 AND 1920.

SERMO DE FLVXV SANGVINIS (cod. 113, fol. 36 b).

THE history of my connexion with the little document here printed falls into two stages. It was copied from the MS at Laon one day in July 1906: not long after it was set up in type for this JOURNAL, the first proof bearing the date of January 9, 1907: a few months later again I communicated it to Dom Germain Morin, and in the course of the last few days, in the process of clearing out papers from my rooms in College, I happened to light on the postcard which he sent me in answer, dated from Maredsous, St Peter's Day, 1907. He called my attention to the close relation between the new document and the 66th sermon of pseudo-Fulgentius (Raynaud *Heptas praesulum*, Paris, 1671, p. 581: Migne *P. L.* lxxv 938): and ascribes the piece to Africa and to the late fifth or early sixth century.

Presumably time failed me at the moment for pursuing the subject further, and other studies drew me away; and the *anecdoton* was laid aside for thirteen years. It was brought to my notice once more by the most curious experience that has ever befallen me in my travels.

On my way back from St Gall, in the August of the present year 1920, I spent a day in Brussels: and after my task of collation in the Royal Library had been satisfactorily concluded, I was walking in the town with Père Hippolyte Delehayé when I espied in a bookseller's window an early printed book. We entered to have a further look round and were surprised to find not other printed books but manuscripts brought out for our inspection; and still more surprised at the age of the latter, since of the five MSS shewn us two appeared to be of the late ninth and another of the tenth century. One of these early MSS seemed vaguely familiar to me, and the table of contents had an air of not being inspected for the first time. The secret was out when I chanced to turn over the closing leaves of another MS and found on the guard leaf at the end the contemporary record of donation 'Deo et

VOL. XXII.

B

sanctae Mariae Laudunensis ecclesiae'. All five MSS were in fact from Laon, and the *sermo de fluxu sanguinis*, which 'I had copied out at Laon fourteen years before, faced me again.

The town and library of Laon had been in the possession of the invading army for more than four years, and it was not difficult to make conjectures which would account for the disappearance of the MSS. But my first business was naturally to communicate with the French authorities, and an enquiry addressed to M. Omont at the Bibliothèque Nationale soon put into my hands the missing links in this strange romance of war. The five MSS had in fact been borrowed in 1916 for three months by a Strasbourg professor, at that time serving as lieutenant in the German artillery. The professor despatched them on their return journey in October 1918, but they never arrived at Laon, the German explanation being that they had been stolen from the Brussels railway station. The French minister to Belgium reported the matter to the Brussels police, but 'la police manque de connaissances paléographiques' and all trace of the missing treasures had apparently been lost. Both Père Delehay and myself were of opinion that the bookseller was as entirely unaware of the *provenance* of the MSS as he was of their age and value: and it was a happy chance that threw them into the way of two scholars who were able to negotiate for their safe return to their proper home.

The circumstances made it appropriate to take up and carry through the long-delayed task of publication, even at the risk of leaving unsolved some of the problems concerned with the date and place and literary relationship of the document. The sermon of pseudo-Fulgentius is quite certainly not unconnected, as its opening sentences¹ are enough to shew. But the medical vocabulary, which was what first drew my attention to the sermon that is here printed, is almost entirely absent from the sermon already known. And another of the most obvious points of contact between the two documents, namely the pile of ablative absolutes following one on the top of the other, is in a more natural position at the close of the new document 'Christo curante, puella surgente, caelo gaudente et terra tremante', than the similar sequence 'turba exspectante, populo subsequente, caelo stupente, morte tremante' in the middle of the sermon already known. I conclude then that the present piece is in no sense a later plagiarism from the other, though I think it is likely enough that they may both be independent productions

¹ 'Temporalis medici statio uidetur esse defixa ubi herbarum redolent medicamina et in tectis curationis inclusa renitent ferramenta; qui cum forte ab infirmo interpellatus fuerit in platea, non potest impendere subitam medicinam, nisi de statione necessaria secum tulerit ferramenta. Christus autem simul totus ibat, quia medicus non erat arte sed potestate, nec industria sed clementia.'

of the same author. If not, priority may without presumption be claimed for the form now published.

The medical vocabulary includes not only the commoner *pigmentum* (l. 20), *collirium* (l. 23), *pulus* (ll. 23, 44), *malagma* (l. 24: it is rare in the feminine), *ferramentum* (l. 33), *puxis* (l. 44), but the uncommon diminutive *puxidulum* (l. 12), I suppose 'a small medicine-chest', and the interesting word and form *simplassarius* (ll. 27, 28), which I was unable to find in the dictionaries till I lit upon it in its proper orthography as *seplasiarius*. 'Seplasia' was apparently a street or square in Capua where the sellers of unguents congregated, like butchers in Smithfield or flower merchants in Covent Garden.

Apart from the linguistic interest of the chemists' stock in trade, the most striking allusion in the sermon is to the touching of the royal robe as a sanctuary for criminals (l. 29). The nearest illustration that I can offer¹ is a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus (xxi 9) where an official of the emperor Constantius is seized and brought before Julian: 'verum cum primitus visus adorandae purpuræ datam sibi copiam advertisset, recreatus tandem sui que securus "incaute" inquit "imperator et temere cum paucis alienis partibus te commisisti." cui amarum Iulianus subridens "haec verba prudentia serva" inquit "Constantio; maiestatis enim insigne non ut consiliario tibi sed ut desinas pavere porrexī".'

C. H. TURNER.

INCIPIIT SERMO DE FLVXV SANGVINIS.

fluxum
cod.*
fol. 37 a
Ps. lxxxiii
(lxxxiv) 8

Statio medici temporalis fixa est parietibus: statio medici Christi
ambulat de uirtutibus in uirtutibus, nullis fixa parietibus, quia non
clauditur Deus qui est medicus, nec thecas ponit medicamentorum in
5 statione parietum, sed secum ponens medicamenta sua qua transtulit de
caelo ad terram, ut interpellatus in quolibet loco reparatam daret miseris
medicinam. o quanta medicamenta, partita nominibus, coniuncta
uirtutibus. ambulat igitur medicus, secum habens sui corporis stationem:
uenit princeps et limina stationis piis praecibus pulsatur; Domine, inquit,
10 filia mea iacet, ueni et cura eam. coepit ire, locum mutare, et a
uirtutibus non transire. ambulat autem per plateas, et fragrant de
puxidulo eius multa medicamenta. at ecce mulier accepit medici fragrantis
odorem: cucurrit cum sanguine ut mundam perciperet sanitatem.
interrupit quidem mulier intentionem medici, sed non conturbauit
15 dispositionem Christi: nec stetit ut curaret, sed locutus est, ut curatam
omnibus publicaret et credentis fidem in toto mundi teatro laudaret.
nullum ibi fuit impedimentum: denique accepit sanguis terminum, et
fregit medicus a puella iacente mortis aculeum.

fortasse
prepa-
ratam

praecibus
conicit
supra
lineam
anonymus
quidam:
praecipuis
cod.
platea cod.
at: ad cod.
cum san-
guinem
cod.
iacentem
cod.

¹ I owe the reference to my colleague Mr P. V. M. Benecke.

uerum ipsam qualitatem credentis debemus adtendere mulieris. laborauerat sumptibus, et nullus sequebatur sanitatis effectus. pigmenta 20 terebantur, potiones propinabantur, duodecim cursus terminabantur annorum, et consumebat | aegrotam imperitia medicorum. uidit contra mulier sine colliriis caecos uidere, sine puluere surdos audire, sine unguentis leprosos fulgere, sine malagma claudos curari, sine ullis artibus mortuos surgere; et ait intra se Vt quid mihi iam medicis egere, cum 25 sumptu, sine fructu? ut quid mihi dictata inaniter quaerere pigmenta, ire per simplassarios? sequar tantos sanatos et laetantes angelos, accedo ad simplassarium corporis mei, pulso caelestis medici ianuam, tango fimbriam et accipio medicinam. si purpuram regiam tangit reus et efficitur de crimine mortis securus, ego si tetigero regem caelorum non 30 insultabo artibus medicorum? si tetigero, inquit, salua ero. fide Christi tango, et finem profluenti sanguini pono: accedo ad limitem fimbriorum et ferramenta non metuum medicorum. hoc fecit quod praesumpsit, hoc inuenit quod credidit, hoc accepit quod petiit, hoc aperuit quod pulsauit.

tetigit quippe et nihil dixit. intra se tantum credendo medicamenta conficit, et tacita accessit, tacita cum sanitate recessit. medicus qui curauit sensit, sed uno momento curauit et sensit, et ideo sensit quia 35 curauit. emisit uirtutem, statuit sanguinem, et remunerauit mulierem fidelem. et causatur tamen Christus de turba praementem: Quis me, 40 inquit, tetigit? et Petrus Turbae te, inquit, conprimunt, domine, et dicis Quis me tetigit? et Iesus Nonne ego scio quia tetigit me aliquis? tetigit me qui praesumpsit in me, sensi de me uirtutem | exisse. o odor pigmenti et puluis medicamenti, de puxide fraglauit, de corpore non recessit, et corporis sanguinem desiccavit. fit publicum quod erat ante secretum: 45 ipse publicat cui est nihil occultum, oportebat enim ut ore dominico fieret clarum, quo mulieris sanatae posset esse legitimum testimonium. et illa, Domine, inquit, ego, ego sum: iam non erubesco de uulnere, curata de sanguine; liberam emitto uocem, non habens iam de languore aliquem pudorem. audiant caeli et laentur, audiant qui te conprimunt, et 50 sanentur. dicito talibus mihi similibus magnam uirtutis tuae artem, ut tuam currant accipere sanitatem: non erit secreta laus tua, ueniat in publicum credulitas mea. ego sum, ego, inquam, sum: quae tetigi latenter cum uerecundia, confiteor cum magna constantia. sed numquid irascaris, Domine, quia te sanctum tetigit mulier immunda? scio et 55 ueraciter credo quia scriptum est OMNIS QVI TETIGERIT SANCTVM SANCTIFICABITVR. nam si irascaris, Domine, non tribueres medicinam, qui ergo dedisti effectum credenti, da ueniam confitenti. exhausta sum sumptibus, contrita doloribus. scio quia non accipis praemium: dimissa auaritia medicorum, ueni ad te medicum medicorum, laudet te mecum 60 omnis exercitus angelorum. et Iesus, Mulier, inquit, fides tua te saluam

fecit, uade in pace. uade : ecce ego uado. uade in domum tuam, et
 ego uado in uirtute mea. Mulier, inquit ; discessit : Christus accessit,
 ad domum principis uenit, inuenit turbas lamentantium. intrauit
 65 caenaculum, pulsauit organum suum, | et delectatione suauis imperii
 puella recepit spiritum suum ; coepit autem omnis domus sonare non
 tubicine, sed ORGANO BENE SONANTE, Christo curante, puella surgente,
 caelo gaudente et terra tremante.

fol. 38 b
 suauis : sua
 suauis *cod.*
 recepit
cod.
 Ps. cl 4, 5
 organu
*cod.**
 sonante
*cod.** : to-
 nante *cod.*²

EXPLICIT DE FLVXV SANGVINIS

Iesu Christe, fautor esto scribentem hunc sermonem.

NOTES AND STUDIES

OUR LORD'S TEACHING IN ST MARK'S GOSPEL.

It is usual to speak of the teaching of our Lord in St Mark's Gospel as small in quantity and somewhat fragmentary. 'This comparative scarcity of recollections of the Lord's teaching is consistent with the statement of Irenaeus that St Mark reproduced the preaching of St Peter. The primitive preacher would doubtless limit himself to anecdotes and brief sayings, leaving to the catechist the transmission of the Master's discourses' (Swete *Studies in the Teaching of our Lord* p. 40). It may be useful to call attention to the fact that the discourse-material of Mark constitutes more than a third of the Gospel, and is evidently chosen with considerable care. It is true that Mark shews our Lord in action; but the incidents are often chosen and grouped for the purpose of setting forth particular aspects of His teaching. If, as is probable, the Gospel took shape at Rome, it would have in view the needs of churches in which Gentiles formed an important element, and would bring into prominence those aspects of our Lord's life and teaching which looked especially towards the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers. It would be, in no controversial sense, Pauline and universal.

In a brief analysis I shall attempt to demonstrate the substantial quantity and distinctive quality of the Marcan teaching, and then to compare it with the body of teaching usually assigned to Q.

The Gospel begins with a summary of the preaching of the Baptist. Then after an account of the Baptism of Jesus and the Call of His Disciples, we are told the story of the Opening of the Ministry at Capernaum, in which the amazing power of our Lord's teaching is set forth. 'They were astonished at His teaching: for He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes' (Mk. i 22). In ch. ii that teaching is shewn breaking the barriers of Jewish tradition in all directions. In ch. iii we have the Lord's defence against the scribes' ascription of His power to a satanic source. In ch. iv specimens of parables are given. After instructions to the Disciples in ch. vi, we have in ch. vii the teaching in which the Jewish distinctions between clean and unclean meats are abolished, and so a complete rupture with the old system brought about. The central division, chs. viii 27 to x 52, is largely taken up with reiterations of the Doctrine of the Cross, preparatory to the Passion-Story of the last chapters.

A fairly full summary of the Marcan teaching is here appended, that its comparatively considerable amount may be the better realized.

Most of the sections noted contain nothing but discourse. Those set in indented lines have a narrative element, more or less, but are evidently selected and grouped in order to shew the character of the teaching of Jesus. In quantity, as we have noted already, these sections comprise well over a third of the Gospel.

- i 2-8 The Preaching of John.
- ii 1-12 Healing the Paralytic.
 vv. 5-10 on the Forgiveness of Sins.
- ii 17 The Whole do not need a Physician.
- ii 18-22 The Fasting of His Disciples.
- ii 25-28 The Question of the Sabbath (also iii 1-6).
- iii 22-30 Discourse about Casting out Devils.
- iv 1-34 Teaching by Parables.
- vi 4 A Prophet is not honoured at Home.
- vi 7-13 Instructions to the Twelve.
- vii 1-23 The Question of Clean and Unclean Meats.
- viii 11, 12 The Pharisees demand a Sign.
- viii 15-21 The Leaven of the Pharisees.
- viii 27-ix 1 The Christ and His Cross.
- ix 9, 10 The Resurrection.
- ix 11-13 The Coming of Elijah.
- ix 30-50 On Humility, Offences, &c.
- x 1-12 On Divorce.
- x 14-16 On Receiving Children.
- x 17-22 The Young Man who had Great Possessions.
 (On Winning Eternal Life.)
- x 23-27 The Danger of Riches.
- x 28-31 On Forsaking all for Christ.
- x 32-45 Self-Sacrifice, Greatness in the Kingdom.
- xi 20-26 The Withered Fig-Tree (Faith in God).
- xi 27-33 Jesus's Authority challenged.
- xii 1-12 The Rebellious Vine-Dressers.
- xii 13-17 Question of the Pharisees on Tribute.
- xii 18-27 Question of the Sadducees on the Resurrection.
- xii 28-34 Question of the Scribe on the Great Commandment.
- xii 35-37 Christ's Counter-Question on the Son of David.
- xii 38-40 Denunciation of the Scribes.
- ch. xiii The Coming Judgement.
- xiv 17-21 The Traitor denounced.
- xiv 22-26 Institution of the Eucharist.
- xiv 27-31 Prediction of the Desertion of Disciples and Denial by
 Peter.

To some extent the discourse-material of Mk., as one would expect, covers the same ground as in Q. All presentations of the teaching of Jesus, if accurate, would be likely to include a certain amount of identical or closely similar material. Such overlapping passages can be sifted out with some certainty in the case of Mk. and Q (see *J. T. S.* Jan. 1920 pp. 133 ff). The major passages are the Teaching of the Baptist, the Discourse about Casting out Devils, the Instructions to the Twelve, and the Scribe's Question. Lesser passages are the sayings about the Sign from Heaven, and the Leaven of the Pharisees, with several others collected in the article just cited. It is interesting to note that in the passage about Casting out Devils, Mk. does not record the miracle which gave rise to the controversy, though Mt. and Lk. (and so probably Q) refer to it. To what extent Mk. and Q cover the same ground in the recording of parables, it is most difficult to decide. The only parable of Mk. iv which must certainly be assigned to Q also is that of the Mustard Seed.

We shall now briefly review the series of Marcan discourse-passages, in view of their fitness for the needs of churches containing a considerable Gentile element.

The Teaching of John is important historically, and also because its subject-matter is repentance. A call to repentance is a necessary preliminary to the Gospel-message, among both Jews and Gentiles.

In chs. ii 1-iii 6 we have a series of decisive words and works, shewing how Jesus claimed for His disciples complete liberty from the bondage of Jewish caste and tradition, and even from the Law of Moses itself, at some points. Jesus will welcome to His fellowship men and women of every social grade, and He does not require them to take a double yoke. The whole section might well illustrate Paul's words, 'For freedom did Christ make you free'. Here social convention, tradition, the Law itself, in fact the whole realm of spiritual life and its external safeguards are placed under the authority of Christ, whose claim, so far from being arbitrary, is justified to all with spiritual insight by the very form in which it is made.

The whole section may consist of incidents chosen to illustrate our Lord's powerful handling of these questions during the first phase of His Galilean ministry, though not necessarily in exact order of time. One is surprised to see the most critical incident, the claim to forgive sins, recorded first. But how well this suits the needs of Gospel preaching! We are taken straight from John's call to repentance to our Lord's offer of forgiveness. How suitably the recital of the incident would follow Paul's first recorded missionary sermon, at Pisidian Antioch! See Acts xiii 38 f.

The discourse about the source of *Christ's Power over Demons* would

be relevant and important both in Jewish and Gentile surroundings, and is naturally found both in Mk. and Q.

In the treatment of the *parables* it is not easy to compare Mk. and Q, since we have almost no certainty in the identification of Q-parables. If, however, we compare the parables of Mk. iv with those in Mt. xiii, we notice, in the former case, one main guiding purpose. The subjects are specially suited for missionary work—the Sowing of the Seed (in many sorts of soil), the patient waiting for the Harvest, and the World-wide Extension of the Kingdom. These parables are also given a doctrinal setting in which the responsibility of the hearers is emphasized. As Bacon points out (*Beginnings of Gospel Story* p. 46), this has the same point of view as that of Paul in Rom. ix–xi, and is complementary to his argument there. The parallel group of parables in Mt. is of a more miscellaneous character. The eschatological parables of the Tares and the Draw-net are introduced, also the pair about the Pearl and the Hidden Treasure, whilst Mark's parable of the Seed Growing Secretly is omitted. Here the unity of subject has been lost. Mt. is giving, as usual, a comprehensive selection, to illustrate the subject in hand.

The *Instructions to the Twelve* are common both to Mk. and Q. As was pointed out in a former article (*J.T.S.* Jan. 1920 p. 139), Mk. has notes of a later date than Q. The *forbidding* of staff and sandals would only apply to special mission-journeys to no great distance. In Mk. they are expressly permitted. Here Q seems to have been much fuller than Mk., and this is a case in which, if Mk. was acquainted with Q, as is probable, we should have expected him to have made use of the fuller material.

The Discourse about Clean and Unclean Meats. Here Jesus, dealing with a complaint that He defies tradition, defends Himself, and then goes on to a discourse in which He not only sweeps away the traditional 'fence' about the Law, but the Law itself, in this connexion. By this teaching the greatest barrier between Jew and Gentile is broken down. It points clearly to the conclusion brought home to Peter by the vision at Joppa, that no *man* should be called common or unclean. Here we have the main ground for Paul's strong action (as in Gal. ii), and his insistence on Gentile freedom in these matters. As the healing of the Syro-Phoenician woman's child is the natural sequel to the discourse, it is surprising that Lk. omits the incident. It may be that, being restricted in space, he considered the story of Peter's vision at Joppa and the baptism of Cornelius as even more important examples of the application of these principles in the history of the Church. He might also wish to avoid the apparent harshness of the reference to Gentile 'dogs'.

The Way of the Cross. In Mk. viii 27-x 45 the Teaching of the Cross is fully brought out. Three times a definite announcement of the coming doom is made (Mk. viii 31, ix 31, and x 32). The confession at Caesarea Philippi leads to the illumination of the Disciples upon this matter. The Transfiguration attests our Lord's renewed acceptance of His vocation, and a corresponding spiritual preparation and endowment. The call to the Disciples to follow their Master in the way of obedience and sacrifice is reiterated and illustrated in various ways. The significance of this central part of the Gospel is well brought out by Bacon in the *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, and there is no need to deal more fully with it. We have to note that whilst Mk. evidently builds up his whole Gospel round this main idea, verifiable Q is only represented here in the slenderest way. Thus in Mk. the Cross is central as in all the Apostolic teaching, and more exclusively so, we may venture to say, than in any other Gospel.

In the later chapters of Mk. there is a group of passages corresponding in some respects to the group of chs. ii 1 to iii 6. The earlier belongs to the Galilean ministry, the later to the Judæan. As Mk. has no other place for the Judæan incidents, they are all inserted in the account of the Last Passover; but they may not all have happened in that week. All these incidents are recorded for the sake of the teaching they bring to light. As in the Galilean group, they deal with matters connected with the scope and authority of the Jewish Law, and they touch very important subjects and wide issues. Amongst the Christian churches of the Roman world such questions as those concerning the authority of the Sanhedrin, the authority of the Imperial system, the truth of Immortality, and the Lordship of the Risen Christ would be of great importance for Christian missionaries everywhere.

In ch. xiii we have the *eschatological prophecy*, which is the longest of Mk.'s purely discourse-sections. Into its meaning and relations it is quite impossible to enter in a short note. When the Gospel was published, no doubt this subject was of the greatest moment in all the Christian churches, both in Judæa and beyond.

The result of this hasty survey of the teaching of Jesus as recorded by Mk. is to establish the probability that it was selected and presented largely in view of the needs of churches which were being founded all over the Roman empire, on lines similar to those followed by Paul. It may be objected that there is here some exaggeration of the theological purpose of the Gospel. The reply would be that this aspect is emphasized, not exaggerated. Those traits that most immediately attract attention, the vivid, picturesque style, the *élan* of the movement, the probable dependence of many of the incidents upon

the witness of Peter, are not incompatible with the main purpose as here set forth. In order to apprehend the meaning of the Gospel we must keenly feel that we have in it much more than an artless reproduction of those events of our Lord's ministry which happened most to impress His disciples as they passed through them.

Consideration of some of the outstanding features of Q will serve still further to make evident the comparatively advanced theological position of Mk.

It is in connexion with the *Sermon on the Mount* that the contrast of the spirit of Mk. and Q comes out most clearly. We suppose that most scholars will allow that most of Mt., chs. v-vii, is taken from Q, whatever may be the original form of the Sermon on the Mount. Now whereas in Mk. we have a great polemic against such interpretation and practice of the Jewish Law as would enslave the souls of men and restrict the range of the Gospel, in the Sermon on the Mount we have an idealization of the Law and a new interpretation of its range and meaning. In Mk. we have the vindication of Gentile liberty, in Mt. an appeal (especially to the Jew) to a more spiritual apprehension of his own Law, which is not to be superseded in any of its great essentials. Bacon (*Beginnings of Gospel Story* p. xxvii f) goes so far as to say that the division on the Doctrine of the Cross is Mk.'s Sermon on the Mount. 'We have no Sermon on the Mount, but we have its equivalent here in practical application. What "they of old time" said is illustrated in the Pharisees' question concerning divorce, with Jesus's answer setting man's putting asunder with God's joining together. What the "righteousness of God" entails over and above that of the scribes' "keeping of the commandments" is illustrated in the enquiry of the rich young man, "Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" Jesus's answer approves his having "kept the commandments", but points to God as the sole standard of "goodness" and inculcates the renunciation exemplified by Himself and His followers and their treading the way of the cross as the only avenue to "eternal life".' Bacon consistently interprets the whole Gospel on these lines, and I consider he has well established its Pauline outlook, though I should not follow him in his theory of pragmatism, which appears to me somewhat arbitrary. Just as the attitude of Q towards the Law suits the conditions of the Palestinian work primarily, so it suits in relation to the work of the *Baptist* and the *Pharisees*. In Mt. xi and the Lucan parallels we find Jesus vindicating His unity with His great forerunner, whose work He takes up and carries to greater issues. The arraignment of the Pharisees in Mt. xxiii and Lk. xi is complementary to the vindication of the Law in the Sermon on the Mount. The Pharisees have missed the spirit of the Law in meticulous attention to its forms. Because

they are blind to its highest aims and truths they fail to recognize the Messiah Himself.

Much further detailed illustration of these points might be given, but they are very well expounded by several writers. Harnack (*Sayings of Jesus* p. 248) says that in Q 'the influence of "Paulinism" which is so strong in St Mark is entirely wanting'. Again (p. 171) he says that Q has 'an horizon which is as good as absolutely bounded by Galilee, without any clearly discernible bias, whether apologetic, didactic, ecclesiastical, national, or anti-national'.

This absence of any bias in the direction of definitely Christian theology makes it certain that in Q we have a body of teaching of the most primitive order. Ramsay says (*Luke the Physician* p. 98): 'We have in it the contemporary notes of a person in immediate personal contact with Jesus, fascinated by His personality as a living man and as a great Teacher and Prophet, not thinking of His death and of what was to ensue thereon.' And again (p. 89): 'On the one hand, it was a document practically contemporary with the facts, and it registered the impression made on eyewitnesses by the words and acts of Christ. On the other hand, it was written before those words and acts had begun to be properly understood by even the most intelligent eyewitness.' All this throws into relief the great didactic importance of Mark's Gospel.

The result of this rough comparison is to place Mk. and Q in very strong contrast, almost into opposition; yet to leave the matter so would create a wrong impression. The two pictures are complementary rather than mutually inconsistent. Both reflect vitally important aspects of our Lord's teaching. To expound (positively) the true spirit and scope of the Law leads naturally to an attack on every practice that obstructs and limits it. Moreover the prophetic ministry inevitably precedes the priestly and redemptive, and prepares for it. At the same time we must remember that some of the most characteristic sayings of Jesus according to Mk. were also found in Q. This may be allowed by those who (like the present writer) strongly maintain the literary independence of the two sources. There are several places where the overlapping of the sources can be detected; but there may be other cases (for instance the Parable of the Sower) where there is no literary overlapping to give the clue, and yet both lines of tradition have the same material. This hypothesis is carried very far by some scholars, as for example by B. Weiss.

Thus Q may have been in circulation from the very first amongst the Palestinian churches, where the tradition of our Lord's ministry and of His passion and resurrection was so fresh as to be taken for granted. Hence, as Harnack remarks (*Sayings of Jesus* p. 235), it may

have been 'intended solely for the Christian community and was addressed to those who did not require the assurance that their Teacher was also the Son of God'. The Marcan Gospel would represent the earliest exposition of the main facts of our Lord's ministry and passion and resurrection, together with such a selection of His teachings and works as would establish the central doctrine of the Cross, and free the Gospel from all exclusive Judaistic interpretations. This body of tradition would take shape later than Q, and its authors would be well acquainted with that work; but having a purpose in view which it did not meet at all adequately, they went on quite independent lines. Naturally it was not long before the two main groups of tradition were drawn together, as we have them in Mt. and Lk. Harnack compares the two, much to the disadvantage of Mk. He says (*Sayings of Jesus* p. 250 f): 'The tendency to exaggerate the apocalyptic and eschatological element in our Lord's message, and to subordinate to this the purely religious and ethical elements, will ever find its refutation in Q.' On both points I should venture to disagree. It is the doctrine of the Cross that is central in Mk., rather than any apocalyptic strain of teaching. It is in the light of the Cross and resurrection of the divine Saviour that the teachings of the inspired prophet receive their true colour and perspective. The ethical teaching would be useless without the dynamic of the Cross and resurrection. It may be freely granted that this teaching is of such unsurpassed beauty and value that it has somewhat drawn away our attention from the very great didactic importance of Mark's Gospel.

T. STEPHENSON.

THE MEANING OF ἐξηγήσατο IN ST JOHN i 18.

THE usual, if not the invariable, rendering of ἐξηγήσατο in St John i 18 has been 'declared', 'interpreted' or 'unfolded'—a rendering eminently suitable to the context. Moulton and Milligan in their *Vocabulary*, s.v. ἐξηγέομαι, remind us that 'numerous examples of the technical use of the verb and of its corresponding substantive to denote the communication of divine and other secrets are given by Wetstein *ad* John i 18'. One of these examples they quote—from Pollux viii 124—ἐξηγγηταὶ δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τὰ περὶ τῶν διοσημείων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν διδάσκοντες. They remind us also that in Modern Greek ἐξηγῶ means to 'explain'. It would almost seem gratuitous to think of any other meaning for ἐξηγήσατο in the Prologue. Dr Rendel Harris, however, in his *Origin of the Prologue to St John's Gospel* has a new rendering to propose. He makes the verb intransitive and translates 'had the primacy', justifying the procedure by taking us to the 'Praise of Wisdom'—the great twenty-fourth chapter of Sirach. The latter part of the sixth verse of that chapter is thus rendered in the Vulgate: *in omni populo, et in omni gente primatum habui*. According to Dr Harris this statement underlies not only the closing clauses of the Prologue but also the great clause of Col. i 18 ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων. When, however, we look at the Greek of Sirach the connexion of the clause in xxiv 6 with these New Testament passages is not so clear, for it runs ἐν παντὶ λαῷ καὶ ἔθνει ἐκτησάμην, which R.V. renders 'in every people and nation I got a possession'. The text of Sirach is, as Dr Harris remarks, often faulty; and in the clause we are now considering he adopts the reading of B^c which has, not ἐκτησάμην, but ἡγησάμην. He postulates that ἡγέομαι would be the verb employed in the intermediate document which lies behind the passages in Colossians and the Fourth Gospel, and remarks that there it 'must be interpreted in the sense that Sophia had the first rank, after God, in the order of being'.¹ Now in the Prologue we have, not the simple ἡγέομαι, but the compound ἐξηγέομαι. Rendel Harris admits that the substitution of the compound verb may be an attempt to get over the difficulty of interpreting ἡγήσατο. 'Yet', he adds, 'it is not really got rid of, for ἐξηγέομαι can also mean "to take the lead", "to have the front place", and does not necessarily mean anything different from the πρωτεύειν of Paul.'² The fact that no

¹ *Origin*, *etc.* pp. 40, 41. In a private communication Dr Harris calls my attention to the fact that 'in Sirach xxiv 6 the reading ἡγησάμην is confirmed by Sap. vii 12 ἡγείται [πάντων] σοφία'.

² *Ibid.* p. 35.

object follows ἐξηγήσατο lends support to the view that it is to be taken intransitively. 'Note'—to quote Dr Harris once more—'carefully that neither in Sirach nor in John is there any object attached to ἡγέομαι: it is, therefore, to be taken intransitively.'¹ This argument, however, loses much of its force when it is observed that the Fourth Evangelist is in the habit of leaving transitive verbs without objects. Examples of this practice are scattered through the Gospel, as in ii 8, iv 33, v 12, viii 47, x 29, xvi 15, xvii 8, xviii 21, xix 6, xxi 1. It is of interest that the Epilogue as well as the Prologue contains an instance of this peculiarity; and as the Prologue, even if derived from some intermediate song, presumably owes its final form to the Evangelist, we must give to this stylistic habit of his its due weight in our attempt to determine the force of ἐξηγήσατο. Again, if the verb is intransitive in the Prologue, should we not expect the present tense? Why 'had the primacy'? Of course it may be urged that the tense is that which the verb had in the Sophia-song; but I cannot but think that had the Evangelist intended us to take the verb intransitively in the Prologue he would have changed the tense. I notice that although Dr Harris reads ἡγήσατο in the Sophia-song he has 'has the primacy' in his reconstruction of it on p. 43.

Dr Harris himself anticipates another objection that may be brought against the intransitive rendering of the verb when he says that it may be 'urged that in thus changing the interpretation of ἐξηγήσατο, we have broken sequence with the statement that precedes it as to the "invisibility of God", whom it is the business of the Unique-Born Logos to expound to men'.² This is a serious objection to the intransitive interpretation. The sequence becomes extraordinarily harsh on that interpretation, especially if ἐξηγήσατο is rendered by a past-indefinite: 'No man hath seen God at any time: the Only-begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, He had the primacy'!

It is worthy of note that ἐξηγήσατο occurs in the LXX of Job xxviii 27—another great Wisdom passage—where it is followed by αὐτῇ (B) or αὐτήν (NAC). The context in Job demands the meaning 'declare', and it seems to me very probable that the writer of the Sophia-hymn had in mind the words of Job. God, we are told in Job, alone saw and declared Wisdom, and Wisdom in turn, says the Sophia-hymn, alone hath seen and declared God.

Altogether, I am far from being convinced that Dr Harris has justified his abandonment of the traditional interpretation of ἐξηγήσατο. The derivation of the Johannine phrase from Sirach xxiv 6 is too uncertain to warrant the rejection of the usual translation and the substitution of one so much less satisfactory.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 41.

² *Ibid.* p. 40.

A word as to verse 15. There cannot be much doubt that it is an interpolation. Attempts have been made, it is true, to demonstrate its relevancy, and to shew its connexion with the context. Now Rendel Harris thinks that he has found, in his suggestion regarding ἐξηγήσατο, the explanation of the presence of verse 15. 'In explaining ἐξηγήσατο of John i 18', he says, 'as being the equivalent of ἡγησάμην in Sirach xxiv 6, we have found the reason for the little inserted testimony of John the Baptist in John i 15, which is also occupied with the doctrine of the priority and primacy of Jesus.'¹ Whether this means that the testimony was inserted by the Evangelist or by some one else, one naturally asks why the words were not placed after verse 18 instead of in the utterly unsuitable position which they occupy in the traditional text; and if we are right in rejecting the new interpretation of ἐξηγήσατο, then of course Dr Harris's suggestion regarding verse 15 goes with it. Dr Moffatt is surely justified in treating verse 15, not as part of the original text, but as a marginal gloss based on verse 30 which has succeeded in wedging itself into its present position.² It would be interesting to know the history of this interpolation. It may not be profitable to surmise overmuch, but I wonder whether its origin is to be found in words placed in the margin of some early manuscript as a title for verses 19 ff. Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ (i. e. ἐαυτοῦ) exactly describes verses 19-28. Αὐτοῦ would easily be taken as αὐτοῦ, and the reference transferred from the Baptist to Christ. The rest of verse 15, quoting verse 30, may have originated as a marginal title of verses 29-34, which deal with John's announcement of Jesus. These suggestions are admittedly tentative, but the utter want of congruence between verse 15 and its traditional context seems to preclude all hypotheses save that of accidental misplacement.

J. HUGH MICHAEL.

THE BRINGING FORTH OF THE SOUL IN IRISH LITERATURE.

IN various apocryphal writings both of the Old and New Testament a description is given of the difficulty attached to the act of bringing forth the soul of a righteous man, no doubt with the object of enhancing his dignity and of accentuating the importance of his life on earth. Thus the patriarch Abraham refuses to yield up his soul until Death deceives him, and gives him his right hand, to which Abraham's soul

¹ *Origin*, 6^c. p. 40.

² *ILNT* p. 552.

cleaves. Similarly Adam is unwilling to die, because he alleges that if he is taken away there will be no one to till the ground. In a Coptic account of the death of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin, it is said that when dying he beheld Death and Amente approaching, with their dread attendants. At this 'the soul of Joseph wished to go forth with great disquietude, and was seeking a place to hide in, and found not a place'. Then Michael and Gabriel and the heavenly choir approach, and Joseph 'keeps labouring as one about to give birth, affliction pursuing after him as a violent wind'. Finally Jesus admits Death (who has hidden himself behind the door), who brings forth the soul, which Michael and Gabriel wrap in a silken napkin.¹

In other writings the difficulty of bringing forth the soul through certain specified members of the body is described. Thus in the *Apocalypse of Esdras* the prophet says, 'Whence can you bring forth my soul?' And the angels reply, 'We can bring it forth through the mouth'. And the prophet answered, 'Mouth to mouth have I spoken with God, and it comes not thence'. The angels said, 'Let us bring it out through the nostrils'. And the prophet said, 'My nostrils have smelled the sweet savour of the glory of God'. The angels then suggest the eyes, the crown of the head, and the points of the nails, but the prophet refuses to allow it to come forth through any of these. Somewhat similar incidents occur in a recension of the *De Morte Mosis* and in the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*. Dr James thinks that the above were derived from some common source, which was probably the *Assumption of Moses*. He also states that a similar episode occurs in Mohammedan mythology, where the Angel of Death cannot bring the soul out by various parts of the body, because they have been sanctified in various ways.²

So much has been said by way of preface. There exists in Irish literature a passage which although descriptive of the death of a *sinner* rather than of a righteous man, yet so closely resembles the last-quoted pieces that one is tempted to believe that it has been influenced by one or other of them, directly or indirectly. It exists in a version of the *Dispute between the Soul and the Body*. Of this well-known piece two versions are found in Irish, which differ widely from each other. The first of these has been published by G. Dottin in the *Revue Celtique* xxiii, and is not of much importance, as it is almost identical with the metrical Latin version published by Wright in his *Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*. The other, which contains the passage alluded to, has been published by Atkinson in his *Passions and*

¹ James *Testament of Abraham* p. 2; Malan *Book of Adam and Eve* p. 226; Robinson *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* pp. 139-141, 155-159.

² Tischendorf *Apocal. Apocr.* p. 31; James *Test. Ab.* pp. 64-68.

Homilies from the Leabhar Breac (Todd Lect. Series, p. 507). As it is very interesting in form a brief analysis will not be out of place. St Augustine is credited with saying that two hosts come to meet the soul at its departure, angels the good, devils the bad. The version is almost entirely taken up with the experiences of the latter soul. The demons abuse and revile it while it is still in the body. They then tell it that it is time for it to leave its abode. The soul in its despair tries to escape by the mouth, but finds its way blocked by Death, which forbids its exit. Similarly it goes to the nose, eyes, and ears, but with no better success, for at each of these Death awaits it: finally it ascends through the crown of the head. The devils then mock and beat it. It repents of its sins, and tries to fly heavenward; the devils in mockery allow it to go a little way, and then rush after it and catch it. The soul then turns back and abuses the body, which answers it. Each speaks only once. Then the body bids the soul depart to Hell. A pleasant host of angels escorts the good soul to Heaven. With respect to this version H. Gaidoz says (*Revue Celtique* x p. 463): 'The originality of the Irish text is that it belongs at one and the same time to the literature of visions and to that of the *Disputes*, so that one sees clearly how the dialogue of the soul and the body, before becoming a subject in itself, was only an incident in the general story of a vision.'

This motive reappears, somewhat amplified, in a late and rather distorted Irish version of the *Vision of St Paul*. According to the unknown author St Paul is permitted to witness the dying of a sinner. He finds that Death has seized all the sick man's body, except the lower chamber of the heart, where the soul is endeavouring to conceal itself—an incident which reminds us of the account of Joseph's death quoted above. Death then commences to plough and bore at the heart, and the soul tries to escape by the mouth, but finds there a host of black loathsome devils awaiting it. It then goes to the nose, eyes, and ears, with the same result. Finally it goes out through the crown of the head.¹

We must now consider an account of the death of the sinner and of the righteous which is found in Latin (and said to be a translation from the Greek) in the *De Vitis Patrum*. A version also exists in Coptic. A certain holy man desired to see how the souls of the sinner and of the righteous are taken away. As he sat in his cell a wolf came to him, and catching hold of his clothes, drew him out of the house. He came to a monastery outside the city, where lay at the point of death a certain man who was reputed to be a renowned solitary. When his hour came the brother saw an evil spirit (*tartaricus inferni*) with

¹ Douglas Hyde *Legends of Saints and Sinners* pp. 97-99.

a fiery trident descending upon the solitary, and heard a voice saying: 'As this soul has not allowed me to rest, even for one hour, so do you pluck it forth without pity.' Then the demon plunged the fiery trident into the heart of the solitary, and twisting it about for some time, drew out the soul. Then the monk witnessed the death of a righteous pilgrim. Michael and Gabriel are sent to fetch the soul, but it will not come forth. Finally Michael makes complaint to God, who says that He will send David and the heavenly choir, and when they come singing the soul goes out¹

There is an exactly similar narrative in Irish literature, entitled *The Two Deaths*. The editor has not succeeded in dating it, unfortunately, but contents himself with saying that the language gives evidence of considerable age. A certain monk was forty years in the desert. As he was a-fasting for God the death of the sinner and of the righteous was revealed to him. He goes into a city, being guided by a beast which took the brooch out of his cloak, and which he was directed to follow. The ruler of the city is at the point of death. Satan entered the house, having a fiery three-pronged fork in his hand. He leaped upon the breast of the sick man, and thrice turned himself over to the left upon him. Then a voice is heard coming from the dying man. 'Since thou hast not done my will for the space of even one hour, O unhappy soul, therefore I shall give you up to everlasting pain.' As often as the soul came to the man's mouth Satan dealt it a blow with his fork, so that the soul turned back to the body again. But Satan once plunged the three-pronged fork under the left breast of the man, and dragged the soul forth from the body to the floor. It was as black as a raven. It then gave voice to three utterances. 'Great is the darkness.' Satan answered, 'Greater still remains for you'. Then Satan took the soul in his hand, and went through the middle of the house, so that the monk beheld it. Then it said, 'Steepest is the road'. Satan replied, 'Steeper still remains for you'. Its last utterance was, 'Great are the straits'. Satan replied, 'Greater still remains for you'. The soul then went round the body by the left, and cursed it. Then it went to the door of the house, and two bands of demons met it and escorted it to Hell, one before and one behind. Then the monk went to the house of a good man, and saw Michael and Gabriel: the former went up to the pillow of the dying man [gap in text. No doubt the original described the soul's reluctance to come forth]. Then was heard the singing of the heavenly host with David as it approached. The soul sprang upon the breast of the man, and it was resplendent as the sun. It, too, spoke thrice. 'Great is that light.' The angel replied, 'Greater thou wilt have'. 'The ways are smooth.' 'Smoother

¹ Migne *P. L.* lxxiii p. 1011. For Coptic see ref. in Robinson, p. 233.

will they be for thee.' 'The ways are broad.' 'Broader will they be for thee.'¹

The above contains some peculiarly Celtic touches introduced by the unknown redactor, such as the allusion to the brooch in the cloak, and possibly the 'three utterances'. The description of Satan *turning himself over to the left*, and of the soul going round the body *by the left*, recalls the prevalent belief in Ireland that it is extremely unlucky to go round anything contra-sunwise. The opposite way is the propitious one, e.g. at holy wells pilgrims make their 'rounds' following the course of the sun, or in other words, with their right side kept continuously towards the well. But apart from these touches, which are only to be expected, it is clear that the Irish writer knew and made use of the passage in the *De Vitis Patrum*, which comes pretty near saying that we have here a direct connexion between Irish and Eastern literature.

The Two Deaths and the L. B. version of the *Dispute* have certain points in common. In both a mention is made of the two hosts; and the soul is prevented from escaping through an organ of the body. Again, whereas in the other version of the *Dispute* the soul and body speak to each other several times, in the L. B. version they only address each other once, which brevity of dialogue is represented in *The Two Deaths* by the solitary remark addressed by the body to the soul. There is thus some literary connexion between the two documents, and it would be interesting to know which of them is the older.

A similar story is found outside Ireland. In the life of St Lietbert, written by Rodulph, abbot of St Trudo (who died in 1138), it is related that a certain count, named Fulcher, who was lying dangerously ill, saw by his bedside two devils carrying a flaming iron trident, which they termed the 'sting of death'. They told him that they had brought it in order that they might plunge it into his heart, and so cast out his soul. Whereupon he called upon the Virgin and St Andrew, and was saved by them. One is reminded of Bede's story of the wicked soldier, whom two evil spirits struck with forks, one on the head, and the other on the foot. These strokes were gradually penetrating through his bowels to the inward parts of his body, and he knew that when they met he would die, and be dragged off to Hell.²

ST J. D. SEYMOUR.

¹ Erin v p. 121 ff. The two sets of 'three utterances', and some words just before the break in the text, are in Latin.

² Migne *P. L.* cxlvi p. 1469; Bede *H. E.* v chap. 13.

PALLADIANA.

SIXTEEN years have elapsed since the publication of my edition of the Lausiac History of Palladius, and twelve since the publication of the tract on the Authorship of the Dialogue on the Life of Chrysostom. During these years the two works have been the object of study and of criticism on the part of a number of scholars of first rank; and in particular during the years of the war they have been occupying the attention of several scholars in Germany. It is my intention in a series of three articles, 'Palladiana', to take a survey and form an estimate of the work that has been bestowed upon Palladius and the cognate literature since the appearance of the two works mentioned above.

The subject matter of the articles will be:

- I. The Lausiac History: Questions of Text;
- II. The Lausiac History: Questions of History;
- III. The *Dialogus de Vita Chrysostomi*.

I.

THE LAUSIAC HISTORY: QUESTIONS OF TEXT.

Since the appearance of the Greek text in 1904, there have been produced one new edition of the Greek and three translations.

The edition is that of Abbé A. Lucot¹: the text is substantially mine, but is an improvement on it in that the readings of the Wake MS, which I could record only in an appendix, have been incorporated in the text as I should have wished, had I found the MS in time. It is accompanied by excellent Introduction, Notes, and Index, all Lucot's own, supplementing and criticizing those which I had furnished. A French translation, at once literal and easily readable, is provided. So that in all respects this French edition has supplied what is needful for a successful popularization of Palladius's book.

A German translation has been made by Dr Krottenthaler,² and an English one by Mr Lowther Clarke,³ both from my text. The latter is an excellent and scholarly piece of work, presenting the Lausiac History

¹ *Palladius, Histoire Lausiaque*, in series of 'Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme'. (Picard, Paris, 1912.)

² *Palladius, Leben der heiligen Väter*, in 'Bibliothek der Väter'. (Kosel, Kempten, 1912.)

³ *Lausiac History of Palladius*. (S.P.C.K., London, 1918.)

in an attractive English dress. Another English translation, from the Syriac, has been made by Dr Wallis Budge, and forms Book I of the great Syriac collection of monastic material named 'The Paradise of the Holy Fathers'.¹

To turn now to the text itself. When the edition appeared in 1904 it was carefully reviewed by well-known scholars, and various criticisms were passed on the method of editing adopted. Among those who criticized was Dr Richard Reitzenstein in the book *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (1906); and, so he tells us, in order to find relief from the strain of war conditions, he returned to the subject, and produced in 1916 a substantive monograph on the two works *Historia Monachorum* and *Historia Lausiaca*.² Here, amid a mass of material of considerable value in illustration of the earliest monachism, runs a continuous thread of criticism of my text, on the ground that the authentic text is that of the Turin MS (my T), which I did not adopt as the principal authority. This judgement, if well founded, would vitiate my edition through and through; and this Reitzenstein says: 'Unfortunately Butler has wholly misjudged the worth of the most important MS, T. . . . A new edition of the text is urgently needed' (*op. cit.* p. 2, note). This verdict is being accepted currently by German scholars, as by Krüger: 'Reitzenstein seems to me to have brought forward very cogent reasons for holding that Butler's text, through the neglect of codex T, is untrustworthy' (*Theologische Rundschau*, 1917, p. 75); and Hausrath: 'Through the entire book are strewn fully convincing and illuminating emendations of the text of Butler's edition' (*Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1916, col. 1361).³

In the same place Reitzenstein pronounces my edition to have been made 'with the most devoted industry, but not always with adequate philological equipment'. In the presence of a scholar like Reitzenstein who has won for himself recognition as a philologist of eminence, I have no difficulty in acknowledging this criticism to be well founded. But I, on my side, say that he betrays no appreciation of the principles or procedure of scientific textual criticism. A theme running through the book is the assertion of the claim of the philologists to divide the ground with the theologians. Here and there the historians also are

¹ (Chatto and Windus, London, 1907.)

² *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca, eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums* in 'Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. und N. Testaments'. (Vandenhoeck, Göttingen, 1916.)

³ Dr Hausrath's competence as a judge is, however, gravely compromised by the fact that he has read Reitzenstein's book with so little care as to confuse the two works, *Hist. Mon.* and *Hist. Laus.*, and so attributes to Reitzenstein and to Preuschen the absurd notion that the Latin form of *Hist. Laus.* is the original. (*Ibid.*)

recognized. What here follows is in effect an assertion of the claim to a place for that humbler class of workers, the textual critics. The question to be worked out is a wider one than whether T or P be the better MS of the Lausiatic History: its interest lies in the contrast between the ideas of the philologists and of the textual critics as to the method of constructing a text.

In order to make the ensuing discussions easily intelligible it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the outstanding textual facts of the *Historia Lausiaca*.¹

There are two great types of the text:

B—a longer form, contained in the great majority of the Greek MSS, and in the printed editions previous to my own;

G—a shorter and simpler form, found in a very small number of Greek MSS, but also in the principal early versions, two Latin and two Syriac, and printed for the first time in my edition.

It is not possible to prove priority of date for either type of text; each can be shown to have existed in the fifth century.² I gave reasons for the conclusion that G is the original text and B a metaphrastic enlargement of it.³ The theory that B was a revision of his own work by Palladius himself cannot be said to be excluded; but, so far as I know, it has not been defended by any critic. Nor has any one yet come forward to assert that B is the original form of the text.

On the ground, therefore, that G is the original form of the work, and also because it had not yet been edited, whereas B was already in print, and (with certain precautions) could be read in Migne *P. G.* xxxiv, I decided to edit G, leaving B alone, except in so far as it might help to determine readings of G. The text of B presents no difficulty as Greek MSS abound. But for G the materials are scanty and in a high degree unsatisfactory. Only one Greek MS has so far been found containing the whole book in a G text: this is P (Paris, 1628) a late and deteriorated copy. An earlier and better, but closely related, MS contains about half the book in a G text: this is W (Wake, 67). These are the only Greek MSS offering consistent G texts. Three other Greek textual witnesses offer G texts in parts of the work and B texts in other

¹ These are worked out in full detail in the Introduction to my edition, on the 'Sources of the Text'.

² On p. xxxv of my *Historia Lausiaca* II, I place the life of Olympias in the seventh century; this is an error, it dating probably from the second half of the fifth. (*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1906). It contains long passages of the B text from ch. lvi.

³ *Ibid.* pp. xxvii-xxxi, I showed that Sozomen bears witness to the G text. Reitzenstein appears to hold that he used not the Lausiatic history, but sources used also by Palladius. This view, if correct, would afford proof positive of the priority of G.

parts (these are my T, A, and V.C); and there are a few fragments. The early versions, however, come to the rescue. The G text is witnessed to throughout the entire work quite unequivocally by the early Latin version (lat₁), and in great part by another Latin version (lat₂), and by two Syriac versions (syr₁, syr₂). It is these versions that make it possible to judge the Greek MSS and edit the G text.

In my volume of the text a number of pieces are printed in juxtaposition from B and G (see pp. xix, xxxii, xxxvi-xli, xlv, lxi, lxii, 202-203); and some samples are given below. Any one who studies these passages, or who compares almost any page of my text (G) with the corresponding place in Migne *P. G.* xxxiv (B), will realize that the two forms of text differ so continuously, though in very varying degrees, that each form would require to be edited by itself as an independent text; the attempt to record the readings of one in a critical apparatus as variants of the other would in most parts of the book be cumbersome beyond endurance, and indeed quite impracticable. Often the B enlargements are merely stylistic and ornamental; often the piece has been wholly rewritten; often substantive passages consisting of several lines have been inserted.

Concerning the broad features of these two texts there is no room for uncertainty. By the control of lat₁ and the other versions, supplementing P and the few other incomplete Greek MSS, it is possible to construct a G text with proximate correctness; and, apart from the inevitable minor variants, the B text is known with perfect certitude from the Greek MSS. There are two texts, a shorter and a longer recension, the line of demarcation between them being as clear-cut as that between the short and long recensions of the genuine Ignatian Epistles. It is open to any one, if he see fit, to argue that B is the original form of the work, and G an abridgement. But the entire sweep of B readings and enlargements has to be accepted or rejected as a whole. The principles of scientific textual criticism declare that it is not possible to pick and choose from among them those that seem good in an editor's eyes.

Yet this is what Reitzenstein desires to do.

In illustration we may take the case of Nathanael (ch. xvi),¹ with which he deals in detail, maintaining that T has preserved the authentic text. This is a good test case of the whole theory. In the following table the three texts, G, B, and T, are printed in parallel columns.

¹ The numbers of the chapters are those of my edition.

G

B

T

W P lat₁ lat₂ syr₁ syr₂

(Migne P. G. xxxiv 1041)

(Turin MS. graec. 141.) Same text as G except—

Γέγονεν ἄλλος τις τῶν
παλαιῶν
ὀνόματι Ναθαναήλ.
τοῦτον ἐγὼ ζῶντα μὲν οὐ κατεί-
ληφα· κεκοίμητο γὰρ πρὸ τῆς
ἡμῆς εἰσόδου πρὸ
ἐτῶν δεκάπεντε· τοῖς δὲ
συνασκήσασιν αὐτῷ
καὶ συγχρονίᾳσι περιτυχῶν
ἐφιλοπριγμόνου
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν· ἔδειξαν
δὲ μοι αὐτοῦ [καὶ]* τὴν κέλλαν,
εἰς ἣν ᾤκει μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς
διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτέρω αὐτὴν εἶναι
τῆς οἰκουμένης· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ
τότε αὐτὴν ἐκτίσεν
ὅτε σπάνιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἀναχωρη-
ταί, διηγούντο οὖν τοῦτο
περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξαίρετως,
ὅτι τοσαύτην ἔσχεν
ὑπομόνην ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ ὥς
μὴ σελευθῆναι
τῆς προθέσεως, ἐν οἷς ἐμ-
παίχθεις κατ' ἀρχὰς παρὰ τοῦ
πᾶσιν ἐμπαίζοντος καὶ ἀπατῶν-
τος δαίμονος,

ἔδοξεν ἀκηδιᾶν εἰς τὴν
πρώτην κέλλαν·
καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἄλλην
ἐκτίσεν πλησιώτερον κώμης.

* καὶ is not in W P, but is
represented in the four versions.

Ἐτερός τις τῶν ἁγίων γέγονεν τῶν
παλαιῶν ἀριστος ἀθητῆς τοῦ
Χριστοῦ, ὀνόματι Ναθαναήλ.
τοῦτον ἐγὼ ἐν σαρκὶ οὐ κατεί-
ληφα· κεκοίμητο γὰρ πρὸ τῆς
ἡμῆς εἰσόδου ἐν τῷ ὄρει πρὸ
ἐτῶν δεκάπεντε· τοῖς δὲ
συνασκήσασιν τῷ ἁγίῳ τούτῳ
καὶ συγχρονίᾳσι περιτυχῶν,
φιλοφρόνως ἡρώτων περὶ τῆς
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς, ἔδειξαν δὲ
μοι αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν κέλλαν, εἰς
ἣν ᾤκει μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς
διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτέρω εἶναι τῆς
οἰκουμένης· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ
μακάριος τότε αὐτὴν ἐκτίσεν
ὅτε σπάνιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἀναχωρη-
ταί, διηγούντο δὲ μοι τοῦτο
περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξαίρετον τῆς
ἀσκήσεως, ὅτι τοσαύτην ἔσχεν
ὑπομόνην ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ, ὥς
μὴ σελευθῆναι ποτε τοῦτον
ἀπὸ τῆς προθέσεως, ἐν οἷς ἐμ-
παίχθεις κατ' ἀρχὰς παρὰ τοῦ
πᾶσιν ἐμπαίζοντος καὶ ἀπατῶντος
δαίμονος, τοῦ καὶ τοῦτον τῇ
ἀκηδίᾳ περιβαλόντος, καὶ τῆς
κέλλης αὐτὴν ἐξελάσαντος.
ἔδοξεν γὰρ ἀκηδιᾶν εἰς τὴν
πρώτην κέλλαν, ἀναχωρή-
σας ἐκείνης ἀπελθὼν ἄλλην
ἐκτίσεν πλησιώτερον κώμης.

αὐτῷ after συγχρονίᾳσι

*καὶ

ἐγγύτερον

*ἐξαίρετον

*ἀπὸ

πάντας

* These three readings should
probably be adopted in G
against W P.

The Devil had recourse to various devices to induce him to leave his cell.

G

B

T

Ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦτο· ἐπιτηρήσας

Ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦτο· ἐπιτηρήσας
ὁ μισύκαλος ἐπηρέασαι τοῦ-
τον ἐσπουδάσεν εἰς ἐγκοπήν
τῆς προθέσεως, ἐπτα ἐπισκό-
πων ἁγίων ἐπισκεψαμένων
τὸν ἅγιον, ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας,
ἡ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πειρασμοῦ
ἐξ ἐκείνου, παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν
ἐξώκειλε τῆς προθέσεως.
τῶν γὰρ ἐπισκόπων μετὰ τὴν
ἐπίσκεψιν εὐξαμένων, καὶ
μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐξιόντων,
οὐ προέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ὁ γεν-
ναῖος οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδῶς, ἵνα
μὴ δῶ χάραν τῷ μισοκάλῳ.
λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ διάκονοι
τῶν ἐπισκόπων· Ὑπερήφανον

Ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦτο· παρατηρήσας

ἐπτα ἐπισκό-
πων ἁγίων ἐπίσκεψιν,
ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας
γενομένην ἡ ἐκ πειρασμοῦ
ἐκείνου, παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτὸν
ἐξώκειλε τῆς προθέσεως.
τῶν γὰρ ἐπισκόπων

μετὰ τὸ εὐξασθαι ἐξερχομένων,
οὐ προέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς
οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδῶς.

λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ διάκονοι·
Ὑπερήφανον

ἐπτα ἐπισκό-
πων ἁγίων ἐπισκεψαμένων
αὐτόν, ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας
ἡ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πειρασμοῦ,
παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτόν
ἐξώκειλε τῆς προθέσεως.
τῶν γὰρ ἐπισκόπων μετὰ τὴν
ἐπίσκεψιν εὐξαμένων, καὶ
μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐξιόντων,
οὐ προέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ὁ γεν-
ναῖος οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδῶς.

λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ διάκονοι·
Ὑπερήφανον

G

πρᾶγμα ποιεῖς, [ἀββᾶ,]*
 μὴ προπέμπων τοὺς ἐπισκό-
 πους. ὃ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ
 καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις μου τοῖς
 ἐπισκόποις

καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ὅλῳ

ἀπέθανον· ἔχω γὰρ κεκρυμ-
 μένον σκόπον, καὶ οἶδεν ὁ
 θεὸς τὴν καρδίαν μου

διὸ οὐ προπέμπω αὐτούς.

* ἀββᾶ WP syr₂; om lat₁
 lat₂ syr₁: probably should be
 omitted.

B

πρᾶγμα ἐργάζῃ, ἀββᾶ,
 μὴ προπέμπων τοὺς ἐπισκό-
 πους. ὃ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ
 καὶ τοὺς κυρίους μου τοὺς
 ἐπισκόπους σέβω, καὶ πάντα
 τὸν κλῆρον τιμῶ, καὶ πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς
 περίφημα. πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις
 καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ βίῳ ὅσον τὸ
 ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τῇ προθέσει ἀπέ-
 θανον. ἔχω γὰρ κεκρυμ-
 μένον σκόπον ὃν οἶδεν ὁ
 κύριος, ὃ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ
 τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας εἰδώς,
 διὰ τί οὐ πρόεμψα.

T

πρᾶγμα ἐργάζῃ
 μὴ προπέμπων τοὺς ἐπισκό-
 πους. λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ
 καὶ τοὺς κυρίους μου τοὺς
 ἐπισκόπους σέβω καὶ πάντα
 τὸν κλῆρον τιμῶ, καὶ πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων
 περίφημά εἰμι· πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις
 καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ

ἀπέθανον· ἔχω δὲ κεκρυμ-
 μένον σκόπον καὶ οἶδεν ὁ
 θεὸς τὴν καρδίαν μου

διὸ οὐ προπέμπω κυρίους μου.

In the opening portion T presents an absolutely pure G text, indeed in two or three points probably a better one than WP. But in the second portion T agrees with B in the principal points of difference from G. Reitzenstein's comment here is that the G text is that of 'the inferior MSS, which abbreviate the story'. Prescinding from the general phenomena of the two texts throughout the work, and concentrating on this passage alone, this idea might be defensible, were the two Greek MSS WP the only witnesses to G; but in this case we have also all four versions, which support WP,¹ and shew that their text is not one that has arisen in a subordinate group of Greek MSS, but is the genuine text of the G form of the book. In nearly all the numerous cases wherein Reitzenstein asserts the superiority of the T reading, the difference lies in a B reading found in T, but not in WP or the versions.

It is evident that Reitzenstein's contention postulates that the text preserved in T is the authentic text, the other two forms being derived from it, G by abbreviation, B by interpolation. It is necessary to examine whether such a textual theory is admissible.

The great outstanding fact is that the principal Greek representatives of G, viz. W and P, and also syr₁, form a group apart, marked by certain corruptions in common that may be called monstrous. The principal of these corruptions are (1) the omission of certain sections by WP syr₁, amounting to about 100 lines in all, and accepted as genuine

¹ Attention has to be called to the fact that for lat₁ and both syr recourse must be had to MSS, the printed editions containing texts revised on B MSS (*Lausiac History* II, lxxvi, lxxix).

portions of the book by all the critics, Reitzenstein included¹: (2) a reconstruction and change of order in the second part of the work, ch. xl to the end; here again the critics agree that this order is a depravation of that found in the other main tradition of the text, that viz. of the metaphrastic recension B, and of the Latin version lat₁. Let the lost G MS from which the metaphrast made B, be called β ; and the one from which lat₁ was made, be called λ . It has been shewn in the Introduction to my edition that β and λ were closely akin, and preserved a purer tradition of G than WP syr₁, being free from the corruptions just noted as common to WP syr₁. Unfortunately no copy, and not even the smallest fragment, of the type of Greek text $\beta\lambda$ has yet been brought to light.

But T quite definitely belongs to the same group as WP syr₁, sharing in the corruptions just signalized. This means that WP T and syr₁ are all alike the progeny of a single vitiated ancestor, γ .

Nor is this all: within the group there is a special affinity between T and syr₁, which sometimes agree together in very striking readings against all the other authorities. The principal case occurs in ch. xl on Ephraim:

. WP B lat₁.

κατοικτειρήσας πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγροικίαν
διαφθειρομένην προσῆλθε τοῖς ἄδροῖς
ἐν ὕλῃ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Τίνος ἕνεκεν
οὐκ ἐλεᾷτε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην διαφθειρομένην φύσιν;

T syr₁.

κατοικτειρήσας τὴν ἀνθρώπειαν
διαφθειρομένην φύσιν, προσῆλθε τοῖς
πλουσίοις ἐν ὕλῃ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς·
Τίνος χάριν οὐ μιμείσθε τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν
φιλανθρωπίαν;

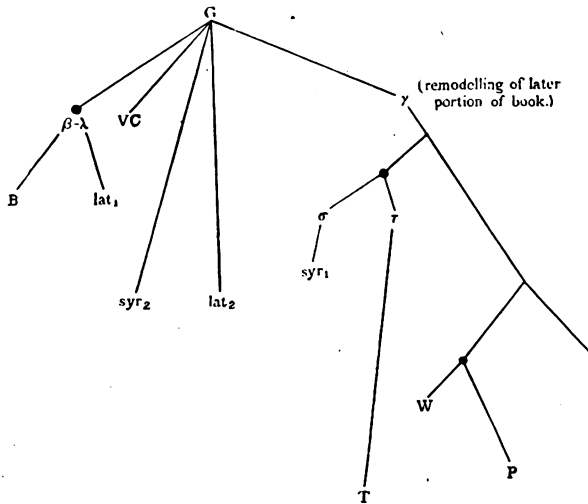
In this place Sozomen decisively supports WP B lat₁: κατεμέμφατο τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντας ὡς οὐ δέον ὑπερορῶντες τὸ ὁμόφυλον ἀπορίᾳ ἐπιτηδείων φθειρόμενον (iii 16). Thus the T syr₁ reading is proved to be an error that had crept into a common ancestor, one of the progeny of γ , but of the sixth century, for copies of syr₁ exist dating from that century. (For another case, see Introduction, p. lxii.)

The facts just recited call for a stemma somewhat as follows, as the pedigree of the principal sources for the text. (See next page.)

This stemma makes it clear at a glance that by no possibility can T be the original text from which have been derived G and B. I confidently challenge Reitzenstein to construct any tolerable pedigree embodying the priority of T.

Were the text of T even a homogeneous whole, a middle text from beginning to end, and bearing the same relation throughout to G and

¹ So also Bousset, in a review of Reitzenstein's book, in *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1917.



NOTE.— σ and τ are the lost Greek MSS from which were derived syr_1 and T. It is not pretended that the stemma covers all the textual facts; it covers the greater outstanding facts above recited. In cases of any considerable complexity it is not possible to construct a stemma to cover all the facts. VC are twin MSS preserving an independent G text in certain chapters.

to B, the theory of its being the original text might have had some *prima facie* verisimilitude. But it is not homogeneous. Throughout the greater portion of the book T presents a perfectly pure G text of the type of W and P (as in the first portion of Nathanael, above); in certain other portions (ch. xvii, xviii, lxvi, lxvii, lxviii) it presents what is practically a full B text¹: in these chapters I did not record its readings

¹ This may be illustrated from the opening words of ch. xvii on the two Macarii:

G	B	T
WP lat ₁ lat ₂ Syr ₁		Same as B except—
τὰ κατὰ τοὺς	τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους	δοιδίμους
δύο Μακαρίους,	καὶ ὑπὸν ἁγίων πατέρων Μακάριον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ Μ. τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα, τοὺς	
τοὺς	γενναίους ἄνδρας καὶ ἀκαταγωνίστους ἁθλητὰς τοῦ ἱναρέτου	om ἀκαταγωνίστους
δοιδίμους ἄνδρας,	βίον ἅθλα πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ μέγαρα, καὶ μικροῦ	om ἅθλα
πολλὰ καὶ μέγαρα	δεῖν δύσπιστα τοῖς ἀπίστοις, ὅκνῳ διηγήσασθαι καὶ γραφῇ παραδοῦναι, μή	ὅκνῳ . . . ἀπενέγκωμαι same as G
καὶ δύσπιστα ὄντα,	ποτε καὶ ψεύστων	
λέγειν καὶ γράφειν,	δύξαν ἀπενέγκωμαι	
μήποτε καὶ ψεύστων		
ὑπόληψιν ἀπενέγκωμαι		

in the apparatus; in other chapters again (viii, xiv, xv, xvi, xix, xxi, xxxvii, lxi, lxii), though the text is fundamentally G, yet B readings and enlargements are found in varying degrees.

My own interpretation of the phenomenon of the varying amount of B elements in T, was that the text of T was fundamentally a G text of the same type as WP, though in its pure state a better one than theirs; but that it has unfortunately undergone revision in varying degrees on a B MS. This hypothesis of contamination by B is no mere *deus ex machina*; it has been shown in the Introduction that every one of the principal Greek G texts exhibits signs, greater or less, of such infiltrations of B.

In some places in T the indications of the intrusion of material from B lie on the surface: had Reitzenstein written out in full the passage of T in Nathanael that he accepts as the true text παρατηρήσας ἑπτὰ ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκεψαμένων αὐτόν (Table, p. 25) he would have recognized that the bad grammar proclaims the patchwork (for another case see Introduction, p. xix).

It is of course impossible to consider all, or nearly all, the T readings defended by Reitzenstein; but a small number of them will be commented on.

(1) Both in *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* and in his recent book Reitzenstein singles out for special treatment the account of Sarapion Sindonita (ch. xxxvii). Sarapion had sold himself as a slave to some actors in order to convert them, and when he had effected their conversion they wished to free him, and desired that he should live with them; he on his side gave them back the purchase money, which they had originally paid for him, and desired to leave them and go and help others; they then told him to distribute the money to the poor, and to visit them at least once in each year: τότε λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Δὸς τὸ χρυσίον τοῖς πτωχοῖς, ἀρραβῶν γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονε σωτηρίας· ἀλλὰ κἀν δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμᾶς ὄρα (p. 110, l. 15).

This implies that Sarapion retained the money as they asked, in order to distribute it to the poor. Such is the text not only of W and P, but of a group of Greek G MSS, VC (independent of γ), and of lat₁ and syr₁. But after ὄρα T adds: ὁ δὲ φησιν· Ὑμεῖς δότε τὸ ὑμέτερον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀλλότρια χρήματα οὐ χαρίζομαι πένησιν.

On these words Reitzenstein says that I have so completely mistaken the primitive controversy on ἀκτημοσύνη, 'poverty', that it is necessary to sketch its outline; this he does in a note of a page and a half (p. 63). The burden is that the primitive idea of ἀκτημοσύνη was absolute poverty, to possess nothing, but that mitigations tended to come in. He concludes: 'He who cuts out the passage found only in T destroys a special feature of the story, which, being opposed to the later Church

theory, could easily have been suppressed but could hardly have been inserted.'

The statement here is not correct, that the piece in question is found only in T; it is also in B, after *σωτηρίας*. The fact that syr₁ (the earliest representative of γ) supports WP in the omission shews that the sentence was not in γ ; nor is it in lat₁, the best representative of $\beta\lambda$, the other principal branch of G; nor in VC, a subsidiary tradition of G independent of both $\beta\lambda$ and γ . Thus it would be impossible to have a stronger body of external evidence against the authenticity of the sentence, as any one versed in the methods of textual criticism will see by referring to the stemma (p. 28). Were this the only piece common to T and B alone, Reitzenstein's theory might claim consideration; but it is only one out of a hundred and more, found not only in this chapter but in various portions of the work. In the great majority of these cases no motive could with any show of reason be alleged for their suppression; and it would be fantastic to suggest that in all these cases the matter found only in T and B had been cut out in all the other types of text (WP, VC, and the versions) independently of each other. Reitzenstein's exegesis of the passage is thus shewn to be arbitrary and fanciful, the words in dispute being only one in the series of B additions incorporated in T.

(2) There are certain readings of T, really singular, defended by Reitzenstein. Let us test one of them. At the end of note 5, p. 196, he refers to p. 14, l. 17, as a place wherein T alone has preserved the original reading. The passage is near the end of the long introductory piece, and stands thus in my text:

ἵπὲρ δὲ θυρίδα φωτεινὴν μεταδίωκε ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ὁσίας
συντιχίας, ἵνα διὰ τούτων, καθάπερ λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον, δυνηθῆς σαφῶς
ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν σὴν καρδίαν, διὰ τῆς παραθέσεως τὴν ῥαθυμίαν ἢ τὴν ἀμέλειαν
δυνάμενος τὴν σὴν δοκιμάζειν.

B lat₁ καθάπερ λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον

WP καθάπερ λέγει τὸ γράφον βιβλίον

T καθάπερ λέγει τὸ γραφικὸν λόγιον.

This last is the reading that Reitzenstein believes to be original. I wonder did he consider the question, What 'Scriptural text' (for *γραφικὸν λόγιον* can mean nothing else) could be referred to? Further, did he consider by what process *λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον* could have originated out of *λέγει τὸ γραφικὸν λόγιον*? It is easy to see how the *λέγει τὸ γράφον* of WP could have come from *λεπτόγραφον*, and then how *τὸ γραφικὸν λόγιον* was a further 'correction', an attempt to patch up the meaningless and impossible reading of WP, the congeners of

T, which the scribe of T (or rather of its ancestor τ) found in his MS. But the reverse process—

T : WP : β lat₁

seems plainly impossible.

It will not be questioned that, in itself, τὸ γραφικὸν λόγιον is a simpler and more obvious idea than λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον; and so Reitzenstein seems to adopt, irrespective of all the considerations that would weigh with the textual critic, just the reading that appears to him to give the best meaning: though in this case I do not think it really does so.

When printing my edition I put λεπτόγραφον βιβλίον between †† as probably corrupt, and suggested λεπτογράφων βιβλίων. M. Lucot has adopted this; but I now see that no correction is needed. Mr Lowther Clarke translates the text as follows: 'Go near a bright window and seek encounters with holy men and women, in order that by their help you may be able to see clearly also your own heart as it were a closely-written book, being able by comparison to discern your own slackness or neglect': as at a window one is able to read a closely-written book, so will you be able to read your own heart in the light of the examples and sayings of holy men contained in this book.¹ The idea is artificial and the wording rhetorical, but not more so than much else in the book: in this Prologue and in other places the author shews himself something of a rhetorician. I conclude that the reading of T cannot be adopted.

(3) Let us take another example of such subjective critical methods. At p. 16, l. 5 occur the words διὰ τὴν δοθείσαν ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξουσίαν. Χριστοῦ is the reading of the three G MSS, WP and T alike, and of B.² It is also attested by both Latin versions. The two Syriac versions, however, have 'God'; and, apparently, just because he likes it better, Reitzenstein adopts this reading, writing τοῦ Θεοῦ in place of τοῦ Χριστοῦ (pp. 156, 157). Here, I cannot but think, the 'philologist' betrays himself. It may safely be said that no professional textual critic would venture to alter the text in face of the evidence. But philologists, especially when dealing with classical works, commonly have to edit texts from very scant materials, often from a single MS. In such cases conjectural emendation has to play a large part, and the editor's critical acumen is shewn in the choice of the best out of a number of proposed emendations. Such subjective methods have small place in ecclesiastical texts like the *Lausiac History*, for the

¹ Similarly the German translator. I do not think Mr Lowther Clarke's 'Go near a bright window' can be allowed to pass; rather, 'Better than a bright window'.

² Certain B MSS have variant Κερίον, but the support of lat₁ is proof that Χριστοῦ was certainly the correct reading of β and B.

editing of which there exist textual sources so copious as to be even embarrassing.

(4) In ch. xviii, on Macarius of Alexandria, is a series of four short passages found in the Greek offspring of γ , viz. WPT, also in lat_2 (and the closely allied Coptic, where extant), but absent from B, lat_1 , syr_1 (and syr_2 where extant). These passages I printed, not in the text, but underneath it as doubtful. Among them is the well-known conversation between Macarius and the hyena whose cub he had cured of blindness. Reitzenstein criticizes me for excluding this passage, which he regards as manifestly genuine.

My reasons were :

(1) In matter of structure and contents the union $\beta\lambda$, represented by B and lat_1 , is, as has already been seen, the highest authority.

(2) The Syriac version syr_1 being the earliest by five centuries of the extant offspring of γ , its omission of these pieces demonstrates that they did not stand in γ , but crept into its Greek representatives at some later date.

(3) Thus the passages do not belong either to $\beta\lambda$ or to γ , the two principal branches of G ; nor do they belong to syr_2 .

(4) They probably had their origin in the textual type represented by lat_2 and Coptic.¹ This was a type very inferior to the other two, and inferior also to syr_2 .

The phenomena seemed to be analogous to those of Hort's 'Western non-interpolations'. I could go on interminably, but I shall confine myself to one more instance.

(5) Reitzenstein says that the passage on p. 50, ll. 12-17, shews well the worth of T. I print it, not as in my text, but as in T :

ὥφθη αὐτῷ κόρη τις, ὡς διηγῆσται. καθαρὰν ὁθόνην φοροῦσα καὶ κατέχουσα βαυκάλιον ἕδατος στάζον· ἣν ἔλεγεν ἄποθεν αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἀπὸ σταδίου. καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς ὥδενσε βλέπων μὲν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ βουκαλίου ὡς ἐστῶσαν, καταλαβεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν μὴ δυνάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστι ἰδεῖν τῇ δὲ ἐλπίδι τοῦ πιεῖν ὑπομείνας ἡτόνει.

The only substantive difference from my text is the presence of the words *καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν*, found in T and B. The sentence has been a crux for the translators, ancient and modern alike. Reitzenstein says (p. 176, note) that evidently ('*offenbar*') the words *ὡς ἐπὶ . . . ἰδεῖν* have got out of their place and ought to come between *ἐστῶσαν* and *καταλαβεῖν*, thus restoring an intelligible meaning to the passage.

¹ The Coptic version is extant only in a few fragments. Its principal value is that it demonstrates, by its close relationship with lat_2 , that this latter is no mere Latin depravation of one of the other Greek texts, but represents a real Greek type of text independent of $\beta\lambda$ and γ alike.

This reconstruction depends on two things, (1) the authenticity of the words *καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν*, and (2) the displacement of the clause of which they form part. It does not seem to present any difficulty to Reitzenstein that the clause (whether with or without the words *καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν*) stands in its present place in all the Greek witnesses to the text, WP and T and B alike, and quite definitely in both Latin versions (the Syriac omit or alter the passage). Thus the hypothetical transposition would have to be placed at a point in the textual history prior to the formation of any one of the extant types of the text—prior to the point G in the stemma on p. 29.

As to the words *καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν*, they are found only in T and B. Reitzenstein's explanation is that having got out of their proper place they were left out as unintelligible by the scribe of P (he should have said, the scribe of the archetype of P and W). But such a scribe would surely not have allowed the still more unintelligible *ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων* to remain. Here once again the words of TB defended by Reitzenstein have no trace in either of the Latin or either of the Syriac versions. They are demonstrably no more than one of the series of B glosses taken over by the scribe of T. He says that I rejected the words as a gloss without considering whether they have any meaning. I wonder did he consider the meaning of his own reconstruction—whether girls robed in white linen could have been seen in the Christian Mysteries? they could be seen in Catholic processions in modern times, but hardly in the Liturgy of the fourth century.

I still hold that I was well advised in regarding the words *ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερέων* as of the nature of Hort's 'primitive errors', 'one affecting the texts of all existing documents, and thus incapable of being rectified without the aid of conjecture', and that the proper thing to do was to leave them as such between ††.¹

What has been said will, I hope, have made it clear that my refusal to take T as the most authentic source for the text was motivated by the deterioration it had undergone through infiltrations of the metaphrastic rewriting of the book which is found in B; not, as Reitzenstein suggests, by its having preserved 'the popular orthography of late Greek'. I do not know how he can have ascertained this feature of T. No eye but my own has examined this MS in

¹ In the apparatus the conjecture was offered that 'sicut somnians' of lat₂ suggests

ωσενιγεονειρων

as the possible source of

ωσενιτωνιερων

Lucot and Lowther Clarke adopt the suggestion; the German translator omits the clause, as did the Syrians; lat₁ boldly understands it of a sort of 'mirage'—'quod in curvatura celi videri ambulantiibus solet'—but what the Greek could be does not appear.

modern times, and none ever will, for it perished in the fire of 1903. So Reitzenstein can have no information concerning it, beyond that which I give in my volume. Nothing is there said of late Greek orthography, but examples are given of such readings as ἐμαρτυρίσαντο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇς ἀς ἔχων (ἐμερίσαντο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀκινήτοις ἀ ἔσχον); or καὶ ἀς for βίας. I do not conceive that these and such as these are instances of popular late Greek orthography. However, when the editor arises who thinks T ought to be the basis of the text, I shall be happy to place my notes at his disposal. I shall be surprised if he does not soon come to the conclusion that the project must be abandoned.

I do not think that Reitzenstein can have read with any care the 'Introduction on the Sources of the Text'. Had he done so, I believe his technical method in dealing with the textual problems would have been different. And yet in the Preface I had given the warning that 'no one will be in a position to pass judgement on the text here offered, who has not mastered the Introduction as a whole' (p. iv).

There are places in which T alone of the Greek MSS has preserved the true reading: this is possible under the stemma in cases where the others have all gone wrong in different ways. An instance occurs on p. 109, ll. 9, 10, where T has φύσις, WP προαίσεις, VC πρόθεσις, B ξίς, and syr₁ 'asceticism'; lat₁ supports T, 'natura': and so I adopted φύσις in my text. In 1906 Reitzenstein pronounced it 'wholly unintelligible' ('mir vollständig unverständlich'—*Hell. Wunder-erzählungen* p. 65, note), and adopted ξίς; but he now recognizes φύσις as the true reading (p. 62; I accept his correction that καί should be omitted in l. 9). Similarly I do not doubt that there are other singular readings of T that preserve the true text; the trouble is to be sure of them when they are not attested by a version.

To conclude: the whole series of definite B enlargements found in T is to be rejected in its entirety. But there are also a number of what may be called merely variant readings attested by T and B, and very probably many of these are genuine, especially in the portions of the book wherein T presents an unalloyed G text. In the Introduction (p. xcii) I explained the reasons which made me chary in accepting such TB readings: owing to the extensive contamination of T by B, though many of these TB variants must be right, each one is individually suspect.

My most serious critics at the time the text appeared, Professors Turner and Max Bonnet and Dr Preuschen,¹ were agreed that I relied too much on the Paris MS (P). I admit that this is a valid criticism, and had

¹ In *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1905; *Revue des Études anciennes*, 1904; *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1905.

I discovered the Wake MS (W) at an earlier stage I would have followed P much less confidently. The fact however remains that P is still the 'principal MS', being the only Greek MS that contains an unadulterated G text of the whole book.

Prof. Turner urged in particular that the series of β lat₁ readings ought to have been incorporated. Should a Greek MS of the $\beta\lambda$ type ever be forthcoming its claims would be strong to be made the basis of the text; but so far not even the smallest Greek fragment of this type of text is known to exist. The reasons for my decision not to attempt to incorporate the β lat₁ readings are set forth on p. lxxxiv of the Introduction, and need not be repeated: they seem to me still to be valid.

Were I to undertake now to re-edit the text, I would give less weight to P, and greater weight to the variants (strictly so called) of T, certainly when supported by any other witness to the text. The text would, no doubt, be improved in many places; but it would not be substantially altered: only the production of a Greek MS of type $\beta\lambda$ could call for substantial alterations.

I add a couple of notes on fresh textual material brought to light since 1904.

(1) A Greek MS in America had escaped my notice. It was presented to the Library Company of Philadelphia a century ago, and is now 'Ridgway, 1141 (Cent. xiv)'. It is fully described in *Proceedings of American Oriental Society*, May, 1886. I have obtained photographs of some pages, and they shew that the MS belongs to the great B class, and is therefore of small value for textual purposes.

(2) The fourth of the additional 'Homilies of Macarius', printed by Mr. G. L. Marriott from Bodleian Cod. Baroc. 213,¹ is made up of the long chapter xlvii of *Hist. Laus*. 'Chronius and Paphnutius'. That the piece is excerpted from *Hist. Laus*. is not in question (*J. T. S.* Oct. 1916 p. 68). It is a G text.

At the end, as if spoken by Paphnutius, occurs the difficult piece in ch. lviii p. 152, 10-15 (cf. Introduction, p. lxii), also in a G text. It is a welcome addition to the materials for establishing the text of one of the most puzzling passages in the book.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

¹ *Macarii Anecdota*, Harvard Theological Studies V (1918).

VARIANTS IN THE CONSONANTAL TEXT OF G. 1 IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL AND KINGS.

§ 1. 'The First Book of Psalms in Hebrew according to the text of G. 1', as transcribed by me, with Introduction and facsimile of a notable page, is now published by the Cambridge Press. As in that Introduction I have given a description of the manuscript, it must suffice here to say that it is a manuscript of the whole Hebrew Bible, finished at Avignon A. D. 1419, and that I hope eventually to demonstrate that it is of supreme importance as regards its consonantal text, vowels, accents, and Masoretic notes. It is Kennicott's Codex 425, and was (perfunctorily) examined for him by Paul Jacob Bruns. It is numbered 52 in Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, and 42 in his edition of the Hebrew Bible, published during the last few years by the British and Foreign Bible Society. As to the extent of its use by Kennicott and Ginsburg, see § 3. From Dr Ginsburg's possession it passed to that of Mr W. Aldis Wright, and was given by him in 1912 to Trinity College, Cambridge, where its shelf-mark is W.A.W. Heb. 111.2.

§ 2. The list of variants in § 9 comprises *all* variants other than 'full form for defective' and 'defective for full form', with the exception that in the cases of two proper names, *הדרעור*, and *נבכר נאצר*, all occurrences are not listed. One important 'full form for defective' (1 K. x 2) has been given. It may be of value to remark that if *all* variants in the consonantal text had been given for 1 Kings the number of variants would have been 100 against 51 in the published list, and for 2 Kings 141 against 73. In my own lists I am noting all variants, and at some distant date I hope to be able to publish all variants throughout the Bible as found in G. 1.

§ 3. In my own lists I have recorded *all* MSS of Kennicott, De Rossi, and Ginsburg supporting each variant, but in the list here published (§ 9) I have eliminated in the cases of common (i.e. largely supported) variants those MSS of Kennicott and De Rossi which are nowhere cited as supporting the rarer variants. Such a case may be seen in 1 Sam. ii 3.

For the accuracy of my own statements as to the variants in G. 1 itself I can vouch: but for the accuracy of the statements of Kennicott, De Rossi, and Ginsburg I cannot vouch, but, where possible, I have checked one by another among this trio. But a short inspection of the various lists of MSS cited, both for the common and the rarer variants, will enforce the conclusion that we have here very far from exhaustive evidence as to what number and what kind of MSS actually do support any particular variant. Startling evidence to the same effect comes from the fact that G. 1 (Kenn. 425) is cited by Kennicott only twice among all the variants now published by me in the whole of Samuel-Kings, viz. 2 Sam. xxii 29 **וַאֲתָה תִּחַיֵּר**, and 1 K. i 18 **וַאֲתָה** (both it will be noticed *common* variants); while among the variants not published it is cited once only, in the same verse in 2 Sam. **נָרִי**. And any scholar who examines Ginsburg's notes will find that many of the most important variants are not noted by him at all, while in not a few cases where the variant is given G. 1 is not cited.

The study of the existing MSS of the Hebrew Bible, with a view to discovering what their real evidence is as regards variants in the consonantal text, still remains untackled in any scientific fashion. Kennicott, De Rossi, and Ginsburg have indeed pointed a way towards such study: and the not inconsiderable labour spent upon this paper will have been rewarded, if it shall have the effect of stirring up a few scholars to the work of digging in this strangely-neglected field.

§ 4. In § 6 I have carefully listed and located the Hebrew MSS cited by me—partly in the selfish hope that other scholars may be drawn in to help me by examining some of the MSS and sending me results where these touch on G. 1's variants—partly with the desire to be of some general service in reopening the whole question, 'What *is* the evidence of the Hebrew MSS?' And my listing of Greek MSS in § 7 has the same two objects in view. For the study of the Hebrew MSS and the study of the Greek MSS should be mutually complementary: and it is my own belief that in many important Greek variants Hebrew is much more *nearly* behind the Greek than is now commonly supposed.

§ 5. WORKS OF REFERENCE CITED IN THE TWO FOLLOWING
SECTIONS, WITH THE ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

- Angelo di Capua in *Cataloghi dei Codici Orientali di alcune Biblioteche d'Italia*, Florence, 1878.
- Assem. *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum MSS Catalogus*, by the Brothers Assemani, Rome, 1756.
- Biscioni, A. M. *Hebraicae Florentinae Catalogus*.
- Bramb. *Die Handschriften . . . in Karlsruhe*, ed. W. Brambach, 1891.
- Br. McL. '*The Old Testament in Greek—Volume I The Octateuch*', ed. A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, Cambridge, 1917.
- Coxe. *Catalogus Codicum MSS . . . in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus*, by H. O. Coxe, 1852.
- De Rossi. *Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, ed. J. Bern. De Rossi, Parma, 1784-7, 4 vols. (and supplement, *Studia Critica*, 1798).
- G. Margoliouth. *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Parts I-III, 1899-1915.
- Gi. C. D. Ginsburg. *Introduction to the . . . Hebrew Bible*, 1897. The numbers in brackets refer to the numbering in this, without brackets to *Prophetæ Priores* (B. and F. Bible Soc.), 1911.
- Hohl. [M. H. Hohlenberg]. *Codices Hebraici et Arabici Bibl. Reg. Hafniensis*, 1851.
- HoP. *Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, ed. R. Holmes and J. Parsons, Oxford, 1798-1827.
- Kenn. *Dissertatio Generalis*, by Benjamin Kennicott, Oxford, 1780, at the end of his second volume of *Vetus Testam. Hebr.* (N.B. In one British Museum copy it is bound up at the beginning of vol. i.)
- Lagarde. *Symmicta*, Goettingen, 1877 (for the Erfurt MSS).
- M. R. J. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in . . . Gonville and Caius College*, 2 vols., 1907-8, and . . . in . . . *St. John's College, Cambridge*, 1913, by M. R. James.
- Modona, Leonello, in the same Catalogues as cited under Ang. di Capua.
- Mucciulus, J. M. *Catal. Bibliothecae Malatestae*, 1780-84.
- Neub. *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, by Ad. Neubauer, 1886, and vol. 2, by the same and A. Cowley, 1906. Corrections of the references given in first vol. are marked (x).
- Peyron. *Codices Hebraici Manu Exarati Reg. Bibliothecae*. B. Peyron, Turin, 1880.
- Rahlfs. *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, für das Septuaginta-Unternehmen*, by Alfred Rahlfs.
- Sch. Sz. *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts . . . in the University Library*, by S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, vol. i (and only), 1876.
- Stein. *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 2 vols., 1878, 1897, by M. Steinschneider; also his Catalogue of the Hamburg MSS, 1878.
- Zot. [Zotenberg]. *Catalogue des Manuscrits hébr. et sam. de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, 1866. (There is a useful Supplement by Steinschneider in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vi, 1902.)

§ 6. HEBREW MSS CITED BY ME.

(1) *MSS cited by Kennicott.*

Kenn.	Place.	Shelf-mark.	Contents.	References.
1	Oxford, Bodleian	Digby Or. 32, 33 (x)	Bible	Neub. 14, 15
2	Oxford, Bodleian	Selden A 47 (x)	Pent. Hapht.	Neub. 1
3	Oxford, Bodleian	Pococke 347, 348	Bible	Neub. 8, 9
4	Oxford, Bodleian	Huntington 11, 12	Bible	Neub. 16, 17
18	Oxford, Bodleian	Marshall (Or.) 1 (x)	Pent. Meg. Hapht. Job	Neub. 19
19	Oxford, Bodleian	Pococke 30	Pent. Meg. Hapht. &c.	Neub. 32
21	Oxford, Bodleian	Marsh 607 (x)	Judges Kings	Neub. 84
23	Oxford, Bodleian	Marshall (Or.) 3 (x)	Prophets	Neub. 76
30	Oxford, Bodleian	Tanner (Or.) 173 (x)	Proph. Hag.	Neub. 72
56	Oxford, Bodleian	Selden superius 106 (x)	Eccl. Esth. some Hapht.	Neub. 130
60	Oxford, Bodleian	Huntington 617	Hapht. (<i>Roll</i>)	Neub. 67
70	Oxford, Corp. Chr. Coll.	7	Former Proph.	Coxe VII
(Note that the description under Neub. 2435 is wrong.)				
80	Oxford, Oriel Coll.	73	Pent. Hapht. &c.	Neub. 2437
82	Oxford, Bodleian	Kennicott 2	Bible	Neub. 2323 (x)
84	Oxford, Bodleian	Kennicott 10 (x)	Bible	Neub. 2324
85	Oxford, Bodleian	Kennicott 5	Former Proph.	Neub. 2329
89	Cambridge, Univ. Libr.	M m. 5. 27	Bible	Sch. Sz. 12
90	Cambridge, Univ. Libr.	E e. 5. 8	Former Proph.	Sch. Sz. 21
93	Cambridge, Gonville & Caius Coll.	404	Proph. Hag.	M. R. J. p. 471
96	Cambridge, St. John's Coll.	A 2	Proph.	M. R. J. p. 2
99	London, Brit. Mus.	King's 1	Bible	G. Marg. 56 Gi. (9) 36
100	London, Brit. Mus.	Harley 1528	Bible	G. Marg. 57 Gi. (3) 22
101	London, Brit. Mus.	Harley 5498 a, b, c, d	Bible	G. Marg. 59
102	London, Brit. Mus.	Harley 5710, 5711	Bible	G. Marg. 54 Gi. (4) 13
108	London, Brit. Mus.	Harley 7621	Pent. Hapht. Meg.	G. Marg. 234
112	London, Brit. Mus.	Harley 5722	Proph.	G. Marg. 126 Gi. 69
113	London, Brit. Mus.	Harley 5774	Proph.	G. Marg. 121 Gi. (6) 37
114	London, Brit. Mus.	Harley 5720	Proph.	G. Marg. 123 Gi. (5) 4
115	London, Brit. Mus.	Harley 5721	Kings-Mic.	G. Marg. 132 Gi. 66
128	(London)	<i>biblioth. Societ. Reg.</i> 1	Bible	Kenn.)
This MS (inaccurately described) was listed as No. xxvii in the <i>Catalogue of the Misc. MSS . . . of the Royal Society</i> , ed. J. O. Halliwell, Lond. 1840. It has since disappeared.				
129	London, Brit. Mus.	Arundel Or. 2	Pent. Hapht. Meg.	G. Marg. 68 Gi. (7) 12
130	London, Brit. Mus.	Arundel Or. 16	Proph. Hag.	G. Marg. 118 Gi. (8) 5
136	Oxford, Bodleian	Kennicott 3	Pent. Meg. Hapht.	Neub. 2325
139	Aberdeen, University	D ² . 5. 41	Bible	Cat. (1873) vol. 2, p. 801
144	(New York)	<i>penes D. Sampson Simson</i>	Bible	Kenn.)
145	(Strassburg)	<i>biblioth. Pub.</i>	Proph. Hag.	Kenn.)
150	Berlin	MS Or. Fol. 1-4	Bible	Stein. Berlin 1
151	(St. Blase, Saxony)	<i>biblioth. Monasterii S. Blasii</i>	Pent. Meg. Hapht.	Kenn.)
153	(Butzow)	<i>penes Clar. O. G. Tychem</i>	<i>Commentarius in Biblia</i>	Kenn.)
			<i>Rashiamus</i>	
154	Karlsruhe	Reuchlin 2	Proph.	Bramb. 2. Gi. 3

Kenn.	Place.	Shelf-mark.	Contents.	References.
155	Karlsruhe	Reuchlin 1	Bible	Bramb. 1
158	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	Supplément 5	Bible	Zot. 1, 2, 3 Gi. (58) 10
160	Berlin	MS Or. Fol. 1210, 1211	Bible	Stein. Berlin 125 Gi. 30
(Note that Gi. wrongly calls this MS <i>Berlin 1</i> . It is Lagarde's A.)				
168	Florence, Bibl. Laurent.	Plut. 1 par. alt. Cod 30	Bible	Biscioni, p. 70
172	Copenhagen	2 in 4°	Bible	Hohl. V
173	Copenhagen	1 in 4°	Bible	Hohl. I
174	Copenhagen	9 in 4°	Former Proph.	Hohl. XVII
175	Copenhagen	2, 3 in fol.	Bible	Hohl. III, IV
176	Copenhagen	3 in 4°	Bible	Hohl. VI
177	Copenhagen	5 in fol.	Pent. Hapht. Meg.	Hohl. XI
178	Copenhagen	1 in fol.	Bible	Hohl. II
180	Hamburg	27, 28	Proph. Hag.	Stein. Hamb. 16
182	(Jena)	<i>bib. Acad. fol.</i>	Proph.	Kenn.)
187	(Milan)	<i>bib. Ambros. fol. B. 56</i>	Former Proph. Meg. Jer. Isai.	Kenn.)
195	(Milan)	<i>bib. Ambros. 8°</i>	Proph.	Kenn.)
196	(Milan)	<i>bib. Ambros. fol. E. 86</i>	Pent. Meg. Hapht. Job, &c.	Kenn.)
198	(Nuremberg)	<i>bib. Pub.</i>	Bible	Kenn.)
201	(Nuremberg)	<i>fol. bib. Ebner 2</i>	Proph. Hag.	Kenn.)
210	Paris	Ancien Fonds 29	Bible	Zot. 32
224	(Königsberg)	<i>bib. Reg. fol.</i>	Proph. Hag.	Kenn.)
227	Rome, Vatican	[Vat. Pal. 9]	Bible	Assem. p. 9]
228	Rome, Vatican	[Vat. Urbini. 1]	Bible	Assem. p. 409]
240	Rome, Bibl. Angel.	A. 1, 2	Former Proph. Hag.	Ang. di Cap. 1
242	(Rome)	<i>bib. Maronit. fol.</i>	Bible	Kenn.)
244	(Rotterdam)	<i>pencs Cl. Meerman</i>	Pent. Meg. Hapht.	Kenn.)
246	Turin	A I 3, 4	Proph. Hag.	Peyron III
249	Turin	A IV 29	Bible	Peyron CXI
250	Turin	A IV 3	Proph. Hag. (-Meg.)	Peyron LXXXV
251	Turin	A III 26	Bible	Peyron LXXXV
253	(Zurich)	<i>dono datus a Duce Rohan 12°</i>	Bible	Kenn.)
307	Paris	Ancien Fonds 14	Proph.	Zot. 87
325	Paris	Ancien Fonds 36, 37	Pent. Meg. Hapht.	Zot. 48, 49
366	Paris	St Germain 2	Proph.	Zot. 86
384	(Stuttgart)	<i>bib. Consist. fol.</i>	Pent. Meg. Hapht. Job	Kenn.)
409	Parma		Bible	De Rossi 752
425	Cambridge, Trin. Coll.	W.A.W. Heb. 11, 2	Bible	Gi. (52) 42. G. 1
524	Parma		Proph.	De Rossi 305
526	Bologna		Proph.	Modona 6B
536	Cesena	<i>bib. Malatest. Plut. 29 Cod. 1</i>	Pent. Hapht. Meg.	Mucciolus, vol. 2, p. 188
570	Parma		Bible	De Rossi 579
572	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 15, 251	Bible	G. Marg. 61 Gi. (22) 43
580	Parma		Former Proph.	De Rossi 701
583	Parma		Pent. Former Proph.	De Rossi 716
601	Berlin	MS Or. Fol. 1212	Bible	Stein. Berl. 126 (Lag. B)
602	Berlin	MS Or. Fol. 1213	Bible	Stein. Berl. 127 (Lag. C)
607	Berlin	MS Or. Fol. 5, 6, 7	Bible	Stein. Berl. 2
632	Hamburg	22	Proph.	Stein. Hamb. 11
680	Oxford, Bodleian	Marshall (Or.) 42 (x)	Festival Prayers, &c.	Neub. 1044 (x)

(2) *De Rossi's MSS—all at Parma.*

1, 2, 4, 13, 16, 20, 187, 191, 196, 211, 226, 228, 233, 248, 265, 295, 335, 341, 346, 380, 405, 420, 440, 443, 486, 502, 543, 545, 562, 575, 576, 594, 596, 604, 614, 627, 656, 663, 674, 679, 688, 700, 737, 850, 851, 868.

(*De Rossi—Codices Exteri.* A few have been occasionally cited by me, with his numbering.)

(3) *MSS cited by Ginsburg.*

(Intr.)	(B. & F. B. S.)	Place.	Shelf-mark.	Contents.	References.
(28)	7	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 21161	Proph. Hag.	G. Marg. 116
(15)	9	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 9403	Pent. Hapht. and var.	G. Marg. 73
(25)	11	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 15451	Bible	G. Marg. 55
(37)	14	London, Brit. Mus.	Or. 2201	Bible	G. Marg. 52
(13)	16	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 9400	Pent. Meg. Hapht.	G. Marg. 71
(21)	17	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 15250	Bible	G. Marg. 53
(14)	19	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 9401, 9402	Pent. Meg. Hapht. Hag.	G. Marg. 70
(20)	21	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 14760	Proph.	G. Marg. 124
(50)	24	London, Brit. Mus.	Or. 4227	Bible	G. Marg. 58
(36)	26	London, Brit. Mus.	Or. 2091	Proph. Hag.	G. Marg. 117
(11)	27	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 9398	Proph. Hag.	G. Marg. 119
(49)	31	London, Brit. Mus.	Or. 2696	Pent. Meg. Hapht.	G. Marg. 179
(16)	32	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 9404	Pent. Meg. Hapht.	G. Marg. 81
(18)	33	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 9407	Pent. Hapht.	G. Marg. 172
(23)	34	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 15252	Bible	G. Marg. 60
(26)	38	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 19776	Pent. Meg. Hapht.	G. Marg. 80
(53)	40	Cambridge, Trin. Coll.	W.A.W. Heb. 12	Bible	(G. 2)
(55)	41	Cambridge, Trin. Coll.	W.A.W. Heb. 14	Pent. Meg. Hapht. Job	(G. 4)
(46)	44	London, Brit. Mus.	Or. 2370	Former Proph.	G. Marg. 127
(38)	46	London, Brit. Mus.	Or. 2210	Former Proph.	G. Marg. 128
(54)	49	Cambridge, Trin. Coll.	W.A.W. Heb. 13	Pent. Proph.	(G. 3)
(48)	52	London, Brit. Mus.	Or. 2626-2628	Bible	G. Marg. 62
	58	Cambridge, Trin. Coll.	W.A.W. Heb. 21	Bible	(W.)
(45)	59	London, Brit. Mus.	Or. 2369	Former Proph.	G. Marg. 129
	60	London, Brit. Mus.	Or. 2371	Former Proph.	G. Marg. 131
	62	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 15283	Pent. Hapht. Meg.	G. Marg. 84
	67	London, Brit. Mus.	Add. 11657	Proph.	G. Marg. 125

There is no double numbering in my lists—Kennicott's numbers, where such exist, are always used, with the single exception of G. 1 itself (Kennicott's 425).

§ 7. MSS OF LXX UNDER HOLMES AND PARSONS'S NUMBERS,

HoP.	Br. McL.	Place.	Class-mark.	Century (Rahlfs).
II	B	Rome, Vatican	Vat. gr. 1209	(IV)
III	A	London, Brit. Mus.	Royal I D v-viii	(V)
X	M	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	Coislin 1	(VII)
XI	N	Rome, Vatican	Vat. gr. 2106	(VIII)
19	b'	Rome, Chigi	R VI 38	(XII)
29	b ₂	Venice, St. Mark's	Gr. 2	(X/XI)
44	d	Zittau	A. 1	(XV)
52	e	Florence, Bibl. Laur.	Acquisti 44	(XIV)
56	i	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	Gr. 3	A. D. 1093
71		Paris, Bibl. Nat.	Gr. 1	(XIII)
74		Florence, Bibl. Laur.	S. Marco 700	(XIII)
82	o	Paris, Bibl. Nat.	Coislin 3	(XII)
93	e ₂	London, Brit. Mus.	Royal I D. ii	(XIII)
108	b	Rome, Vatican	Vat. gr. 330	(XIII)
120	q	Venice, St. Mark's	Gr. 4	(XI)
121	y	Venice, St. Mark's	Gr. 3	(X)
123		<i>lost</i>	[Dorothei V]	
134	t	Florence, Bibl. Laur.	Plut. V 1	(XI)
144	s	Vienna, Imper. Libr.	Theol. gr. 23	(XII/XIII)
158		Basle, Univ.-Bibl.	B VI 22	(XIII)
236		Rome, Vatican	Vat. gr. 331	(XI)
242		Vienna, Imper. Libr.	Theol. gr. 135	(XIV)
244		Rome, Vatican	Vat. gr. 333	(XI)
245		Rome, Vatican	Vat. gr. 334	(XII)
246		Rome, Vatican	Vat. gr. 1238	A. D. 1195
247		Rome, Vatican	Urb. gr. 1	(X)

§ 8. In the following section the readings of the *Modern Text* cited are those of Kittel's edition (1905). The listing of Kennicott's Heb. MSS is based on the lists in his *Vetus Test. Hebr.* (§ 5), amplified and corrected with the help of De Rossi's *Variae Lectiones* and Ginsburg's *Prophetæ Priores*, 1911 (*ib.*), while the numbers of De Rossi and Ginsburg are cited from their own works. MSS of LXX are numbered and cited from HoP (*ib.*), but have been checked where possible by the help of Swete's *Septuagint*. I have myself collated the Vulgate, using Sabatier and Tischendorf, and the Targum (less carefully), using the early Polyglotts and Lagarde. For the Syriac and Arabic Versions I have relied on my Authorities.

CITED BY ME IN COLLATION SAM.-KINGS (1-4 KINGDOMS).

Contents for K.	Lacunae in K. (Rahlfs).	HoP.
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	II
... 1-4 K. ...	1 K. xii 17-xiv 9	III
... 1-3 K. (ends 3 K. viii 40)	1 K. iv 19-x 19: xiv 26-xxv 33	X
... 1-4 K. ...	3 K. viii 8-xi 16	XI
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	19
... 1, 2 K. ...	3, 4 K.	29
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	44
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	52
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	56
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	71
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	74
... 1-4 K.	_____	82
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	93
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	108
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	120
... 1-4 K. ...	4 K. ix 20-x 14	121
1-4 K.	_____	123
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	134
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	144
1-4 K. ...	1 K. xiii 9-xiv 43	158
... 1-4 K. (Cat.) ...	_____	236
... 1-4 K. (Cat.) (ends 4 K. xxv 7)	1 K. iii 1-iv 10: 2 K. xii 10-31	242
1-4 K.	1 K. x 9-xi 2: xvi 20-xvii 10: xxix 5-xxxix 6: 2 K. xi 3-21	244
1-4 K. ...	_____	245
... 1-4 K. ...	_____	246
1-4 K. (ends 4 K. xxv 27)	4 K. xx 2-21	247

Works consulted, and abbreviations used in § 9 are:

- Aug. *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De Civitate Dei*, ed. Emanuel Hoffmann, Vienna, 1899, 2 vols. (Vol. xl of *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*)
- Greg. Magn. Gregorius Magnus as cited by Vercellone.
- Lucif. Calar. *Luciferi Calaritani Opuscula*, ed. G. Hartel, Vienna, 1886 (vol. xiv of *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*).
- Sabat. *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica*, ed. D. P. Sabatier, Paris, 1751. 3 vols. in 6. Kings i-iv are in the second part of vol. i, bound as vol. ii.
- Verc. *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum*, ed. C. Vercellone, Rome, 1860-64.

§ 9. PRINCIPAL VARIANTS IN THE CONSONANTAL TEXT OF G. I, SAM.-KINGS.

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. I.	Versions.
i Sam. i 3	שני Kenn. 80, 151, 680.	om.	
4	ובנותיה Kenn. 70.	om.	II
15	אשה Kenn. 56, 136, 384, De Rossi 443, 543.	כי אשה	[Arm. HoP.] Vulg.
23	שבי	om.	
ii 1	ביהוה De Rossi 211.	באלהי ביהוה	
3	ולא Kenn. 1, 4, 18, 19, 56, 60, 85, 85, 93, 96, 108, 125, 136, 150, 153, 172, 174, 177, 196, 244, 246, 249, 251, 253, 384, 580, 583+sixteen MSS. De Rossi 1 (in Hapht.), 2, 16, 191, 226, 233, 440, 443, 486, 502, 543, 594, 627, 663, 674, 688, 700, 850, 851+seventeen MSS. Gi. 9, 33, 38, 67.	ולו	Vulg.
21	עם יהוה Kenn. 30, 85, 114, 130, 240, 246.	את יהוה	
30	לי	om.	X, 52, 123, 158, 236, 244, 245. [Aug. <i>De Civit. Dei</i> , lib. 17, ch. 5 vol. ii p. 220 ll. 26, 27.]
34	ופינחם Kenn. 249.	ואל פינחם	
iii 5	לא קראתי Kenn. 30.	לא קראתי בני	[te fili mi : Greg. Magn. et Arabs. Verc.]
9	יהוה Kenn. 85.	om.	II
21	אל שמואל	בשלו אל שמואל	
iv 6	וידעו	ויאמרו וידעו	
16	היום	om.	
vi 7	עלה Kenn. 1, 178.	om.	
viii 1	באשר Kenn. 145, 246, 251, 580. De Rossi 604.	כי	

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. i.	Versions.
i Sam.			
viii 8	גם	om.	
	Kenn. 70.		
20	את	om.	
ix 3	אבי שאול	אבי שלו שאול	[αυτου 19, 44, 247]
x 18	את ישראל	אתכם	
	Kenn. 4, 228, 246, 249.	De Rossi 2, 211	
24	יהוה	om.	
xii 12	מלך (10)	om.	[Αμυνιτης Arm. HoP.]
xiii 8	ולא	ולב	
14	לו	om.	
	Kenn. 30.		
xiv 29	יונתן	om.	[και εγενω Ιωναθαν και ειπεν II]
32	העם	עם	
38	שאול	om.	
xv 2	צבאות	om.	[Vulg. Cod. D. Verc.]
xvi 10	לא בחר יהוה באלה	לא באלה בחר יהוה	
xvii 40	אשר לו	om.	
xviii 11	אבה	om.	
20	בת שאול	בת דוד שאול	
23	שאול	המלך שאול	
xix 5	לכל ישראל	בישראל	[Lucif. Calar. p 89 l. 4]
xx 6	שם	om.	[Slav. Ostrog. HoP.]
xxi 5, 6	ויאמרו . . . הכהן	om.	
xxii 11	את	אל	
	Kenn. 93.		
20	אביתר	אביתר הכהן	
xxiii 14	במדבר (10)	om.	
	Kenn. 128, 150.		
xxiv 4 (3)	שאול	את שאול	
5 (4)	איבך	איבך	
	Kenn. 2, 30, 82, 89, 113, 128, 144, 150, 155, 158, 168, 178, 182, 195, 210, 224, 240, 251, 253 + two MSS.	Gi. 14, 24, 25, 26, 34, 49.	
12 (11)	כי בכרתי את כנף מעילך	om.	29, 44, 246
	Kenn. 30, 112.		
15 (14)	אתה	om.	[om. σ 2° III]

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. i.	Versions.
1 Sam.			
xxvi 16	ואת	ואי	Vulg.
	Kenn. 250.		
xxviii 13	ראיתי	om.	
xxix 4	ולא . . . במלחמה (5 words)	om.	
	Kenn. 240.		
8	עד	ועד II	
	Kenn. 227.		
9	אלהים	האלהים	
	Kenn. 30, 82, 89, 93, 96, 150, 182, 224.		
xxx 24	הורר	הירר II Vulg.	
	Kenn. 1, 2, 23, 30, 89, 90, 99, 113, 128, 130, 154, 168, 172, 175, 176, 182, 195, 198, 201, 210, 224, 227, 246, 602 + nine MSS. Gi. (incl. הורר) 7, 11, 14, 21, 24, 25, 26, 34, 40, 49, 52, 58.		
xxxi 4	אבה	om.	
6	גם	וגם Vulg. Syr.	
	Kenn. 23, 30, 70, 89, 93, 96, 112, 150, 154, 187, 198, 201, 224, 253, 570, 580, 583. De Rossi 2, 20, 191, 380, 440, 596, 604, 663. Gi. 7, 21, 24, 27.		
2 Sam. i 1	העמלק	העמלקי	
	Kenn. 112, 174. De Rossi 295, 545, 575, 596. Gi. 34, 58.		
	וישב	ורוד וישב	
10	עליו	עלי	
	אל אדני	אל אדני אליך	[ad te dominum meum huc. Vulg.]
21, 22	כֹּהֵן (20) נְבוֹרִים (9 words)	om.	
ii 2	הירעלית	הירעלית	
8	שר	om.	
9	האשורי	הנשורי Vulg. Syr.	
10	שנים	om.	
21	לך (10)	om. Vulg.	
25	ויהיו	ויהי XI	
iii 20	לאבנר	om.	
26	הסרה	הסידה	
iv 12	ויקצו	ויקצו	
vi 3	בנבעה	בנבעה עם ארון האלהי	
vii 18	אדני יהוה	יהוה אדני	
	Kenn. 99.		

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. 1.	Versions.
2 Sam.			
vii 19	עוד זאת	זאת עוד	
20	דוד	om.	44
	[Cf. Gi. 40 דוד 40]		
viii 3	הדרעור	הדר עור	one word II
	Kenn. 30. Gi. 11.		
5	להדרעור	להדר עור	one word II
	Kenn. 30, 89, 113. Gi. 27.		
7	הדרעור	הדרעור II	
	Kenn. 1, 2, 3, 84, 85, 90, 93, 112, 113, 128, 172, 174, 176, 210, 246, 249, 250, 524, 570, 572. De Rossi 2, 4, 13, 20, 187, 191, 196, 226, 335, 341, 346, 380, 575, 596, 604, 627, 663, 679, 688 + thirteen MSS. Gi. 14, 26, 40, 67.		
ix 11	אדני	om.	
	כאחד	תמיד כאחד	[semper panem, added by second hand in MS. Corb. n. 3. Note by Sab.]
x 6	וישכרו	וישכרו אנשים	
xi 10	מדוע	ומדוע	19, 82, 93, 108, 247
	Kenn. 30, 70, 150, 182, 187, 201, 250, 524. 341, 380, 679.		De Rossi 20, 191, 211,
11	חנים	om.	
	Kenn. 30.		
25	את	om.	
	Kenn. 90, 154. De Rossi 2, 13, 545.		
xiii 7	אל	את	
	Kenn. 84.		
31	נעבים	om.	
	Kenn. 168.		
xiv 17	יהי	יהיה	II Vulg.
	Kenn. 30, 70, 93.		
20	את פני	om.	
27	אשה	om.	Vulg.
	Kenn. 89.		
xv 31	ויאמר דוד	om.	
xvi 17	ויאמר	ויאמר חושי אל	
xvii 1	אל אבשלום	om.	

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. I.	Versions.
2 Sam.			
xvii 9	נחבא	om.	
27	מלא דבר	מלו דבר	
	Kenn. 2, 3, 23, 30, 70, 84, 85, 93, 96, 101, 155, 158, 160, 172, 175, 176, 182, 201, 210, 242, 249, 250, 253 + four MSS.		
xviii 1	את העם	והעם	[Igitur considerato David populo suo. Vulg.]
2	אחי יואב	אחי דוד יואב	
31	היום	om.	29, 44
xix 11	למה	om.	
17	עם	עד	
	לקראת	אשר לקראת	
18	עמו מבנימן	מבנימן עמו	[μετ αυτου 1 ^o om. 56]
27	את המלך	אל המלך	
	Kenn. 1, 82, 89, 100, 101, 112, 113, 114, 139, 145, 154, 155, 158, 168, 174, 176, 178, 201, 224, 227, 253, 524, 570, 580, 583 + three MSS. De Rossi 1, 2, 20, 187, 191, 196, 211, 226, 295, 335, 341, 346, 380, 440, 545, 576, 596, 604, 627, 679, 688 + eleven MSS. Gi. 7, 11, 14, 17, 27, 40, 49, 58.		
29	אם	om.	[om. σι 44, 71, 74, 93, 108, 245]
	Kenn. 158.		
xxi 2	להכתם	להכתם בהכת	
18	המלחמה	מלחמה	II
	Kenn. 60.		
	בגב	בנוב	
	Kenn. 4, 30, 70, 85, 89, 96, 100, 113, 114, 150, 210, 224, 249, 250, 253, 572. Gi. 11, 14, 27, 52.		
19	בנוב	בנוב	
	Kenn. 30, 70, 85, 96, 100, 150, 160, 210, 224, 240, 250, 572, 601. Gi. 11, 14, 52.		
xxii 26	עם (2 ^o)	ועם	II Vulg. Syr.
	Kenn. 30, 108, 174. De Rossi 4, 20, 233, 405, 420, 502, 700, 850. Gi. 9, 24, 31, 38, 40.		
29	אתה	אתה תאיר	X, XI, 19, 29, 52, 56, 71, 74, 82, 93, 108, 120, 121, 123, 134, 144, 158, 226, 244, 246 (?) + seven MSS (και λυχνον μου φωτισει 44) Syr.
	Kenn. 1, 18, 93, 250, 526, 536, 570, 607, 632. De Rossi 196, 486, 543, 545, 614, 674, 868. De Rossi exter. 123.		

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. 1.	Versions.
2 Sam. xxii 34	רנליו	רנלי	II Vulg.
	Kenn. 1, 2, 4, 18, 23, 56, 60, 82, 93, 96, 108, 112, 113, 114, 128, 150, 154, 172, 174, 176, 182, 187, 195, 196, 210, 224, 227, 242, 246, 249, 250, 251, 253, 294 + fourteen MSS. Gi. 19, 21, 24, 29, 31, 32, 33, 38, 41, 49, 58, 62.		
44 xxiii 34	עם לא (20) בן	עם אשר לא om.	[Compl.]
	See H. P. Smith's and Kittel's notes.		
xxiv 12	כה	לאמר כה	II
	Kenn. 113.		
16	האורנה	הארונה	
	Kenn. 1, 2, 30, 93, 96, 112, 158, 168, 172, 174, 176, 227, 240, 246, 249, 250, 251, 253 + one MS. Gi. 34, 67.		
18	הקם	והקם	II Vulg.
	Kenn. 99, 113, 150, 172.		
1 K. i 17	ארני	ארני המלך	III, XI, 44, 52, 56, 71, 74, 82, 93, 120, 121, 123, 134, 144, 158, 236, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247 + seven MSS. [6 MSS Vulg. Verc.] Syr.
	Kenn. 30, 80, 129, 174, 196, 244, 307, 325, 366, 580. De Rossi 16, 20, 187, 248, 265, 562, 594, 596, 656, 851. Gi. 9, 19, 52.		
18	ועתה (20)	ואתה	II Vulg. Syr. Targ.
	Kenn. 2, 18, 19, 23, 56, 85, 90, 93, 96, 100, 102, 108, 112, 114, 128, 129, 130, 136, 150, 151, 154, 158, 172, 174, 175, 176, 182, 187, 195, 198, 201, 210, 224, 228, 244, 246, 249, 250, 251, 253, 307, 325, 366, 384, 409, 524, 526, 570, 580, 601, 602, 632 + one hundred and forty-two MSS. De Rossi 1, 2, 13, 16, 20, 187, 196, 211, 226, 233, 248, 265, 295, 335, 341, 346, 380, 440, 443, 543, 562, 575, 594, 596, 614, 627, 656, 663, 674, 679, 688, 737, 850, 851, 868 + thirty-eight MSS. De Rossi exter. 1, 2, 29, 33, 40, 41, 42, 44, 50. Gi. 7, 9, 11, 16, 21, 24, 26, 31, 32, 33, 38, 40, 58, 67.		
25	ויאמרו	ויאמר	
27	עבדיך	עבדך	II Vulg. Syr. Targ.
	Kenn. 2, 3, 4, 18, 21, 23, 30, 56, 60, 70, 80, 82, 85, 89, 93, 96, 101, 108, 112, 114, 128, 129, 136, 145, 150, 151, 154, 155, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 182, 187, 195, 196, 198, 201, 210, 224, 240, 242, 244, 246, 249, 253, 384, 409 + twenty MSS. De Rossi (Spanish MSS only) 187, 295, 335, 341, 575, 679, 850, 851 + three MSS. Gi. 7, 9, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 40, 41, 46, 56, 58, 62.		

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. i.	Versions.
i K. i 34	צדוק	את צדוק	
41	הקריה	הקריאה	19, 82, 93, 108
47	אלהיך	יהוה אלהיך	[Kypios o Θεος 19]
52	אם יהיה	om.	
ii 8	והנה	והיה	Vulg.
15	פניהם	om.	(cf. Vulg.)
26	וכי	ונם	[Slav. Ostrog. HoP.]
			[καὶ 74, 120, 134, 144 et Vulg.]
32	פנע	om.	
46	את	om.	
iii 4	על המזבח	בבמה	
17	הזאת	om.	
	Kenn. 177.		
vi 7	כל כלי	כל כל	
15	עד	ועד	II Syr.
	Kenn. 2, 3, 70, 82, 85, 99, 101, 130, 145, 150, 155, 168, 198, 250.		
	De Rossi 4, 187, 295, 346, 576, 604, 627, 737.	Gi. 21.	
vii 18	סביב	om.	
29	כן	בין	[Several MSS Vulg. Verc.]
32	אמה	אחד אמה	242 [several MSS. Verc.]
51	המלאכה	המלכה	
viii 64	המלך וכל בני ישראל המלך		
ix 19	המסכנות	המסכנות בארץ	
x 2	ירושלמה	ירושלימה	
	Kenn. 2, 30, 93, 112, 113, 150, 154, 198, 250, 253, 409, 570 + four MSS.		
	De Rossi 20, 191, 335, 545, 575, 663, 679 + five MSS.	Gi. 14, 27, 34.	
xi 15	את אדום	באדום	Vulg. Targ.
	Kenn. 82, 85, 153.	De Rossi 380, 545, 688.	
23	הדרעור	הדרעור	Vulg.
	Kenn. 1, 4, 85, 93, 112, 113, 128, 145, 174, 176, 178, 210, 246, 249, 250, 570, 572, 580.	De Rossi 4, 20, 187, 191, 226, 335, 341, 346, 440, 545, 596, 604, 627, 663, 679, 688 + eleven MSS.	Gi. 26, 27 40, 58, 67.
xii 21	עשה	עשי	
	Kenn. 150.		

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. I.	Versions.
I K. xiii 17	לא חשוב	ולא חשוב	II Vulg. Syr.
	Kenn. 1, 2, 3, 4, 21, 23, 30, 85, 93, 96, 130, 145, 150, 154, 158, 168, 172, 173, 182, 195, 224, 253, 570, 572, 580, 601, 602 + three MSS. De Rossi 2, 4, 13, 20, 187, 191, 211, 440, 545, 663, 679, 688, 737 + three MSS. Gi. 7, 11, 21, 26, 27, 49, 52.		
26	כדבר	כדבר	
	Kenn. 174.		
xiv 6	את	אתה	
10	עצור	ועצור	Vulg.
	Kenn. 1, 23, 30, 70, 89, 93, 96, 101, 114, 145, 150, 154, 155, 174, 182, 187, 224, 240, 249, 253 + two MSS. Gi. 7, 11, 14, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 52, 58. (Gi.'s note needs correcting here.)		
xv 27	לביח	לבן	
xvi 13	ואשר החטיא	om.	(cf. LXX)
26	ישראל (20)	om.	71
29	ואחאב	אחאב	II
xvii 12	יש	om.	
xviii 12	והיה	ועתה	
19	מאות (10)	om.	
36	בישראל	לישראל	II Vulg.
	Kenn. 19, 151, 154, 602.		
xx 1	בה	אתה בה	[και επολεμησαν αυτην 19, 71, 82, 93, 108, 245]
14	מי	om.	
20	אישו	את אישו	
25	ויעש	ויעשו	
	Kenn. 1.		
31, 32	יחיה . . . שקים (5 words)	om.	
xxi 4	זעף	זעף	
9	בספרים	ספרים	(cf. Vulg.)
	Kenn. 4.		
11	עירו	om.	
xxii 4	ויאמר (20) . . . בסוסין (11 words)	om.	
13	דברין	דברך	Vulg. Syr.
	Kenn. 1, 2, 21, 30, 70, 93, 96, 115, 128, 144, 145, 150, 155, 168, 174, 176, 178, 182, 187, 210, 224, 240, 246, 249, 250, 251, 253 + three MSS. Gi. 7, 14, 21, 24, 27, 34.		

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. 1.	Versions.
i K. xxii 20	אמר	om.	II Vulg.
	Kenn. 70.		
51	דוד אביו	דוד ע אביו	
	[Cf. Kenn. 96 אבותיו דוד עם אבותיו]		
2 K. i 7	לקראתכם	לקראכם	
11	האלהים אני תרדאשמן האלהים	השמים	
ii 2-4	וירדו . . . אעזבך (41 words)	om.	
24	ויראם	om.	
	Kenn. 96.		
iii 13	מלך ישראל (10)	מלך אדום ישראל	
24	ויבו	ויכו Targ.	
	Kenn. 1, 30, 70, 99, 112, 150, 176, 178, 180, 182, 253, 524, 580, 583. De Rossi 2, 13, 20, 187, 191, 226, 380, 440, 545, 627, 688, 737 + nine MSS. Gi. 21, 24, 26.		
25	איש אבנו	את אבנו	
	[Cf. Kenn. 250 איש את אבנו]		
iv 9	איש	om.	
24	האתון	את האתון	
	Kenn. 250.		
35	ויעל	וישב	
44	ויאכלו	ויאכל	
v 15	אם	om.	
vi 5	האחד	om.	
13	לאמר	om.	
	Kenn. 70.		
17	את (10)	om.	
24	ארם	om.	
31	ראש	om.	
vii 8	ויבאו (30)	om.	19, 246 (cf. Vulg.)
viii 11	האלהים	אלהים	19
22	ההיא	ההוא	
	Kenn. 89, 101, 130, 139, 144, 145, 174, 251. Gi. 7, 17, 34.		
25	שנה	om.	
	Kenn. 70, 90, 99, 128, 150, 158, 173, 409. De Rossi 2, 545, 737:		
ix 6	אל ישראל	אלהי ישראל	
	Kenn. 93.		

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. I.	Versions.
2 K. x 15	ידו	את ידו	
	Kenn. 1, 30, 130, 154, 250.		
20	ויאמר יהוא	ויאמרו	[Cod. Syr. Paris. HoP.] (cf. Vulg.)
xi 4	וישבע אחם	om.	[Arm. 1 Arm. Ed. HoP.]
	[om. וישבע Kenn. 240.]		
6	אח	om.	
xii 16	אח (10)	om.	
	Kenn. 70, 90, 145, 151, 196, 384.		
xiii 6	בית	om.	Syr. Targ. Arab.
	Kenn. 1, 96, 112, 145, 224.	De Rossi 226, 575, 679, 688, 737.	Gi. 21.
xiv 6	אם	om.	
	Kenn. 21, 23, 30, 96, 174.	De Rossi 191, 226, 575, 627.	Gi. 21, 24, 52, 58.
9	בתך	בנך	
14	בית המלך	בית יהוה	
15	מלך יהודה	om.	[Georg. Slav. HoP.]
26	עצור ואפם	om.	
xv 38	אביו	om.	82, 93 [Compl. HoP.] Syr. Targ.
xvi 5	פלסר	פלאסר	
	Kenn. 1, 30, 85, 89, 93, 113, 114, 115, 150, 176, 180, 182, 210, 225, 226, 246, 252.		Gi. 24, 58.
15	הקטר	ולחקטר	19, 82, 93, 108
17	המכנות	ואת המכנות	('A.Σ.Θ. see Field Hex.)
	Kenn. 2, 93, 150, 154, 174	Kenn. 1, 115, 145, 178].	
	Gi. (mixed) 21, 26, 27, 49, 58.		
xvii 9	עד	ועד	[Slav. Ostrog. HoP.]
	Kenn. 102, 155, 158, 173, 174, 201.		
29	ויהיו	ויהי	
	[ויהיה Kenn. 93.]		
31	נבחן	נבחן	Targ.
	Kenn. 113, 130, 180, 195, 201.	Gi. 34, 40, 44, 46, 52, 58, 59, 60.	
37	לכם	להם	
	Kenn. 174.		
xviii 17	רבשקה	רב שקה	
	Kenn. 30, 89, 99, 112, 114, 115, 130, 154, 158, 168, 176, 178, 224.		
	Gi. 7, 26, 27, 34, 44, 46, 58.		

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. i.	Versions.
2 K. xviii 18	ושבנא	ושבנא	
	Kenn. 23, 70, 85, 90, 93, 101, 112, 128, 150, 154, 155, 158, 160, 172, 182, 210, 224, 240, 246, 253, 601 + one MS.		
21	עליו	בו	
	Kenn. 1, 30, 96, 101, 249, 580.	De Rossi 335.	
23	את מלך	המלך	
	Kenn. 1, 30, 70, 99, 145, 154, 158, 174, 182, 187, 201, 249, 601. Gi. 11, 21, 24, 27, 52, 58 [את המלך Kenn. 93, 115. (אח no) מלך]		
	Kenn. 82, 155, 171, 242.]		
26	ושבנא	ושבנא	
	Kenn. 2, 3, 23, 82, 85, 93, 102, 112, 115, 139, 150, 154, 155, 158, 172, 182, 198, 240, 253, 602 + one MS. Gi. 7, 21, 24, 26, 27, 56, 58, 67.		
	רבשקה	רב שקה	
	Kenn. 30, 89, 115, 158, 168, 176, 178, 180, 224.		
xviii 27	רבשקה	רב שקה	
	Kenn. 30, 89, 93, 115, 168, 176, 178, 224.		
	את (10)	om.	
	שיניהם	מימי שניהם	
	Kenn. 85, 102, 114, 154, 180, 201, 210, 224 [Kenn. 70 has ממי שניהם].		
37	רבשקה	רב שקה	
	Kenn. 30, 89, 115, 168, 176, 178, 224.		
xix 3	ויאמרו	ויאמר	II, 121, 245, 247
12	בתלאשר	בתלשר	
	Kenn. 1, 2, 30, 82, 85, 90, 93, 96, 112, 114, 115, 154, 155, 158, 174, 176, 210, 242, 249, 601, 602. Gi. 7, 21, 49.		
21	בת (20)	בתולת	
23	ברכב	ברכב	
xxi 21	אביו (10)	מנשה אביו	
	וישתחו	וישתחו	
	Kenn. 96.		
xxii 15	אליהם	om.	II
17	בכל מעשה	במעשה	Syr. [plur. II, Lucif. Calar. p. 222, l. 21.]
	Kenn. 158. De Rossi 211.		

Ref.	Modern Text.	G. I.	Versions.
2 K.xxiii 10	בני	בן	
	Kenn. 2, 30, 70, 89, 93, 112, 115, 128, 145, 150, 154, 174, 178, 180, 195, 201, 224, 240, 242, 251, 253, 409, 524, 570+four MSS. De Rossi 4, 13, 20, 196, 226, 380, 440, 545, 575, 596, 604, 663, 679, 688, 737+six MSS. Gi. 7, 21, 26, 27, 34.		
18	עצמתיו וימלטו עצמתיו אח	om.	
24	אשר מצא	אשר קרא כוצא	
35	אך	אר	
xxiv 1	נבכרנאצר	נבכר נאצר	
	Kenn. 100, 113, 178. Gi. 17, 26.		
7	עוד	om.	
xxv 5	אחר	אחרי	
	Kenn. 1, 4, 21, 23, 30, 70, 93, 96, 99, 102, 115, 128, 150, 154, 155, 158, 168, 175, 176, 180, 227, 228, 249, 250, 251, 572. Gi. 21, 24, 27.		
10	רב	אח רב	Vulg. Syr. Targ.
	Kenn. 4, 21, 23, 30, 82, 85, 93, 102, 145, 154, 155, 160, 168, 176, 187, 201, 246, 249, 250, 251, 253, 583. De Rossi 2, 20, 191, 211, 226, 341, 380, 440, 663. De Rossi exter. 1, 37, 38, 57, 58. Gi. 7, 21, 27, 58.		
12	ולגבים	ולגנים	19, 93, 108 [Compl.]
	Kenn. 1, 2, 3, 21, 23, 30, 82, 85, 89, 101, 102, 113, 114, 130, 150, 155, 158, 160, 168, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 180, 182, 198, 201, 210, 227, 240, 249, 251, 253, 601, 602+three MSS. [Kenn. 70, 89, 93, 112, 115, 224, 246+three MSS. Mixed 99, 409, 570, 572, 583+one MS. De Rossi (mixed) 4, 20, 187, 191, 196, 211, 226, 346, 440, 545, 575, 576, 596, 663, 688, 737+twelve MSS. Gi. (mixed) 21, 24, 26, 27, 44, 46, 59, 60, 67.]		
20	נבזראדן	נבזר אדן	
	Kenn. 4, 21, 89, 99, 115, 158, 168, 174, 178. Gi. 7, 11, 21, 24, 26, 27, 34.		
21	ויך	וילך	
22	נבוכרנאצר	נבוכר נאצר	
	Kenn. 4, 21, 70, 99, 130, 158, 174, 176, 178.		
26	ושרי	וכל שרי	Syr.
	Kenn. 180.		
30	חיו	חיי	

§ 10. The most important result of analysis of these variants is the discovery in G. 1 of a *Reasonably-shortened text*. I shew this here by giving the text of our Revised Version, bracketing those words which are absent in G. 1, and where necessary adding above the line the alteration in meaning:—

- i Sam. i 3 'And the [two] sons of Eli,'
 4 'and to all her sons [and her daughters],'
 23 '[tarry] until thou have weaned him;' (cf. ver. 22.)
 iii 9 'Speak[, LORD]; for thy servant heareth.' (cf. ver. 10.)
 iv 16 'and I fled [to-day] out of the army.'
 vi 7 'on which [there hath come] no yoke,' *hath been*
 you
 x 18 'I brought up [Israel] out of Egypt,'
 he
 xiv 29 'Then said [Jonathan],'
 he
 38 'And [Saul] said,'
 xvii 40 'in the shepherd's bag [which he had],'
 in
 xix 5 'a great victory [for all] Israel:'
 xx 6 'for it is the yearly sacrifice [there] for all the family.'
 xxiv 12 (11) 'see, yea, see, the skirt of thy robe in my hand[: for
 yet I killed thee
 in that I cut off the skirt of thy robe], and killed thee
 not—know thou
 not, know thou'
 15 (14) 'After whom is the king of Israel come out? after
 is he pursuing
 whom [dost thou] pursue?'
 A
 xxxviii 13 '[I see] a god coming up out of the earth.'
 one
 2 Sam. vii 20 'And what can [David] say more unto thee?'
 booths,
 xi 11 'The ark, and Israel, and Judah, abide in booths; and
 my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord, [are
 encamped] in the open field;'
 xiii 31 'Then the king arose, and rent his garments, and lay on
 earth, servants,
 the earth; and all his servants [stood by] with their
 clothes rent.'
 xiv 20 'to change [the face of] the matter'
 27 'she was [a woman] of a fair countenance.'
 xvii 1 'Moreover Ahithophel said [unto Absalom],'

- now is he
- 2 Sam. xvii 9 'Behold, he is [hid] now in some pit,'
 xviii 31 'for the LORD hath avenged thee [this day] of all them
 that rose up against thee.'
- manner,
- 1 K. xxii 20 'And one said on this manner; and another [said] on
 that manner.'
- 2 K. ii 24 'And he looked behind him [and saw them], and
 cursed them'
- vi 13 'And it was told him, [saying,] Behold, he is in
 Dothan.'
- they
- x 20 'And [Jehu] said'
- xxii 15 'And she said [unto them], Thus saith the LORD,'
 xxii 17 'that they might provoke me to anger with [all] the
 work of their hands;'
- xxiv 7 'And the king of Egypt came not again [any more] out
 of his land:'

§ 11. Important omissions may also be noted in 1 Sam. ii 30; viii 8; x 24; xiii 14; xv 2; xxiii 14; 2 Sam. ii 21: ix 11; xi 25; xv 31 (two words); xix 11, 29; xxiii 34; 1 K. ii 15, 46; vii 18; xvi 26; 2 K. 7, 8; viii 25; xi 4 (two words), 6; xii 16; xiii 6; xiv 6, 15 (two words), 26 (two words); xv 38.

§ 12. Apparently-careless omissions of one word occur in 1 Sam. viii 20; xii 12; xviii 11; xxxi 4; 2 Sam. ii 8, 10; iii 20; 1 K. ii 32; iii 17; xvii 12; xviii 19; xx 14; xxi 11; 2 K. iv 9; v 15; vi 5, 17, 24, 31; xviii 27—and of two words 1 K. i 52; xvi 13.

Here it should be noted that in all cases of apparent carelessness, and indeed in all cases of proved carelessness, the fault may have a very ancient origin, and may be repeated in the MS before us through the very faithfulness of the scribe.

§ 13. Certainly-careless omissions of a number of words occur in 1 Sam. xxi 5-6 (twenty-one words); xxix 4 (five words); 2 Sam. i 21-22 (nine words); 1 K. xx 31-32 (five words); xxii 4 (eleven words); 2 K. ii 2-4 (forty-one words!); xxiii 18 (four words).

The huge omission in 2 K. ii 2-4 is the most considerable which I have met with in the whole of G. 1, and is also remarkable from the fact that the missing words have not been added, in the usual fashion, in the margin. A later hand has merely placed the usual mark ^c above the place of the hiatus.

§ 14. Pairs of alternative readings occur in the text in 1 Sam. ii 1; iv 6; ix 3; xviii 23; 2 Sam. i 10; 1 K. xx 1; 2 K. xxiii 24. In all

these, with the exception of 2 Sam. i 10, the reading of the accepted text stands second. There appear to be traces of similar pairs, only a portion of the first alternative having survived, in 2 Sam. i 1; 1 K. xxii 51.

§ 15. Important additions occur in 1 Sam. i 15; ii 34; iii 5, xxii 20; xxiv 4 (3); 2 Sam. ix 11; x 6; xxii 29, 44; xxiv 12; 1 K. i 17, 47; vii 32; ix 19; xx 20; 2 K. iv 24; x 15; xvi 17; xviii 27; xxi 21; xxv 10, 26.

§ 16. Additions of ו *copulative* occur in 1 Sam. xxix 8; xxxi 6; 2 Sam. xi 10; xxii 26; xxiv 18; 1 K. 6, 15; xiii 17; xiv 10; 2 K. xvii 9—also, ו *for* את, 2 Sam. xviii 1. (Omissions of ו *copulative* in 1 K. xvi 29; xxi 4.)

§ 17. Careless additions (but see remark in § 12) occur in 1 Sam. iii 21; xviii 20; 2 Sam. vi 3 (three words); xvi 17 (two words); xviii 2; xix 17; xxi 2; 1 K. i 34; viii 64 (three words); 2 K. i 11 (five words); iii 13.

§ 18. The קרי of modern texts appears as the כתיב in 1 Sam. ii 3; xxiv 5 (4); xxx 24; 2 Sam. xxii 34; 1 K. i 27; x. 2; xxii 13; 2 K. iii 24; xxv 12. Here also may be noted 2 K. xix 23 ברכב *for* ברכב (ברכ קרי) of modern texts.

§ 19. Essentially different words appear in 1 Sam. ii 21; viii 1; xxii 11; xxvi 16; 2 Sam. xiii 7; xix 17, 27; 1 K. i 18, 41; ii 8, 26; iii 4 (one word for two); vii 29; xv 27; xviii 12; 2 K. iii 25; ix 6; xviii 21; xix 21.

The case of 2 K. iv 35, ויעל *for* וישב, presents a curious problem. It is pointed and accented וישב. The ו, but only the ו, has been written by a comparatively modern hand over a palpable erasure. The יש appears to be the work of the original scribe, and the points and accent the work of the original punctuator.

§ 20. Essential differences in the forms of proper names occur in 2 Sam. ii 9; iii 26; viii 3 (&c.); xxi 18, 19; 2 K. xvii 31.

§ 21. Essentially different words, but due apparently to scribal carelessness, occur in 1 Sam. xiii 8; 2 K. xiv 14; xxv 21. Add here 2 K. xxiii 35, the curious and impossible ור *for* אר. Also, as cases of mis-spelling (a consonant left out), 1 Sam. xiv 32; 2 Sam. i 10; ii 2; iv 12; 1 K. vi 7; vii 51; 2 K. i 7; xxv 30.

§ 22. Amongst variants of minor importance, a difference in the form of verb, Imperf. *for* Jussive, occurs in 2 Sam. xiv 17.—Note also the curious variant in 2 K. xvi 15, והקטר *for* הקטר.

§ 23. Singular *for* plural occurs in verbs in 2 Sam. ii 25; 1 K. i 25; 2 K. iv 44; xvii 29; xix 3; in a participle in 1 K. xii 21; in a subst. in 2 K. xxiii 10.

§ 24. Plural for singular occurs in verbs in 1 K. xx 25; 2 K. xxi 21.

§ 25. *הָיוּא* pointed as *fem.*, for *הָיוּא*, occurs in 2 K. viii 22.

§ 26. Mistakes in gender occur in 1 K. xiv 6; 2 K. xiv. 9; and in person, in 2 K. xvii 37.

§ 27. In prepositions *ב* for *ב* occurs in 1 K. xiii 26, *ל* for *ב* in 1 K. xviii 36. *ב* is omitted in 1 K. xxi 9. *ב* for *אֶת* occurs in 1 K. xi 15.

§ 28. The article is added in 1 Sam. xxix 9; 2 K. xviii 23 (*ה* for *אֶת*); omitted in 2 Sam. xxi 18; 2 K. viii 11.

§ 29. A final *י* is added, slightly altering the word's value, in 2 Sam. i. 1; 2 K. xxv 5.

§ 30. Minor differences in Proper Names are:—*א* for *ה* in 2 K. xviii 18 (&c.); *א* for *י* in 2 Sam. xvii 27; *א* added in 2 K. xvi 5; *א* omitted in 2 K. xix 12. Two consonants transposed in 2 Sam. xxiv 16. Two words for one in 2 K. xviii 17 (&c.); xxiv 1 (&c.); xxv 22.

§ 31. Finally, transposition occurs, in two words, in 2 Sam. vii 18, 19; xix 18; and in three words, the third becoming the first, in 1 Sam. xvi 10.

§ 32. With regard to corrections by later hands in G. 1. With the one exception of the peculiar variant in 2 K. iv 35, *וַיִּשָּׁב*, in its present form (see § 19, Remark) all the variants listed in § 9 are the work of the first hand, i.e. the hand of Astruc d'Escola, the copyist of the consonantal text. Was the consonantal text of the whole Bible finished before the vowels and accents were added? Or did this second labour follow the first book by book, or section by section? In any case, the rule generally observed in Biblical MSS holds good in G. 1; that is to say, the vowels and accents were added in a different ink from that in which the sacred consonants had been written. Occasionally the scribe of the consonants was also the scribe of the vowels and accents: in G. 1 I believe that this was the case with the Pentateuch (or at least large sections of it), and with Psalms, but I think it was not so with Samuel and Kings. But, whosoever the hand, the codex from which the vowels and accents were copied was, in the case of G. 1, other than the codex (in all probability itself unpointed) from which the consonants had been copied. And it is from the codex used by the punctuator and accentuator that the earliest corrections and supply of missing words has been made in the margin, *in the ink of the vowels*. Moreover this, which we may think of as the *vowel-codex*, as well as the presumably more ancient *consonant-codex*, differed in its consonantal text from the editions of to-day. This may be seen from the following examples of corrections, by the hand of the first corrector, in the margin, where the text of G. 1 itself would be left uncorrected by modern editors.

Ref.	G. 1 Text.	G. 1 Marg.	Support.	Remarks.
1 K. ix 14	למלך	+ שלמה	Vulg. (LXX לשלמה only)	Added by Accentuator
xviii 42	אל ראש	+ הר	[Arm. 1 Arm. Ed.] (Kenn. 150 אל הר)	? later hand
2 K. iii 19	תכאבו	+ אתה		Added by Accentuator
v 21	נעמן	+ איש	Kenn. 150 (and Kenn. 145 marg.)	Added by later hand
v 24	האנשים	הנערים	HoP 19, 82, 93, 108, 242	Added by Punctuator

§ 33. Corrections can in many instances be assigned definitely to the hand of the *first corrector*, the scribe of the vowels. This is clearly the case when the *old* word in the text is found without vowels or accent, these being duly added to the *new* word in margin; also when the accents of words marginally added are essential to the accentuation given to the rest of the verse in the text. But scrutiny is necessary before decision. Thus in 1 K. iii 4 בבמה has been duly corrected in margin to על המוכח, but in the text the following הוא still remains pointed קוּיָא (there is another fem. קוּיָא in 2 K. viii 22), and there are signs that the vowels and accent of בבמה have been erased: therefore the correction is *not* by the first corrector.

§ 34. The limit of space allotted to me forbids my going into the minutiae of the corrections and the various hands and inks involved in them—this topic, difficult but alluring, must be left to a future article. Here it must suffice to say that, while most of the variants have been corrected by later hands, a valuable minority, which includes such important variants as those in 1 Sam. xxiv 15 (14); 2 Sam. ii 9; xi 10; xxiv 18, has remained wholly unnoted and uncorrected.

H. W. SHEPPARD.

REVIEWS

Deuteronomy and the Decalogue, by R. H. KENNETT. (Cambridge, 1920.)

It is no disrespect to Dr Kennett to say that this little tract of 76 pages is rather hard reading. This is not by reason of the obscurity of the thought, but largely because the ordinary reader is more familiar with books about the Old Testament than with the Old Testament documents themselves. It was comparatively easy to give up believing that Moses wrote Deuteronomy and to believe instead that Deuteronomy was really the 'book of the law' found in the Temple in the time of Josiah, because the ordinary reader knows so little about the time of Josiah and the century that succeeded his reforms. The difficulties inherent in the belief that Deuteronomy itself, or even 'the Deuteronomic legislation', was the programme of Josiah's reforms are great, and Dr Kennett has at least made these difficulties evident. The main trouble in judging Dr Kennett's theories is that he places a decisive revolution in the actual practice of the 'religion of Jehovah' within the period of the Exile, between the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the return of the first exiles. It is not merely that he supposes certain books to have been then written: that is likely enough to happen in a period of calamity and of enforced cessation of political life. But it is during this period that Dr Kennett places an actual reunion of the Churches of Samaria and Jerusalem, whereby worship was centralized at Jerusalem, but the place of the exiled Zadokites was supplied by the sons of Aaron, i. e. the priests of Jahweh at Bethel.¹ Thus just in the time when the Holy Land is commonly supposed to be lying under a kind of interdict, Dr Kennett invites us to place a successful revolution in the theory and practice of public worship and the substitution of one set of clergy by another. Merely to state it thus is not to disprove the theory, but it does explain why the theory seems difficult.

The special stumbling-block that I find is not that Joshua the son of Josedech the high-priest should have come of Bethelite stock, of the 'sons of Aaron', but that the whole atmosphere of the Books of Haggai and Zechariah is narrowly Judæan; it is 'jealous for Jerusalem and for Zion' (Zech. i 14). Had an ecclesiastical union of Judah and Samaria

¹ The theory is given at length in this JOURNAL, vol. vi: see especially p. 175.

actually taken place, should we not expect to find an echo of it in these prophets? I should find it much easier to believe that the high-priest Joshua, like that Manasseh who in after years went away to the Samaritans (taking the Pentateuch with him), was a 'vert. In Biblical language he was 'a brand plucked out of the fire' (Zech. iii 2). Yet even this phrase might be appropriately applied to a returned exile.

That the *book* Deuteronomy may have been written during the period of the Exile is very probable. The advent of Cyrus was a time when great hopes were awakened, as we see from the Prophet who wrote Isaiah xl ff and actually hailed the Aryan conqueror as the LORD's Messiah (Isa. xlv 1).¹ This prophecy is now enshrined in canonical Scripture, but I cannot believe that all the contemporaries of the Second Isaiah would have given that title to a non-Israelite. And it is just here that Dr Kennett makes a very good point (p. 6). The Deuteronomist, he points out, is looking forward to the election of a king, and, strange to say, it is necessary to insist that the king who may be elected by the community generally shall be of Israelite birth (Deut. xvii 15). 'It is in the circumstances of the sixth century only—after the acceptance in the country generally of the law of the one sanctuary and before the policy of Zerubbabel had alienated Samaritan sympathies—that we can find a simple explanation of the law declaring that the king who shall be elected over united Israel must be an Israelite, not a foreigner; for no doubt among the population of Samaria there was to be found more than one aspirant to the throne, of Gentile birth and sympathies, but ready for the occasion to declare himself a worshipper of Jehovah' (Kennett, p. 23). This seems to me a very powerful argument, which must be met by any one who proposes any other date for the composition of Deuteronomy.

The date and composition of Deuteronomy, as everybody knows, is no mere bit of archaeology, but a question which involves the course of the development of Old Testament religion at its most critical moment. What was the religion of the great Prophets? What was the religion of Jeremiah? This, it is obvious, is the question which Dr Kennett has most at heart, a question about which he holds very drastic theories. He holds that Jeremiah wished for the total abolition of all sacrifices, whether in the Temple of the LORD at Jerusalem or elsewhere; and further, that in this revolutionary programme he was following in the footsteps of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah.

I have divided the question of the attitude of the great Prophets into two, because I believe the answer is rather different in the two parts. So far as concerns Jeremiah it is not a question of the Higher Criticism

¹ I venture to think that if this extraordinary theory were not so familiar to us it would seem far more improbable and un-Jewish than any of Dr Kennett's views.

or of conjectural emendation, but whether we are to believe all that seems to be implied by a most emphatic statement of the Prophet himself. Dr Kennett accepts what Jeremiah says; the majority of interpreters, on the other hand, ancient and modern, orthodox and heterodox alike, regard it as hyperbole. Certainly Jeremiah's statement is as strong as words can make it: 'Thus saith the LORD, I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices' (Jer. vii 21, 22). This is not exactly true of the Pentateuch as it stands, but neither is it true of D, or E, or J, or any other of the documents of which the Pentateuch is made up. That, however, does not matter to Dr Kennett's theory, for he regards Jer. viii 8 as a direct polemic against J itself. According to Dr Kennett Jeremiah is here saying no more and no less than what he has at heart, and that he would be satisfied with nothing less than the cessation of sacrifices as the means of worship.

I must say I find it hard to believe that Jeremiah had this in mind, or that he meant his words to be taken so literally. It is the same Jeremiah whom we find later on standing at the gate of Jerusalem, urging the Jews to keep the sabbath and promising them in the name of the LORD that if they do so 'they shall come from the cities of Judah, and from the places round about Jerusalem, and from the land of Benjamin, and from the lowland, and from the mountains, and from the South, bringing burnt offerings, and sacrifices, and oblations, and frankincense, and bringing sacrifices of thanksgiving,' unto the house of the LORD'. This is Jer. xvii 26, which is very aptly quoted by Wellhausen when discussing Jeremiah's attitude towards the cultus. But Dr Kennett does not give his view of the passage.

One point may be noticed in passing. To us, who know the actual developement of religion among the Jews in the following centuries, the issue between Jeremiah and the priests is mostly thought of as a struggle between freedom and 'formalism' in religion. We know that the future of monotheism and morality is assured, but we (i. e. Protestant Christians especially) tend to regret the ever-stiffening robe of ritual ordinances in which the religion of God's people is about to be enwrapped, all the more as it is bound up with an unhistorical theory of the Mosaic legislation. But I imagine that in the days of Jeremiah the issue was less between morality and formalism than between morality and heathendom. I do not suppose that Jeremiah had a 'Protestant' objection to ritual as such, but a feeling that ritual, which was chiefly based on ancient tradition, was bound up with immoral practices.

¹ One of the regular technical terms for a particular kind of sacrifice. The phrase does not mean 'praises in lieu of sacrifices'.

With regard to the other prophets, most of the passages quoted to prove their hostility to sacrifices as such (e.g. Isa. i 11-15) can more easily than Jer. vii 22 be interpreted as rhetorical. But there is one well-known saying that needs special treatment. When Amos says by the word of the LORD 'I hate, I despise your feasts', it no more means that all religious feasts are abominable than the following words, 'Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs', mean that all hymn-singing is to be given up. But 'Did ye bring me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?' (Amos v 25) is a question which obviously implies an answer in the negative. What follows about Kaiwan ('Chiun' = Saturn) is obscure, but the obvious general meaning of the passage apart from details must be, that the Israelites offered no sacrifices in the forty years' 'wandering' in the desert, yet it was a time when the providence of God for them was specially manifest. What are we to make of this?

Of course, the first and obvious deduction is that Amos did not know anything about the Priestly Code (P), according to which Aaron and his sons did offer the sacrifices daily in the Tabernacle. But leaving this late and totally unhistorical notion out of sight, how are we to understand Amos's words? What view of the early religion of Israel do they imply? And in particular, do they imply that Amos believed the primitive religion of Israel to have been non-sacrificial?

It is in the answer to this last question that I seem to differ from Dr Kennett. But this demands that I should give a reasonable explanation of what I think Amos to have meant. It is no answer to point to the avowed intention of Moses to sacrifice in the desert (Exod. v 3, viii 25-27), or to the fact that Moses built an altar before the events of Sinai (Exod. xvii 15), or again at the making of the covenant with Israel (Exod. xxiv 4-11), because on the face of it these are exceptional events connected with the inauguration of Israelite religion. But how about the period after Sinai? When we have abstracted the totally anachronous notion of the Aaronic sacrifices in the Tabernacle, what views do we find about Israelite worship before the settlement in Canaan?

We read in the Book of Joshua that as soon as the Israelites had arrived on this side of Jordan the first care of Joshua was to circumcise the people. Then, and not till then, were the people in a state of ritual cleanness, and accordingly they immediately proceed to keep a Passover. The Manna ceases from that time: miraculous nourishment has come to an end, and the Israelites henceforth live and eat like their remote descendants in historical times (Joshua v 2-12). It seems to me that this is exactly the theory to which Amos's words correspond. From Sinai to Gilgal the Israelites have a Sacred Law, but just as they

cannot put into practice that part of it which relates to fields and vineyards (e. g. Exod. xxii 5) because they have not yet come into possession of the fields and vineyards, so also they cannot practise their cultus, because they have not yet come to Jahweh's Holy Land. It is a commonplace of Old Testament theology that sacrifices are only valid on holy ground. For various reasons Gilgal, Bethel, Shechem, Shiloh, &c., are 'holy'; so no doubt is Sinai; but the wilderness is as Egypt, or as Damascus (2 Kings v 17), or as Assyria (Hosea ix 3, 4). Amos does not refer to a period when Israel had a religion in which sacrifices were not contemplated, but to a period when, owing to special circumstances, they were not in a position to offer them.

So much then for the religious theory that I believe to underly Amos v 25. But has it any validity in the light of present-day knowledge? Think of it in connexion with Dr Burney's book on the Settlement in Canaan, reviewed below (p. 93). The story to which Joshua chapter v belongs assumes a united nation of all Twelve Tribes, receiving a miraculous Law at Sinai, and after forty years arriving in a body to conquer the Promised Land and to put the Law into practice. The modern critical theory thinks of the Tribes as not yet welded into a single nation, as not entering the land at the same time or by the same route. It may be that their great leader Moses had impregnated some circles of Israelites with new ideas about their national God, ideas which were destined in time to produce strange fruit. It was certainly true that the *differentia* of the religion of Jahweh consisted in new views about social morality, not in new views about suitable ritual. But that does not mean that customs of ritual were not felt to be binding because they were not new-fangled.

It is time these remarks came to an end. I have not tried to be brief, because I feel that Dr Kennett's case suffers from compression: he writes as if twentieth-century folk were as familiar with the Prophets as he is himself, and therefore the importance and interest of the problems which he raises are not fully expressed. Sacrificial religion is now out of fashion: we are unfamiliar with it, except in the peculiar form in which it survives in Catholic Christianity. 'Self-sacrifice', 'the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving', have ceased with us to be metaphors and have become mere ideograms for religious ideas which stand on their own bases. It would be different if every one around us habitually connected worship with the ritual of the slaughter-house and the dinner-table. In the last resort eating and drinking are more primitive than prayer and praise: is it not partly because the ideal of worship which Dr Kennett attributes to Jeremiah has become so universal among us, that worship itself is so little attractive to such large masses of our population?

F. C. BURKITT.

The New Testament in Syriac. (British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1905, 1920.)

IN 1905 the British and Foreign Bible Society published an edition of the Gospels in Syriac, reprinted by permission from the late G. H. Gwilliam's *Tetraeuangelium*. To these have been now added the books from Acts to Revelation, thus completing the New Testament. Where the Syriac Vulgate, commonly known as the Peshitto, is deficient, later Syriac versions are followed, as in most editions of the Syriac N.T., but the B.F.B.S. edition has been able to take the text of the Apocalypse from Dr Gwynn, which is a great improvement. For 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude, Dr Gwynn's revised text is followed (see *J. T. S.* xi 613).

For the new part of this publication, which will no doubt be the form in which most future students of Syriac will read the New Testament, there is little but praise to be said. No doubt there are misprints—there always are!—but I confess that I have not found them. Hebrews ii 9 now runs: 'But "him who was made a little lower than the angels", we see that he is Jesus, because of the suffering of his death. And "glory and honour placed on his head", for he by his grace, God, for all men tasted death.'

In Widmanstadius (the *editio princeps*) 'God' is placed before 'by his grace', and in the Nestorian form (followed by the well-known American edition of the Syriac N.T.) 'without' is substituted for 'by his grace', so that the Syriac is made to support the well-known variant *χωρὶς θεοῦ*, a reading as old as Origen. But though older than Nestorianism as a Greek variant, its introduction into the Syriac Bible appears to be due to Nestorians, for Ephraim in his Commentary has 'for God for all men tasted death', i.e. he agrees in the essential point with the Jacobite tradition and not with the Nestorian.

A reading where Ephraim is not so favourable to the text of the B.F.B.S. edition is 2 Tim. iv 10, where for 'Crescens' (*Κρήσκης*) Widmanstadius and all succeeding editions of the Syriac N.T. have *Crispus* (ܥܪܝܨܘܨ), but the B.F.B.S. edition has *Crescus* (ܥܪܥܘܨ). I do not know what authority the editors have followed, but it is certain that the Armenian text of Ephraim's Commentary has *Crispus*, against the Armenian N.T., so there can be little doubt that Ephraim really found 'Crispus' in his Syriac Apostolicon.

It should be added that 'various readings', such as those just discussed, are extremely rare in the MSS of the Syriac Canonical Scriptures. There is, in fact, a surprising uniformity, both when the accepted text agrees and when it differs from the ordinary Greek text.

The rigid rules of the British and Foreign Bible Society compel them to add equivalents for passages represented in the English

Authorized Version, which are no part of the Syriac Vulgate. But there are ways and means of doing things, and the methods adopted in the new part (1920) are a great improvement on those of the edition of the Gospels alone (1905). The four smaller Catholic Epistles are placed by themselves, separated from James, 1 Peter, and 1 John. Further, Acts viii 37, xv 34, xxviii 29, have been very properly given no place in the text; they are added in footnotes with the remark that they are not found in any Syriac MS. It would have been much better if the same had been done with Lk. xxii 17, 18,¹ and with Joh. vii 53-viii 11 (the Pericope de Adultera). These passages, which are omitted in the MS tradition of the Peshitto, are inserted in the text of the B.F.B.S. edition between thick brackets without any explanatory note, a proceeding which tends neither to comfort in reading nor to the edification of the simple. Let us venture to hope that when a new issue is made the precedent of the new text of Acts will be followed. Of course this edition, like every other text of the Peshitto, inserts Joh. xx 21b after Matt. xxviii 18, following the Syriac tradition.

The text of the Gospels, published in 1905 and here reprinted, follows that of Gwilliam; this is indeed the case, even to misprints. Of those pointed out by Dr Barnes in his review of Gwilliam's Tetraevangelion in this JOURNAL (iii 630), no correction has been made in Matt. xviii 20, Mk. i 20, viii 36, Lk. ix 59; but Mk. xiv 72 has been corrected. The Genealogy in S. Luke, however, has been allowed to follow the Syriac tradition, so we get, as is right in Syriac, *Yard* for 'Jared' and *Arphachshār*² for 'Arphaxad'. In Lk. xxiv 32 the heart of the two disciples is 'heavy' (*yakkīr*) not 'burning' (*yakkīd*), again in accordance with Syriac tradition. It is therefore a pity that Gwilliam, followed by the B.F.B.S., prints *lamshaddārū* instead of *lamsharrārū* in Lk. iv 19. In Gwilliam's case it seems a mere confusion, for his Latin is *ad confirmandum*. These passages, where the change of a diacritic point would bring the Syriac into verbal conformity with the Greek (*καιομένη, ἀποστειλαι*), but where nevertheless the whole weight of Syriac tradition is against the seemingly obvious correction, are one of the most curious features of the Peshitto.³

In Joh. i 3, 4, the new edition follows Mr Gwilliam in putting the stop before 'In Him was life', against the rules of Syriac Grammar and a good deal of ancient evidence. But I freely admit that Mr Gwilliam's punctuation was in accordance with the later Syriac exegetical tradition (see *J. T. S.* iv 436 f, 606 f), and therefore it is defensible, though I am sure it is wrong.

¹ Lk. xxii 17, 18, belongs of course to the genuine text of S. Luke in Greek: it is xxii 19b, 20, that is omitted by Codex Bezae and bracketed by Westcott and Hort.

² The Nestorians say *Arpachshar*.

³ See further, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshē* ii 287 (on Lk. ii 30).

Mr Kilgour, the Editorial Superintendent of the Bible Society, tells us in the Preface that the text of the Acts and Epistles is taken, by arrangement with the Clarendon Press, from the text which Mr Gwilliam had been preparing for some time, and that he was being assisted by the Rev. J. Pinkerton, B.D., 'who carried on and completed this work after Mr Gwilliam's death in 1913'. Mr Kilgour adds: 'Mr Pinkerton was killed in action in the Balkans on October 1, 1916. The proofs of the remaining sheets were read by the Rev. A. S. Tritton.' Thus of the very small band of British Syriac scholars two gave their lives on active service in the Great War, the other being C. W. Mitchell, the decipherer of Ephraim's polemical works against the Manichees.

F. C. BURKITT.

The Style and Literary Method of Luke, by PROF. H. J. CADBURY.
(Harvard Theological Studies VI, Part II, Cambridge, Mass., and Milford, London, 1920.)

THIS is the Second Part of Prof. Cadbury's study of St Luke's style. Part I dealt with the diction; this volume deals with the treatment of the sources, that is to say it is a very elaborate and careful study of the ways in which the Third Evangelist modifies or rejects the parallel passages of Mark, when incorporating them into his own work, and of the ways in which the parallel passages of Matthew and Luke differ from each other. From the nature of things there is little in Prof. Cadbury's work that is new, but it is extremely thorough and intelligent, and can be recommended as a guide to students. In fact as far as p. 131 the book is quite readable: after that it chiefly consists of very well arranged lists of certain forms of sentences, &c., e.g. on pp. 142-147 there is a useful discussion of Luke's use of *καί*, *δέ*, and *μέν*.

There is a good explanation of *πορευόμενοι* Lk. viii 14, as being merely the survival of *εἰσπορευόμεναι* Mk. iv 19, though otherwise the construction of the sentence has been changed (p. 98). Similarly *αὐτῶν* in Lk. iv 6, which that context refers to the singular *ἐξουσίαν*, corresponds to Matt. iv 8, where it refers to the kingdoms: in this instance, therefore, the Matthaean form is more original (p. 101).

Luke, says Prof. Cadbury (p. 120), 'has a sense of the fitness of words for particular kinds and conditions of men. His gospel and Acts both illustrate this feeling, but in opposite ways. For in Acts it is the situation that is already supplied to the artist, and the speech which must be made to fit. In the gospel the words of Jesus had been preserved by tradition, the evangelist selects the appropriate frame for them.'

'By giving to Christ's teachings a more definite setting Luke does not intend to limit their scope and application. The audience is neither historically reproduced nor artistically delimited, but rather

taken as typical and suggestive. Luke has really in mind the Christian church of his own time' (p. 122). 'But the words of Jesus themselves, the *verba ipsissima*, whether reported by Mark or found in the source designated as Q, have rarely been retouched by the author of the third Gospel to give them a wider scope or application' (p. 124).

On p. 149, after giving a list of nine passages where Luke adds *ἐστιν* or a colourless verb, Prof. Cadbury remarks, 'The omission of the copula by Luke in xxii 10 is therefore difficult to understand, as all the parallels contain it'. The explanation appears to me to be easy, viz. that the clause is not Luke's at all. The passage is the famous interpolation into the Lucan account of the Last Supper, omitted by *D affil* and bracketed accordingly by Westcott and Hort. Prof. Cadbury's difficulty may be legitimately used as an additional argument against the genuineness of the inserted words.

F. C. BURKITT.

The Sources of Luke's Passion-Narrative, by ALFRED MORRIS PERRY.
(University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1920.)

It is a point in favour of any investigation into Synoptic problems when it starts off with an actual quotation from C. G. Wilke's *Urevangelist*, as that famous work is known to most of those who mention it only at second hand. Mr Perry's monograph is an attempt to reconstruct the non-Markan source used by St Luke for the Passion Story, or rather for the whole final visit to Jerusalem. According to Mr Perry this source was a Greek document, written at Jerusalem, probably itself a translation from the Aramaic (p. 98). The author suggested is Cleopas (p. 91), and the date 45 A. D. The contents were Lk. xix 28, 37-44, 47-48 . . . [xx 34] . . . xxi 10, 11b, 12a, 13-15, 18-20, 21b, 22, 23b-26a, 28, 34-38, and the non-Markan parts of xxii-xxiv.

Wholesale reconstruction of 'sources' on these principles is of course easy, but Mr Perry's claim is that the non-Markan verses of Lk. xix-xxiv have an inner coherence and make a self-consistent narrative. I can't quite believe it myself; if Mr Perry's thesis gains a following it will be time to examine it in detail. Two points, however, call for remark. It is well known that St Luke's account of the final visit to Jerusalem is *inter alia* characterized by clear predictions of the siege of the city (Lk. xix 41-44, xxi 20, xxiii 27-29). All these figure in Mr Perry's 'Jerusalem-source'. He will not have it that here the third evangelist was recasting the Marcan prediction of the desecration of the Temple in view of his own knowledge of the events (p. 35). His main argument is that Lk. xxi 20-22, which corresponds to Mk. xiii 14-16, is too unskilful to be a mere literary recast. He says Lk. xxi 21 ('then let them that are in Judaea flee to the mountains') is no doubt taken from Mark. 'It refers to rural conditions rather than to the life of the

capital. But the succeeding passage in Luke (xxi 21δ f) harks back to the city, since "those in the country" are forbidden to "enter into her (αὐτῆς, αὐτῇ)". Omission of the interpolated Marcan passage (v. 21α) restores the continuity of the thought and makes not τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ but Ἱερουσαλήμ the proper grammatical antecedent of the pronouns' (p. 26). This is quite a good point, *quantum valeat*, but all that it strictly proves is that St Luke is occasionally careless. Whether the third evangelist in this passage was rewriting Mark xiii out of his own knowledge or supplementing it from some other source, he ought not to have left the pronouns in xxi 21 in their present slipshod state. But he did so leave them: in other words, he was satisfied with the passage. We cannot therefore say with Mr Perry's confidence that 'the interruption is so rude as to quite preclude the supposition that the interpolation was anything but documentary' (p. 26). On the contrary, the two passages quoted above in the notice of Prof. Cadbury (Lk. iv 6, viii 14) tell us that when St Luke rewrote his sources he did sometimes leave visible sutures in passages where there is no reason to suppose that he had any document but Mark before him. So that I feel myself still free to regard Lk. xxi 20-22 as nothing more than Mk. xiii 14-16 rewritten by the third evangelist.

The other point concerns the story of Cleopas. Mr Perry says (p. 90): 'The astonishing fact that this narrative of Jesus' appearance to two otherwise unknown disciples is the longest in the Gospel, while that of his appearance to Peter is passed over with an indirect reference (xxiv 34), would be explicable were it really a bit of autobiography, . . . rather than a free composition by the evangelist.' This again is neatly put, but the hypothesis of a 'free composition by the evangelist' still has much to be said for it. The story of Cleopas is one of the most beautifully told in all the Gospels, but it has one marked feature that does *not* look like any one's autobiography. It is vague, just where it should have been precise, in the words of the Lord. The words in v. 17 are mere introduction, and vv. 25, 26 (so characteristically Lucan: see Acts iii 18, xxvi 22 f, &c.) lead up—to what? To the interpretation of 'all the Scriptures', which in fact are neither quoted nor expounded: if this be autobiography, Cleopas's memory must have been as dull as his 'heart' was slow. In other words, the tale is not autobiography but literature, and St Luke had too much reverence for his Lord to put authoritative expositions into His mouth.

Mr Perry discusses the possible literary relations of his Jerusalem document to other Lucan sources, including the infancy narratives, to Mark and to Matthew and to John, but he does not seem to have considered its connexions with the documents which are supposed to underlie the early chapters of Acts.

F. C. BURKITT.

JOHANNINE PROBLEMS.

The Philosophy of Faith and the Fourth Gospel, by the Rev. HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D., edited by the Rev. WILFRID J. RICHMOND. (J. Murray, 1920.)

The Epistles of St John, by CHARLES GORE, D.D. (J. Murray, 1920.)

It is inevitable to apply to both the books before us the words of Jowett, quoted by Dr Gore at the beginning of his introduction, in which he urges Stanley to devote the last years of his life to the production of a serious theological work which is to garner the fruit of his mature experience and reflexion. With Dr Holland this unhappily cannot be; we have to be content with posthumous volumes such as this, in which Canon Richmond puts together extracts from his earlier works in order 'to give Dr Holland's thought and teaching as a coherent whole', and prints two Introductions to the Fourth Gospel. In the case of Dr Gore we may still hope that he may be able to complete some of the more extended works to which he has led us to believe he is devoting his post-episcopal leisure. Meanwhile we welcome his popular, but very valuable, exposition of the Johannine Epistles as a worthy sequel to his similar books on the Sermon on the Mount, Ephesians, and Romans.

An Introduction of fifty pages gives us in outline his view of the Johannine problem in general, in which he is in agreement with Dr Holland's Introductions. It is of considerable interest to see what two prominent members of the *Lux Mundi* group have to say on this subject. They both urge that the question is now ripe for decision, and argue with some vehemence for the traditional view of the authorship and historical character of the Fourth Gospel. It is evident that neither has been able to feel the attraction of the modern view which sits loose to the Apostolic authorship and historicity of the Gospel, and yet finds in it all the more certainly the supreme expression of Christian faith. No real attempt is made to treat it, on the lines of E. F. Scott and others, as the solution of problems realized in the Church after two long generations of Christian experience, or as 'the best commentary on Paulinism'. Both are ready to admit that the record of the words of Christ bears the stamp of years of meditation and experience, but strenuously deny that in the story itself we find anything but strict historical detail, a position which is psychologically open to grave question.

Dr Holland's Introductions, with their familiar torrents of eloquence, make one wonder whether a 'prophet' is after all the best exponent of a delicate question of historical criticism. He seems carried away

by the enthusiasm of his own particular point of view. At one moment he is arguing that the disciples experienced no surprise at the divine claim of Christ to forgive sins. 'It was impossible to be with Jesus and not to accept it as perfectly simple and natural that He should forgive sins' (p. 111). At another he is speaking of 'those simple and blundering Galilean followers', of their utter failure to understand Christ, and of His complete loneliness (p. 126). He insists that the characteristic of the Jew was his sense of 'the Divine value of historical fact as such' (p. 233), without the least hint of his equal fondness for Midrash. He adduces the presence of Jerusalem Pharisees at the healing of the paralytic in Luke v 17 as a proof of a Judean ministry anterior to the Galilean, without even a foot-note to warn the unwary that Mark says nothing of visitors from the capital at this point and only brings them on the stage by iii 22. By this time there has been ample opportunity for them to be sent for to investigate what is happening in Galilee. Indeed the Synoptic problem seems hardly to exist for Dr Holland. He suggests that it is on account of the arrest of John by Herod that our Lord, having through this Judean ministry become prominent enough to fall under the same menace, *retires* into Galilee, as though he thus escaped from the jurisdiction of this same Herod. The Synoptists, he holds, preserve hints of a Jerusalem ministry, but they did not know anything of these previous events. Yet the tradition which is behind their story must have ultimately come from the Apostolic band, and they were with him in this Judean ministry. Why should the first record of a wandering teacher preserve carefully his activities in Berkshire and ignore his more important and equally public work in London? Indeed, Dr Holland in his eagerness to vindicate the Fourth Gospel is led unconsciously to a logical but very dangerous disparagement of the Synoptists, a conclusion from which Dr Gore is more careful to guard himself.

It is noteworthy that neither has anything serious to say about the outstanding difficulties in the way of reconciling the two accounts. The first is the open profession and discussion of the Messiahship in John as opposed to the secret recognition at Caesarea Philippi. Both this and the question of the High Priest at the trial are omitted of necessity in the Fourth Gospel. The second is the raising of Lazarus, which is there presented as the crucial and notorious event which led to the arrest. These are acid tests, and unless the Fourth Gospel can be vindicated here, discussions about subsidiary details are beside the point.

Once more, in the brief allusions to the external evidence, they fail to bring out that it is not until the end of the second century that we get John—the beloved *disciple*, 'the elder'—unequivocally identified

with the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. The second John may be 'a shadowy figure', but it is by no means the case that when the Gospel emerges it is definitely regarded as the work of the son of Zebedee, and that modern criticism gratuitously interferes to question a primitive and quite clear tradition.

But while there will be many points of disagreement with both books, it would be a pity to allow these to obscure their great value and suggestiveness in other directions. Dr Holland's treatment of the Johannine theology is instinct with fire and spiritual insight, and many will be grateful for the well-arranged extracts from his sermons which form the first half of the volume. In particular the hitherto unpublished sermon on 'Consciousness, Sub-consciousness, and Super-consciousness' is of special importance. Much self-effacing labour lies behind the editor's work of enthusiastic love; his short sketch of the Oxford of fifty years ago is so good that one wishes it had been longer.

Dr Gore's commentary on the Epistles consists of a preface to each section, followed by the text and brief notes. Needless to say the treatment is alive and closely related to the problems of the day. We are also not surprised to find that his interpretation of what this and other New Testament books meant to say sometimes bears a curious resemblance to the ideas which are specially characteristic of Dr Gore himself. All through there are the familiar sharp distinctions. We may believe that 2 Peter is pseudonymous, but the Fourth Gospel must be by the Apostle whose name it does not bear. Christ did not speak of the immediate end of the world, but He did speak of 'days of judgement', *and* of one last great day. This and nothing else we must accept. We must believe in a single personal devil, but Dr Gore is doubtful about the multiplicity of spirits equally clearly suggested in the phrase 'every spirit which confesseth', &c. We may add queries as to his interpretation of 'a last hour' (see Robertson's *Grammar*), and 'cometh in the flesh' as referring to the second Advent, while the very suggestive treatment of 'sin unto death' would be strengthened by a reference to contemporary problems as to the possibility of the forgiveness of post-baptismal sin. The discussion of the sharp dichotomies of the Epistles does justice to the difference of the situation to-day, when the Church and the 'world' are not clearly separated, and we 'find the genuinely Christian character where intellectually there is nothing but doubt and even denial'. We sympathize with Dr Gore's emphasis on the need of decision and the refusal to see everything as grey, but the difficulty is that we find the spirit both of Christ and of Anti-Christ in the same movements, even in the same persons.

C. W. EMMET.

A Handbook to the Septuagint. By RICHARD R. OTTLEY. (Methuen & Co., 1920.)

THE paper wrapper in which this book appears tells us that the handbook aims at a popular and not too technical treatment of the complicated subject with which it deals. The preface states that the writer's object is to induce people to read the Septuagint; that by so doing they may draw a step nearer to the original. There is no doubt that those who want to know more about the Old Testament in Greek will learn much of what they want to know from Mr Ottley's pages. He is a competent scholar, and his work in connexion with the revision of the last edition of Dr Swete's Introduction, and his own studies for his edition of Isaiah according to the Septuagint, have given him thorough knowledge of his subject, and an enthusiasm for it which is apparent on every page of his book. And many who are not beginners will learn more than enough from it to repay the time spent on reading it. The plan of the book is good. An introductory chapter on 'What is the LXX?' tells us why our earliest MSS of the Old Testament are Greek and not Hebrew, and many other matters about which the beginner wants information. And if at times it runs into too great detail it serves its purpose well of introducing the subject. The chapter on the early history of the LXX traces clearly and shortly its origin, legendary and probable, and its story down to the third or fourth century A. D. It closes with a short statement about the versions derived from the LXX, with useful notes on the Latin version, and the work of Jerome, whose three Psalters are confusing, even to the student. Chapter iii deals with modern study of the LXX, from A. D. 1500, giving us useful descriptions of the early editions, and appreciative notices of the greater Septuagint scholars, especially Lagarde, Field, Swete, and Nestle. The record of workers in connexion with the Old Latin and Egyptian versions might well have been fuller. The texts published by Vercellone and Robert in the former connexion, and Ceriani, Budge, and Sir Herbert Thompson in the latter, deserve notice.¹ An editor of the Larger Cambridge LXX is naturally gratified to hear that a student of Mr Ottley's industry and capability finds, as he uses it, that 'everyday use of the book has left him better pleased with it than before'. We still maintain that Cambridge was well advised to adopt the method of presenting facts of evidence that can be trusted and are within their limits complete, rather than that of obscuring the evidence by giving it only in relation to editors' theories,

¹ Professor Deissmann might have been spared the reminder that it was his fellow-countrymen who caused the death of his friend and fellow-worker in the Greek of the Papyri, James Hope Moulton.

which may or may not stand the test of time. Lagarde's edition of the Historical Books would be far more valuable than it is if he had included a full and accurate record of the variants of the MSS out of which he constructed his so-called Lucianic text.

The next chapter on the text of the LXX contains much information and many points of interest. But it raises the question of the suitability of Mr Ottley's method of treating his subject with reference to those whom he seeks to interest. There is surely too much detail for popular treatment. The points raised, and the examples used for illustration, are too minute and not of sufficient general interest. The remarks on textual criticism are true, but those whose knowledge of Greek is sufficiently advanced to appreciate the detail of the rest of the chapter, would probably sooner acquire such elementary information from a text-book which deals with the subject. As Mr Ottley says elsewhere, 'Several excellent books on the textual study of the New Testament have appeared which form as good an introduction to that of the LXX as can be desired'. Details about the resemblances of certain Hebrew letters and elementary facts about Hebrew word-formation and syntax would be more satisfactorily acquired, by those who care to learn them at all, elsewhere. A more general treatment of principles, illustrated by fewer examples, if possible taken from passages of general interest in themselves, would be more appropriate in a popular book. Of the instances given the first is well chosen. The question of the reading in Gen. vi 2 'Sons of God' (Heb.) or 'Angels of God' is of general interest. But surely the points which need emphasis in a popular discussion are (1) that the true LXX reading is ἄγγελοι, in spite of its relatively meagre attestation, (2) that it illustrates a recognized tendency of the LXX translators to avoid or tone down anthropomorphisms, (3) there is no reason to suppose that this true LXX reading presupposes a different *Hebrew* original. The translators did not find מַלְאָכִי, they paraphrased בְּנֵי. The chapter on the Character of the Translation contains many points of interest to the expert, but can hardly be called attractive to the more general reader, who would doubtless prefer to be told more about differences in order and content, and would gladly leave minor verbal differences to a more convenient occasion. Mr Ottley's views on the rendering of Hebrew tenses are interesting, but would be more in place in a note. Certainly the peculiar rendering of Ps. civ 17 (ἡγείται), which is easily accounted for the moment one looks at the Hebrew, should not be discussed in this connexion. It has nothing to do with the choice of Greek tenses to translate the Hebrew tenses.

On the other hand the short notices of the books contained in the LXX which do not form part of the Hebrew Canon are admirable,

short, clear, and to the point. Such information, though now easily obtainable elsewhere, has its proper place in a popular Introduction. The same may be said of the useful glossary with which the book concludes. It would be easy to criticize details, but in general the information given is just what is wanted. It has the great merits of clarity and shortness.

The other chapters suffer from the same defects which have already been pointed out. They are overloaded with detail, which cannot attract beginners, and which those who are expert enough to benefit from such studies might prefer to learn for themselves, or from other methods of treatment. It must also be said that some of the explanations offered of the origin of LXX readings from the misunderstanding of the Hebrew text as it stands are so forced that they will hardly appeal to those who are less anxious than Mr Ottley to maintain at all costs the superiority of the *Hebraica veritas*. Of this the treatment of Gen. iii 7 is a conspicuous example.

But these criticisms are offered in the hope that a second edition of this useful book will be called for, to suggest that some of the chapters might in that case be made more useful and attractive. Mr Ottley's knowledge of the Septuagint and devotion to its study will be welcomed by all who are interested in the same studies.

A. E. BROOKE.

The Odes and Psalms of Solomon. Re-edited for the Governors of the John Rylands Library by RENDEL HARRIS and ALPHONSE MINGANA. 2 vols. (Manchester, at the University Press, 1916 and 1920.)

THE excitement caused by Dr Rendel Harris's publication of the Odes of Solomon in 1909 has now had time to subside. But these early hymns can never lose their interest and their charm, and a fresh edition of them, embodying the chief results of eleven years of work by many hands, is very desirable. Such an edition Dr Harris, with the co-operation of Dr Mingana, now presents us with in two volumes. In completeness and accuracy it goes far beyond the *editio princeps* and the second edition of 1911. Even the latter, it will be remembered, had appeared before the discovery by Prof. Burkitt of a second and earlier, though imperfect, MS of the Odes and Psalms in the British Museum and the publication by him of its variants in the JOURNAL for April, 1912. Other considerable advances in the new edition will appear from the following outline of its contents.

Vol. i (which was prepared four years before vol. ii) contains (1) a revised edition of the Syriac text from the two MSS; (2) the Coptic

text, with Latin translation, of those Odes which are quoted in the *Pistis Sophia* and of the Gnostic paraphrases and commentaries which there accompany them; (3) a complete facsimile of Dr Harris's MS (H) of the Odes and Psalms. In the editing of the Coptic pieces and the revision of existing translations of them the editors have had the help of Mr S. Gaselee, of Magdalene College, Cambridge. It is a pity that facsimiles of the second MS could not have been added: the surviving portion of the Odes would have been covered by five photographs, and the student would then have had all the available evidence for the Syriac text at first hand. But when we have been given so much it is ungracious to ask for more.

Vol. ii opens with an Introduction of 205 pages, most of which is new matter. It is divided into eighteen chapters: i. Identification of the Odes; ii and iii. Quotations in the early Fathers; iv. Origin and time of composition; v. Christ and Solomon; vi. Christology; vii. The Odes and the Biblical Targum; viii and ix. Style; x. Biblical quotations; xi. Poetry of the Odes; xii. Unity of the Odes; xiii and xiv. Syriac or Greek?; xv. The Coptic version; xvi. The Odes and Baptism; xvii. Harnack and the Odes; xviii. Gnosticism in the Odes. The translation follows, that of each Ode being accompanied by two sets of notes, the first critical, in which the text and suggested emendations are discussed, the second expository. In the margin are placed references to biblical texts suggested by the language of the Odist and to Patristic passages which appear to the editors to have been influenced by a knowledge of the Odes. The Syriac version of the Psalms of Solomon is treated, for evident reasons, as of secondary interest, and is merely translated with a few foot-notes. Pp. 435 ff contain a glossary of all the Syriac words which occur in the Odes—an excellent help to their study drawn largely, it would seem, from the similar concordance made by Gerhard Kittel in 1914 (*Die Oden Salomos*, Leipzig). Finally, pp. 455 ff provide a full Bibliographical Index.

Dr Harris's Introduction and Notes (for we may be allowed to assume that this part of the edition is mainly his) are, as we might expect, full of instruction and suggestion, and I should be sorry indeed if any measure of dissent expressed in this notice were to convey the impression that I do not appreciate to the full the learning and labour which he has brought to his work, and its great value. I am certainly among those who need to avail themselves of his kind indulgence in omitting 'to register all the mistakes of translation and interpretation that have been perpetrated by various writers who have discoursed on the theme' (Preface). On the other hand, Dr Harris does not write with the air of one who claims to settle finally all the questions to which the Odes give rise: his method is to invite further discussion rather

than to discourage it. In the same spirit I wish to offer what suggestions I have to make.

Any attempt to do justice to the Introduction as a whole would take us beyond the reasonable limits of a review, and we must be content to select certain points for comment. I begin by noting with satisfaction that Dr Harris is now convinced, as against Harnack and others, that the Odes are a literary unity and that they are Christian throughout. Of the outstanding historical questions concerning them the most important are those of the time and place of their composition and of their original language. The answers which Dr Harris proposes to those questions depend a good deal on his conclusions in the second and third chapters, in which he deals with the historical attestation of the Odes in the form of quotation or allusion in the early Fathers.

We know that the Odes were made use of by the author of the *Pistis Sophia*, and that Lactantius makes a quotation from the nineteenth Ode. But Dr Harris is of opinion that the patristic attestation is very much wider. He finds traces of their use in such writers as Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Irenaeus, Ignatius, and perhaps Barnabas, but especially in St Ephraim, and then, on the evidence of Ephraim, in Bardaisan. These names, he thinks, afford us an indication of place and time for the Odes, and he concludes that 'if we are wrong in assigning them as written at Antioch in the first century, we are not far wrong either in time or place' (p. 69). But I must confess to finding the testimonies to the Odes adduced in chapters ii and iii very far short of convincing, and especially so in regard to the earlier writers, Irenaeus, Ignatius, and Barnabas. Too often the coincidences are slight, or are concerned with ideas which soon became common Christian property. Though I do not venture to assert that none of the writers in the above list was acquainted with the Odes, yet I cannot find among the alleged testimonies anything which, in my judgement, can reasonably be claimed as evidence of a literary relationship between the Odes and any of those writers.

Perhaps the most impressive of Dr Harris's parallels are those brought (on pp. 24 and 33) from St Ephraim's second *Discourse to Hypatius* and from Eusebius's *Demonstratio Evangelica*. But in neither case can the Odes be regarded with probability as the source of the ideas or expressions which constitute the parallels.

Ephraim, in the passage cited, is discussing the Manichaean notion that the Light held captive in the prison-house of matter is gradually strained out, and when thus liberated is received into the moon, from whence it is conveyed to the sun. 'Let us state the matter', he says, 'as they state it, without however affirming as they affirm; for they say

that the sun receives this Light from the moon. *Fine* (lit. *beautiful*) *receivers these, who receive one from another!*' (Mitchell, text, p. 20). The parallel in Ode xvi 17 is as follows: 'And (by) their reception one from another they (the sun and the night) fill up the beauty of God'; or, if we emend the text by reading 'receptions' as a subject for the plural verb (which is preferable): 'And their receptions one from another fill up the beauty of God.' Dr Harris takes Ephraim's words, italicized above, as a quotation, and a quotation from Bardaisan. But in the first place I think it is clear that the words are Ephraim's own and are, as Mitchell takes them, an ironical exclamation; and next, that they refer to the tenets of the Manichaeans. This is actually stated in the context; and moreover a little earlier (pp. 8-10) Ephraim has noticed in passing a theory of Bardaisan (as to the nature of the soul) only to dismiss him and return to Mani: 'But we have not come now to stir up the mud of Bardaisan: sufficient is the stench of Mani; and behold, our tongue is in haste to make an end quickly and be rid of him.' Hence there is reason* to think that the teaching as to the liberation of the Light and its passage from the moon to the sun was regarded as specifically Manichaean and was not known by Ephraim to have been shared by Bardaisan. Dr Harris does not suggest that Ephraim himself is here quoting from the Ode; nor is this likely, since his remark is so readily explained by reference to the matter in hand.

Eusebius represents the Divine Son as saying to the Father: '*as if playing the midwife's part* (*μαιοιμενος*), thou didst draw forth from the womb that flesh which had been prepared for me of the Holy Ghost.' And in the nineteenth Ode it is said with reference to the Virgin Birth: 'And she did not require a midwife, for He delivered her', where 'delivered' is literally 'midwived'. The coincidence is one to arrest the attention; but its force is much reduced by the fact (pointed out by Dr Harris) that Eusebius is commenting on Ps. xxii (xxi) 9 and that his simile is immediately suggested by the words, 'Thou art he that drew me forth from the womb'.

I cannot think that the parallels brought from Ignatius will be recognized by many as establishing a literary connexion between his Epistles and the Odes. The evidence from Ephraim, Eusebius, and Ignatius, therefore, appears to provide but a slight foundation for the suggestion that the Odes were written in Syria and in the first century. Indeed, so early a date seems to me out of the question. The allegory in Ode xix by which the Son is identified with milk from the breasts of the Father suggests Alexandria and the end of the second century; and the dramatic developement of the Descent to Hades in Ode xlii will probably be felt as a difficulty in the way of a much earlier date.

As to the original language of the Odes, Dr Harris inclines to the view that it was Syriac. Apart from certain instances of word-play which he finds in the Syriac (as to which, however, he warns us that we must be careful 'in avoiding hasty and premature solutions of the problem'—p. 142), he thinks that there are some indications that the author used the Peshitta rather than the Septuagint. This, of course, in view of the date which Dr Harris assigns to the Odes, raises the question of the age of the Peshitta; but it is not inconceivable that the Old Testament, or parts of it, had been done into Syriac as early as the first century A.D. for the use of Syriac-speaking Jews. The Odist, however, is so careful not to make formal quotations from the Bible that it is very difficult to discover what version he may have used; and where the use of a Scripture text can be distinctly felt we have to allow for the possibility that a Syriac translator was influenced by his native version. How easily he might have picked up a word or phrase from the Peshitta is shewn by the example of the Syriac translator of the *Didascalia*. The book which exercised the most influence on the Odist is, naturally, the Psalter; and here I think we can convict him once or twice of virtual quotation. I believe he has thus quoted the first and twelfth verses of the *Miserere*, Ps. li, though curiously enough Dr Harris has given no reference to either verse. Let us see what light, if any, these quotations throw on the question of the underlying version.

Ode vii 10 Dr Harris renders: 'Wherefore He pitied me in His abundant grace.' It would bring out the meaning better if we translated: 'Therefore He had mercy on me in His abundant mercy', for the noun and verb are cognate, and the one is often used to render ἔλεος and the other ἐλεῖν. The verb is the same as that used in the Peshitta and the Hebrew in Ps. li 1; but in neither Pesh. nor Hebrew are the noun and the verb cognate, and in neither does the adj. 'abundant', or 'much', appear. The LXX, on the other hand, has ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου. This appears to me to stand behind the Odist's quotation. The translator's choice of the verb to render ἐλεῖν was determined by the Peshitta, but the author's words could not have been drawn from that version.

In Ode xxxvi 8 we read: 'And my access (to Him) was in peace, and I was established (or made firm) by the spirit of government.' For 'government' Dr Harris renders 'Providence', since the Syriac word came to be used as an equivalent of οἰκονομία. But the word properly denotes leadership, government, and has this sense in Ode xxiii 12, where it follows 'kingdom' (i. e. kingly power) as a synonym. Now at Ps. li (l) 12 the LXX has καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ στήρισόν με, whereas Pesh. renders 'and let thy glorious spirit sustain me', using the same verb as the Heb. and understanding the adjective differently from the

LXX. I do not doubt that the Odist here presents us with the *πνεῦμα ἡγεμονικόν* of the LXX. Moreover the verb 'establish', 'make firm', is a natural equivalent of *στηρίζειν*, which it renders at Lk. xxii 32, Rom. i 11, 1 Thess. iii 2.

In Ode xvii 9 there is a very remarkable coincidence with the apocryphal account of the release of Manasseh from prison, after his repentance and prayer to God, which is found in the *Didascalia*. The verse of the Ode runs: 'And I broke in pieces the bars of iron; but *my own iron melted and dissolved before me.*' The *Didascalia* says (I give the Greek preserved by the *Apostolic Constitutions* ii 22. 15, which is in verbal agreement with the old Latin version): *καὶ ἐπήκουσεν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ κύριος καὶ ψκτείρησεν αὐτόν· καὶ ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτόν φλόξ πυρός, καὶ ἐτάκησαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτόν σίδηρα.* The curious use of 'iron', for iron fetters, in both passages, and the further statement that it was 'melted' from the captive, strongly suggest literary dependence. If this be granted, it would appear that the Odist was inspired by the Greek apocryphon. But there is also one virtual quotation, at least, from the New Testament, namely in Ode xxviii 2: 'My heart is delighted and leaps, *as a babe who leaps in the womb of his mother.*' This is so close to the Syriac (Pesh. and Syr. vet.) of Lk. i 44 that dependence on the latter is nearly certain—dependence, that is, on the part of the Syriac translator of the Odes, though the author himself must first have written *ὃν τρόπον βρέφος σκιρτᾷ ἐν κοιλίᾳ μητρός*, or something very near it.

I have elsewhere expressed the opinion that the Syriac of the Odes is not the Syriac of the third or even of the fourth century, and also that it is 'translation Syriac', not original composition. I drew attention, amongst other things, to the frequent unclassical use of the word *dāl* (mine, thine, his, &c.) as a mere possessive particle, equal to *μου, σου, αὐτοῦ*, which came in hardly earlier than the fifth century (*J.T.S.* xiv p. 537). The Odes contain also the expression 'without envy' (= *ἀφθόνως*) seven times. Dr Harris points out that it is met with in Syriac writers like St Ephraim; but it is certainly borrowed from the Greek, and it remains true that the frequency of its appearance in the Odes is excessive and out of proportion to the length of the work. Another mark of Greek influence is the employment of *κιθάρα* (four times) to the exclusion of the native word *kennāra*. The former was, it is true, taken over into Syriac at an early date; yet the Peshiṭta (if I remember rightly) has recourse to it only as a synonym, when the Syriac word has already been used and a second stringed instrument has to be mentioned. A further curious feature in the Odes is the entire absence of the characteristic Syriac preposition *ʿēdh*—due probably to the fact that the translator regarded the partly equivalent

lêwāth (which occurs thirty-seven times) as a better constant rendering of Greek prepositions like *πρός*, *παρά*, *ἐπί*.

The Syriac text in Cod. H (I have not examined Cod. B) is for the most part unpointed; but vowel signs are inserted in a good many places (after the Nestorian method, though the writing is Jacobite), and diacritical points, distinguishing between words of the same consonantal form, are frequent. The signs of the latter class have not been reproduced with regularity by the editors, while the existing vowel signs have been absorbed in a complete system of Jacobite punctuation with which the text is provided (with commendable accuracy) in the new edition. The text itself bears every mark of careful preparation, and falls but little short of complete fidelity to the MS evidence. The following corrections or suggestions, derived from a comparison of the facsimile of H, may help to the attainment of that end.

Ode iii verse 7: delete notes b and c, and follow the MS in adding a superior point to **ܐܡܥܝܬ**; and the two following verbs. The point denotes that the first of the three verbs is to be taken, like the other two, as first person sing. imperf., not as third sing. masc. perf. Translate accordingly: 'that I the lover may find the Beloved; that I may love the Son, that I may become a son.' In iv 8 there is no room for the inserted **ܐܡܥܝܬ**, and it is not necessary.—iv 13 keep the MS reading **ܐܡܥܝܬ** 'draw back', which is followed in the translation.—vii 25 delete note q and put the conjectured reading in the text, for it is that of the MS.—viii 15 keep the reading of the MS, and delete note c (cf. Nöldeke *Grammar* § 267).—viii 23 read **ܐܡܥܝܬ** with the MS.—xiii 3 add note: Cod. **ܐܡܥܝܬ** (*sic*).—xx 7 delete note d: Cod. H agrees with the text.—xxiii 14 note o: substitute 'H' for 'B', and (probably) put the reading of H in the text.—xxiii 16 add note: H **ܐܡܥܝܬ**.—xxiii 18 add note: H **ܐܡܥܝܬ**.—xxiv 6 add note: H **ܐܡܥܝܬ**.—xxxi 2 delete the first part of note a-a: H has clearly **ܐܡܥܝܬ**.—xxxv 4 follow the reading of H, 'shade' (i. e. shelter): 'dew' is unsuitable to context.—xxxviii 3 read **ܐܡܥܝܬ** with H.—xl 3 the first 'c', referring to the note, should come before **ܐܡܥܝܬ**: the preceding word is not part of the passage omitted by H.—In the same verse: the scribe of H wrote the last word as **ܐܡܥܝܬ**, but the first letter has been erased, perhaps by a later hand.—xlii 20 note f: H has in fact **ܐܡܥܝܬ** (*sic*). The scribe first wrote **ܐܡܥܝܬ** (as in the line before), then altered the second letter, but forgot to remove the fourth. Cod. H frequently spells the third fem. sing. imperf. with final *yūdh*: this orthography, which is not uncommon, might have been kept.

As regards the punctuation the following changes are required: xi 12 (probably) **ܐܡܥܝܬ** and **ܐܡܥܝܬ**.—xii 2 **ܐܡܥܝܬ** (as indicated in the MS).—xii 6 **ܐܡܥܝܬ**.—xvi 17 **ܐܡܥܝܬ** 'fill up' (so pointed in the MS): the

present punctuation supposes that the word is **معلل** 'speak', spelt defectively. The editors remark (vol. ii p. 285) that the omission of a reduplicated *l* 'is frequent in the old manuscripts'. I was not aware of this: but, however it be, the omission would be less likely where it resulted in turning one word into another, and the reading 'fill up' gives a good sense.

A feature of Cod. H which the editors do not reproduce, and to which attention seems never to have been drawn, is the insertion of the letter *hē* at short intervals throughout the Odes. This, I think, must stand for 'Hallelujah', which is written in full at the end of each Ode. Now Tertullian (*de Orat.* 27) tells us that 'diligentiores in orando subiungere in orationibus Alleluia solent et hoc genus psalmos quorum clausulis respondeant qui simul sunt'. Moreover, in the Ethiopic version of the 'Egyptian Church Order' (the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus) we find that Alleluia psalms were recited at the supper accompanying the service of the evening lamp (Horner *Statutes of the Apostles* p. 160); and Tertullian in his Apology (c. 39) tells us that after the Christian supper which he says was called Agape, individuals were invited to stand forth and sing something either from the Scriptures or of their own composition: 'Post aquam manualet et lumina, ut quisque de scripturis sanctis vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere.' Putting these notices together, may we not suggest that the Odes were a set of Alleluia Hymns composed for use at the Christian suppers called Agapae? Indeed it is just possible that the Agape is mentioned in the Odes. Dr Harris translates x 5 thus: 'And the Gentiles were *gathered together* who had been scattered abroad: *And I was unpolluted in my love* (for them), because they confessed (*or gave thanks to*) me in high places'. But the word rendered 'love' is in the MS pointed as plural. Thus pointed it might be read not as *ḥubbē*, 'loves', but *ḥaubē*, 'offences', were it not that the latter sense seems wholly unsuited to the context. If then the plural pointing is right, and the meaning is 'loves', the Syriac will be a translation of *ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις μου*, and we are reminded at once of Jude v. 12 οὐτοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλᾶδες συνευχόμενοι ἀφ' ὀβσος. I cannot say that I am prepared to adopt this interpretation, but it is at least worth while to call attention to it as a possibility.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

ADDITION.—The obscure expression in Ode xx 6, 'Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by the blood of thy soul', is surely derived from Ecclesiasticus xxxiii 31, where the LXX reads: *εἰ ἔστιν σοι οἰκέτης, ἔστω ὡς σύ, ὅτι ἐν (or ἐπὶ) αἵματι ἐκτήσῃ αὐτόν*, but the Vulg. (= lat. vet.) has 'Si est tibi servus fidelis, sit tibi quasi anima tua: quasi fratrem sic eum

tracta, quoniam *in sanguine animae comparasti illum*', representing a Greek reading ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς. The Syriac has: 'If one be thy slave, reckon him as thy brother; and thou shalt not contend with the blood of thy soul.' I must not take up more space by discussing this quotation here; its importance will easily be recognized.

I have now been able to consult photographs of Cod. B, with the result that several additions might be made to the list of textual corrections; but the only ones of importance are: (1) xxxviii 2 the reading of B recorded in note a should be inserted between the second and third words of the line: it is not a variant to the last word, but a word omitted by H; (2) xl 3 the words supplied in the second pair of half-brackets should be removed, as there is no room for them: B reads no more than 'my members in His Odes'.

R. H. C.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE S.P.C.K.

IN the series of Translations of Christian Literature published by the S.P.C.K. we have, of Greek texts, five new volumes, one by Dr Srawley on *The Epistles of St Ignatius* that is a revised edition of the introduction and translation originally published in 1900; one by Mr W. Metcalfe, the *Address to Origen* by Gregory Thaumaturgus and Origen's letter of acknowledgement (a reissue, 1920, of an edition of 1907); and three that break new ground.

I am not clear that it was worth while to publish in this series a translation *in extenso* of the *Address to Origen* unless the object was to shew the tedious style of oratory in vogue at the time and Origen's ability to administer a rather sharp snubbing to a pupil. I cannot agree with Mr Metcalfe that the two tracts form 'the best introduction to the study of Origen's writings'. But he has done the tedious work of translation well, and his introduction is good. 'What need for me enlarging' (p. 91) and 'dependent of' (p. 61 n.) want correcting.

Dr Crafer, whose articles in the JOURNAL (vol. viii pp. 401 ff, 546 ff) reintroduced Macarius Magnes as 'a neglected apologist' of the fourth century to students of to-day, and set Dr Harnack to work on the subject of the remains of Porphyry contained in the dialogue of Macarius (see the JOURNAL vol. xv pp. 360, 481), now gives us (*The Apocriticus of Macarius Magnes*, 1919) a translation and notes with introduction in which, while clearly indicating the uncertainties and the problems that remain to be solved, he very rightly, in my judgement,

maintains the chief positions he adopted in 1907 and 1914 as against the theses of Dr Harnack, who made no attempt to meet the adverse arguments set forth, partly by way of anticipation, by Dr Crafer. As one whose interest in the subject was aroused by Dr Crafer's original investigation, I heartily echo his wish that his translation (a difficult piece of work excellently done) may enlist the interest of many to whom the name of Macarius Magnes has meant nothing.

In *Dionysius the Areopagite on the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology* (1920) Dr Sparrow-Simpson edits the posthumous work of Mr C. E. Rolt and in a short preface gives an appreciation of the fine scholarship and character of the author, as well as some *caveats* called for by his enthusiasm for the subject of his study. To the editor we are also indebted for a useful bibliography and an essay on 'the influence of Dionysius in religious history'. Dionysius is difficult reading: the translation is fluent and frequently fine, and the notes give much help towards understanding what he meant and the system as a whole. Now and again it seems to me that modernizations (usually kept for the notes) make their way into the text; as when (i 4) τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐκφάνειν is translated 'revealed in a Threefold Personality'. A careful perusal of this volume will enable the many students of theology to place themselves with regard to the writings of the 'Areopagite', and it may increase the number of the elect disciples of the Great Unknown.

A treatise designed to prove the genuineness of these writings of Dionysius is the first entry in the long list of books summarized by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, a translation of which, by Mr J. H. Freese, in five volumes, with a sixth devoted to his life and introduction in general, the S.P.C.K. have been bold enough to undertake, the first volume being now published (*The Library of Photius* (1920)). Mr Freese's chief aim has been to provide 'a somewhat free translation intended to give the ordinary reader an idea of the literary activity of the chief representative of the so-called Byzantine Renaissance', but he adds valuable notes about the less-known authors and other persons mentioned.

Of the two last-mentioned books the S.P.C.K. itself provides reviews by two experts, Mr A. E. Taylor and Prof. J. B. Bury respectively, in its new monthly journal *Theology* (vol. i, no. 3) edited by Mr E. G. Selwyn—a journal which promises to have a useful and distinguished career.

Translations by Dr Souter of three of Tertullian's tracts (*Concerning Prayer* and *Concerning Baptism*, and *Against Praxeas*) will be of more value to younger students, and the latter volume in particular because of its special importance and difficulty. It would be rash for any one to question Dr Souter's translations on grounds of latinity, but where early Eucharistic doctrine is involved the greatest linguistic expert may

go wrong (see *Concerning Prayer* § 6, where the theologians quoted in the note are better guides to the meaning), and the *adversus Praxean* sometimes defies translation. Dr Souter gives very valuable help in text and notes and introduction.

The treatise of Novatian on the Trinity by Herbert Moore, M.A., is another volume of the series 'Latin Texts', in which a more paraphrastic method of translation is sometimes adopted, with, I think, excellent results. The short Introduction calls attention to the points of special interest in the treatise.

A third series of these 'Translations of Christian Literature', devoted to 'Liturgical Texts', has already two volumes of importance—*St Ambrose 'On the Mysteries' and the treatise On the Sacraments and The Pilgrimage of Etheria*. The translations are the work mainly of the Rev. T. Thompson and Mrs McClure, respectively; neither of whom lived to complete the work. The former volume has been completed by Mr F. H. Colson and Dr Srawley, and the latter by Dr Feltoe. All these names are guarantees of the excellence of the editions, both of which are of high value.

One volume in the series of translations of 'Oriental Texts' calls for special attention—Dr Armitage Robinson's *St Irenaeus: the Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*. It replaces the German translation in which the treatise was first (in 1907) made known from its Armenian version, the French of M. Barthoulot which M. Tixeront edited for *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (October—December 1916), and for general use the English translation published last year in the *Patrologia Orientalis* (which Dr Robinson describes as less accurate than the French).

This new edition makes for the first time widely accessible to English readers a 'handbook of Christian Evidence . . . as it presented itself to a master mind at the end of the second century'. When such a man as Irenaeus sets himself to furnish an absent friend with a summary statement of the Apostolic message and the reasons for believing it in terms of his own day, as Dr Robinson says, he deserves our close attention. The introduction and the notes that are provided give the direction that is needed. But the volume is of special value also to students of Patristics and of the history of Doctrine because of a chapter on 'the debt of Irenaeus to Justin Martyr' and a long essay on 'the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Justin and Irenaeus' which is of wider scope and interest than its title at first sight suggests and gives prominence to some aspects of the development of Doctrine which are not always recognized. It is to be noted, too, that here and there the Armenian MS, which also contains a version of books iv and v of the

treatise *Against Heresies* utilized by Dr Robinson, helps to restore the meaning of passages extant only in Latin.

In *Documents illustrative of the history of the Church to A.D. 313* edited by B. J. Kidd, D.D., we have a collection of extracts which will enable students who cannot read Greek or Latin to feel that they are actually face to face with many of the 'documents' on which knowledge of Christian life and thought during the first three centuries depends. Yet I cannot but regret that these 225 extracts and 278 pages of close print were not arranged under subjects instead of chronologically under authors. The index, in which some subjects as well as names are given, only partially supplies what I think is wanted. A superficial study of it reveals a few omissions. Thus, the first extract is on 'Demons'. I miss the highly instructive passages from Josephus on the expulsion of a demon, and from Justin on their parodies of the Christian sacraments (though *Apol. I v* is cited). But Dr Kidd has ranged far and wide for his extracts, and there is no collection that covers so much ground, some of it only quite recently accessible (cf. e.g. the Sayings of Paul of Samosata *J. T. S.* xix 20 ff). Students and teachers of the early History of the Church will find the book most valuable.

Of yet another series entitled 'Handbooks of Christian Literature' there are three volumes to be chronicled.

The Early Christian Books by W. J. Ferrar, M.A., supplies a short introduction to 'Christian literature to the middle of the second century' outside the New Testament. It aims simply at reproducing 'the opinions of the best scholars' and will, no doubt, be useful; but—as Mr Ferrar recognizes in his text—it includes some writings that make the sub-title misleading, and—for example—Dom Connolly is not included among 'the best scholars' whose opinions as to the *Odes of Solomon* are reproduced.

Dr Sparrow-Simpson is to be congratulated on the happy thought which prompted his book *The Letters of St Augustine* and the excellent way in which he has carried it out. He has worked through all the letters of Augustine, arranged them in groups (prior to his consecration, on Paganism, on the doctrine of God, on African Church divisions, on the doctrine of Grace, on Biblical exposition, to St Jerome, to women, on the Eucharist, on diocesan affairs, the closing years), and summarized the letters of each group with occasional verbatim extracts and a running commentary stringing the letters together and filling up the historical background and the chronological gaps between them. This is a new and very interesting method of presenting the life and thought and activities of a great bishop and divine, and readers of the book will

appreciate the fresh and personal touch and may acquire much knowledge of Church history and theology in a living and attractive form. It would be a further service to students if to the index of Subjects was added an index of the Letters with the pages on which they are dealt with.

Books on *The Inspiration and Authority of Holy Scripture* are already numerous, though the twentieth century still needs one based on premisses other than those that have prevailed in the past. But there is, perhaps, still room for the volume with this title by G. D. Barry, B.D., which is described as 'a study in the literature of the first five centuries', and gives an excellent account of the attitude of Philo and Josephus to the Old Testament and of the chief Christian writers of the period to the Christian Bible in its parts and as a whole.

Most of these books deserve a large circulation, but how can the students who need them most pay 7s. 6d. for the volume of *Documents* and 10s. 6d. for *The Letters of St Augustine*? Let the libraries at any rate get them.

There have been good single-volume commentaries and other aids to the study of the Bible before, but *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1919), published at the remarkably low price of half a guinea, should now supersede them all, at any rate so far as concerns present knowledge of the historical setting of the books and accurate interpretation of the text, through which alone, as the editor claims, 'the sound basis for devotional use and practical application can be laid'. The ideal which Dr Peake set before himself and expounds in his Preface to the volume is a very high one. He gathered together a company of contributors who shared the same ideal and have realized it in their work with a degree of unity of achievement on which both they and the editor are to be warmly congratulated. I do not think there can be any doubt that it is the best book of its kind.

I should say the same of *A Book about the English Bible* by J. H. Penniman, Ph.D., LL.D. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919), as a popular and very readable account, based on the best sources of information, of the Bible as a whole—not, as the title seems to imply, the English versions only, though the last quarter of the book (100 pages) is occupied with these. The author is Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania, and it is something like 'all about the Bible' that he set himself as the subject of a series of lectures to his students. So it is chiefly the literary aspects of the collection of books with which he deals. Sources and background, poetic forms, imagery and allusion, Biblical history, Biblical stories,

parables, prophets, letters and homilies, apocalypses—these are among the headings of his chapters and indicate the method and the form in which a mass of information about the Bible is imparted. The Professor hopes ‘that the reader may be sufficiently interested . . . to desire to pursue the study further by means of other books’ such as are named in the excellent bibliography appended. I think he has done better than this. His lectures must have sent many to the Bible itself with fresh understanding and zest.

The First Three Gospels in Greek, arranged in parallel columns, by Colin Campbell, M.A., D.D. (Oliver & Boyd, 1918), is described as ‘third edition, revised’. It is a synopsis the arrangement of which ‘proceeds on the assumption that Mark is not the earliest but the latest of the Synoptic Gospels, the other two having been employed in its composition, whether with or without the aid of a hypothetical document’. The author had intended to offer as a prolegomenon a ‘demonstration’ of this ancient theory, but owing to the difficulties caused by war conditions he has only inserted a few notes in the body of the book ‘to indicate some of the lines on which that demonstration would have proceeded’. I have not found in these notes any evidence that Dr Campbell is likely to make many converts to his views. The volume, costing nine shillings, is well printed and easy to handle, and may well be found serviceable by students of other schools.

Of *The Subject Index to Periodicals* issued by the Library Association (Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1) the volume for 1917-1919, A. Theology and Philosophy (including Folk Lore), is now published, price 7s. 6d. It contains 175 large two-column pages, and its system of classification is such that any article in the long list of periodicals it surveys (which include *The Times* and the transactions of learned societies) can readily be traced.

J. F. B-B.

The Ethiopic Liturgy: its sources, development, and present form. By the Rev. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D. (Munich), Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament, Western Theological Seminary, Chicago: The Hale Lectures, 1914-1915. (Milwaukee and London, 1915.)

MUCH has been written recently about the earliest form of the Ethiopic liturgy which has come down to us, little has been written at any time about its successive stages, and nothing (outside the present volume) of its most recent form.

To trace its development the chief authorities are the edition of the

Ordo Communis and three of the fourteen Anaphoras which was published in the sixteenth century as an appendix to the Ethiopic New Testament by Tasfa Sion; the Brit. Museum MS Or. 545 for the seventeenth century (this is the basis of Brightman's translation); for the eighteenth century Brit. Museum Or. 546 and Berlin 36; and for the nineteenth century Brit. Museum Or. 548 and Berlin 414. To these Dr Mercer has added another (*Mercer 3*) giving the use at the present time.

During the summer of 1914 Dr Mercer 'examined every liturgical manuscript in the museums and libraries of Europe (including those in Petrograd) with the exception of those in France, which on account of war became inaccessible'. Having previously acquired his own MS, the present work is the result of his investigation into the relations of these authorities. It is an interesting volume, for it is the first time (with the exception of Tasfa Sion's edition) that the complete normal liturgy of the Abyssinian Church has been given in Ethiopic.

Of the six lectures the first three deal with the sources and earliest form of the liturgy (an attempt being made to reconstruct the Liturgy of St Mark in its probable fifth-century Greek form): the last three are concerned with a comparison of the various stages in which the Ethiopic liturgy is known.

The lectures are followed by a translation of the present liturgy (*Ordo Communis* and Anaphora of the Apostles only), critical notes thereon, and, finally, the most important part of the book, an excellent photographic reproduction of the pages of his MS so far as it has been translated.

The chief interest of the volume lies in the light which it ought to throw on the liturgy now in use. Taking the translation given by Brightman in *LEW* as a standard of comparison, we find that there are in *Mercer 3* many additions, chiefly at the beginning and the end, some interesting changes of order, and several omissions, not as a rule of importance. It would be of course quite impossible to mention all these differences. Amongst the additions may, however, be enumerated:

(1) In the Prothesis after the Prayer of the Father (*LEW* pp. 197-198) there is a long address (strangely described by Dr Mercer as a prayer) to intending communicants.

(2) After the Prayer of the Withdrawal of the Veil (*LEW* p. 198) comes an additional prayer on behalf of those who have made the oblation.

(3) Before 'Blessed be the Lord the Father Almighty' (*LEW* p. 220) a long prayer that those present may be made worthy to hear the Gospel.

(4) After the 'Lavatory' (*LEW* p. 226) a prayer and proclamation of the deacon before the Kiss of Peace.

(5) After 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Trinity unspeakable' (*LEW* p. 241) a long statement of faith. This, which seems to be based on the *Didascalia*, is very much mangled in translation.

(6) At the end of the service (the 'Dismissal' as a whole is much longer) comes a prayer to be said by the priest when he replaces (?) the *εὐλογία*, followed by a rubric (in a very corrupt state) as to the conduct of the priest after the service.

Two only of the changes in order need here be mentioned :

(1) The Prayer of St Basil, which in *LEW* comes before the Absolution of the Son, comes in *Mercer 3* at the end of the *Missa Catechumenorum*.

(2) The Nicene Creed, which in *LEW* comes before the 'Lavatory', follows in *Mercer 3* the Kiss of Peace immediately before the Anaphora. The introductory formula, 'Answer ye the Prayer of Faith', comes, however, in *Mercer 3* in the same place as in *LEW*, so this may not really be a change of order at all.

One of the omissions is too important to be overlooked. *Mercer 3* agrees with Tasfa Sion in the omission of the Lord's Prayer after the Invocation.

Some of these differences from the MS which is translated in *LEW* are to be found in other MSS as well as in *Mercer 3*. It is possible that they may represent local diversity of use rather than recent alteration.

In Dr Mercer's translation there is much to be desired. Wherever he has not Brightman as his guide he often falls into serious error. It must indeed be said that the MS is in many places very corrupt, and would require a thorough critical rehandling. This has not been attempted. The critical notes are of very little value. Eight of the fourteen pages are taken up with giving the text of the Words of Institution of the other thirteen Anaphoras; in the other six pages the notes given generally explain the obvious or else are quite incorrect. For example, on p. 329 the translation runs 'Peter, the Rock of *truth*'. The note on this is, 'Read *yēmānōt*, the *ḥ* at the beginning being due to dittography'. The *ḥ* at the beginning is simply the common mis-writing of *h*. The word in question is therefore the ordinary word for faith. Peter is 'the Rock of faith'. *Yēmānōt* is not Ethiopic at all.

But even where the MS is not corrupt Dr Mercer's translation is often faulty. He mistakes the persons, tenses, and conjugations of the verb; makes rubrics part of prayers and *vice versa*; takes proper names as common nouns, and so on.

The word 'ḡālā, that is, N. or So-and-so, is a stumbling-block. It occurs several times, but is nowhere correctly translated. On p. 305 it is taken as proper name 'Galā. In the second of the additions

above mentioned it seems to be taken as a verb. The first words of the passage are :

MERCER.

Remember those who bring near to thee this oblation, and let it be brought for the sake of those whom he, who is in heaven, has purchased, and especially for thy work which is found with thee in this hour.

REVISED.

Remember those who have brought to thee this oblation and those who have offered it for them. Grant them all their reward in heaven, and especially thy servant N. who hath offered to thee at this hour.

On p. 368 the strange rubric occurs, *The priest shall say going around, breathing*. This should be, *The priest shall say, 'Pilot of the soul'*.

Again, on p. 331 we have in the MS the Lesson from the Acts (chap. xxvii 33-36). The first words of the passage are certainly corrupt, but the rest is quite easy. Dr Mercer's version of this runs: 'On the tenth and the fourth day since ye ate, on the day that ye ask me for food, anoint and make ready your souls, for that which is lacking in them will be a loss to yourselves, and having thus said he took the bread of the Lord', &c. The words should read: 'To-day is the fourteenth day since ye ate. To-day then, I pray you, eat, and take food, and benefit your souls, for there shall not perish of you (MS of them) even the hair of your heads, and having thus said', &c. So completely is the author mistaken as to what he is translating that on p. 182 he actually describes this 'Lesson' as a short prayer embodying an account of the Institution.

These are by no means isolated instances. Pages might be filled with similar mistranslations. It is the greatest pity that such absurdities have been allowed to spoil a book which is otherwise useful not only as giving the present liturgy of the Abyssinian Church, but also as summarizing in a convenient form much work that has been done recently on the sources and characteristics of liturgies in general.

J. M. HARDEN.

Israel's Settlement in Canaan, by the Rev. C. F. BURNEY, D.Litt.
(Schweich Lectures for 1917. Milford, London, 1918.)

THIS important book contains both a careful study of the Biblical accounts of the settlement of the Israelites in the lands west of the Jordan and also a most interesting attempt to retell the tale in the light of our present-day knowledge of the state of Egypt and Western Asia between 1500 and 1000 B.C. It is indeed extraordinary how much fresh information about that remote period has been collected in the last hundred years. What would the contemporaries of Richard Simon or of Astruc have thought, if they had been told that men would one day have in their hands the actual documents exchanged between the Pharaoh who oppressed Israel and his Hittite enemies? ¹

The main lines of Dr Burney's reconstruction are as follows. What has to be abandoned is the conception of Joshua as the chief of all Israel: Joshua was the leader of the Joseph-tribes only (pp. 28, 34-36), who invaded Palestine across the Jordan from the east along the line marked out by Jericho, Ai, Gibeon, Beth-horon, the vale of Ajalon. The settlement of Machir, i.e. half-Manasseh, in Gilead was later (pp. 20 f); in fact it was later than the Song of Deborah (p. 33). Judah, aided by the clan of Caleb, penetrated into Palestine from the south; reminiscences of this are preserved not only in Judges i 16, 17, but also in the accounts of the conquest of Arad in Num. xxi 1-3 and Deut. i 41-46 (pp. 28-31). At an earlier period, i.e. before the settlement of the Joseph-tribes in Egypt, Dr Burney pictures the six Leah-tribes grouped together in the central hill-country, viz. Simeon and Levi near Shechem, Issachar in an uncertain locality, Zebulun in the south-west, Reuben in the south-east, and Judah near Adullam (p. 52). But Simeon and Levi met with disaster, Reuben was driven across the Dead Sea, Judah nearly died out (Gen. xxxviii). The general result was that Leah was driven towards Egypt, with the exception of Issachar, who preferred servitude (Gen. xlix 15).

The '*Apriu*', mentioned in Egyptian documents from the reign of Thutmosi III to that of Ra'messe IV (1500-1160 B.C.), are not Israelites especially: if the word has anything to do with 'Hebrew' it means Semitic foreigner in a general sense, and only shews that at this period 'Hebrew clans migrated with ease into Egypt and were employed there

¹ The parallel texts of this, the oldest treaty known to history, are confronted in an article by Prof. Langdon and Dr Alan Gardiner in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for July 1920, pp. 179-205. The Hittite document (from Boghazköi) is written of course in Babylonian cuneiform.

in heavy manual task-work' (p. 63). The *Habiru* of the letters of the governor of Jerusalem, in the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence, does really correspond to 'Eber (not to Hebrews), and the term is to be taken to mean one branch of the nomad Aramaeans (pp. 66-79). Dr Burney points out that the *Habiru* are only mentioned in one set of letters, and he rejects the theory that the frequently occurring ideogram SA-GAZ, used for invading nomads, is to be read *Habiru*. The mention of the *Habiru*, then, in the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence does not correspond to Joshua's campaigns, but rather to that penetration by semi-nomads which is indicated in the stories of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, a marked feature of which, as Dr Burney points out (p. 85), is the fresh waves of Aramaean immigration, symbolized by Rebekah and by Leah and Rachel. Penetration by nomads is a serious danger when, as during the Tel-el-Amarna period, the central government is weak.

Dr Burney's study of this far-away period of Israelite history is in a very true sense conservative and constructive. There are, of course, radicals in Old Testament criticism who would admit this, while themselves adopting other conclusions. Those, on the other hand, who find Dr Burney too much of an iconoclast, should read carefully his criticism of Dr Orr in the long note on p. 90, where he shews that the identification of the *Habiru*-invasion with that of Israel under Joshua at once cuts at the roots of the historical character of the old narratives in the Book of Joshua, for it would shew that these narratives were told by persons who knew neither the true names of the then rulers of Palestine nor the conditions under which they ruled. The really surprising thing about Dr Burney's construction is the large amount of Biblical material which he has been able to utilize without much alteration.

F. C. BURKITT.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1920 (Vol. xc, No. 180: S.P.C.K.).
E. G. SELWYN The first Scottish Episcopacy—T. B. STRONG The Christian doctrine of Atonement—M. HERTZBERG Relations between the English and the Norwegian Church—A. C. HEADLAM Comprehension—LORD CHARNWOOD The Church and the League of Nations—A. C. HEADLAM A Roman Catholic view of Reunion—C. E. FLÖVSTRUP Anglicanism and Lutheranism—C. H. TURNER and A. NAIRNE The doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion—Spiritual reconstruction and the Lambeth Conference—W. H. FRERE The new South African liturgy—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1920 (Vol. xviii, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). W. R. INGE Religion and the State—F. R. HOARE The conditions of effective Idealism—H. L. STEWART Mrs. Humphry Ward and the theological novel—J. S. MACKENZIE Ethical Religion—S. A. COOK The interdependence of religion and research—W. R. LETHABY The Royal Academy picture show and higher criticism of Art—W. A. DE SILVA A Buddhist view of spirits and spiritistic phenomena—BISHOP OF ONTARIO The Church of England in Canada and Reunion—E. K. PAGET The poverty of the clergy and the wives of the clergy—S. MEANS The mystery of Christ—E. F. JOURDAIN The religious philosophy of Pascal—E. I. FRIPP The minister who baptised Shakespeare—E. M. CAILLARD Man in the light of modern psychology—C. PLATER Retreats and reconstruction—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, July 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 115: Hodder & Stoughton). A. T. ROBERTSON The Christ of St Luke's Gospel—T. H. ROBINSON The structure of the Book of Jeremiah—H. R. MACKINTOSH Jesus Christ and Prayer—J. M. SHAW Can faith be indifferent to the bodily resurrection of our Lord?—J. P. LILLEY William Robertson Smith: recollections of a fellow-student—G. H. WHITAKER 'Αληθεια in the New Testament and in Polybius.

August 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 116). J. B. HARFORD Handley Carr Glyn Moule—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH Arguments from the Pentateuch for the future life—W. E. BEET The mystery of the sealed book—

J. P. LILLEY William Robertson Smith: recollections of a fellow-student—J. MOFFATT Pickings from the new papyri—R. HARRIS A further note on the original title of St Mark—V. BURCH The original arrangement of the Sermon on the Mount.

September 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 117). A. C. WELCH Joel and the post-exilic community—E. W. WINSTANLEY The outlook of the Apologists—R. HARRIS Rivers of living water—A. MARMORSTEIN Ecclesiastes xii 6—J. M. E. ROSS The point of strain in Christian Ethic—H. C. A. TOWNSEND Our conception of God—J. A. HUTTON A hard saying.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1920 (Vol. xxiv, No. 3: University of Chicago Press). E. D. BURTON Tendencies in northern Baptist Churches—M. RADE The present situation of Christianity in Germany—H. T. STOCK Christian Missions among the American Indians—W. MUSS-ARNOTT The Scottish Service Book of 1637—A. S. WOODBURN The description of Religion—H. E. BRUNNER New religious movement in Switzerland—H. J. CADBURY Luke—translator or author?—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1920 (Vol. xviii, No. 3: Princeton University Press). C. E. MACARTNEY Thomas Guthrie—B. B. WARFIELD 'Miserable sinner Christianity' in the hands of the rationalists II—R. D. WILSON The names of God in the Old Testament—J. K. VAN BAALEN The Ritschlians and the preëxistence of Christ—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, March 1920 (Vol. vi, No. 1: É. Nourry, Paris). À nos morts—A. LOISY Les rites totémiques des naturels australiens—P. ALFARIC Un manuscrit manichéen—R. LAWSON L'eucharistie dans saint Augustin—Chronique bibliographique.

June 1920 (Vol. vi, No. 2). A. LOISY Les premières années du christianisme—A. VANBECK La discipline pénitentielle en Orient de Denys de Corinthe à Athanase—A. LOISY Les rites d'initiation chez les naturels australiens—H. DELAFOSSE L'homélie clémentine—Chronique bibliographique.

The Journal of Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1921

WILLIAM SANDAY.

IN Dr Sanday, who passed away on September 16, 1920, England has lost the theologian who formed the greatest present link between her scholars and those of America and the continent of Europe, and, whatever may prove to be the permanent value of his work, one who has left us for ever a noble model of the true tone and temper of the scholar and the controversialist. No one starting on such a career could do better than read the prefaces and conclusions of Sanday's chief volumes, so illuminating as to his own aims and methods, so stimulating and suggestive to future students: one who had read and digested them, and (I would add to them) Mr Shuckburgh's poem on Dr Hort (Hort's *Life and Letters* ii p. 459), would be fully equipped for his task. How true was the sharp line drawn in his Inaugural Lecture as Ireland Professor between the duty of the teacher and the researcher—the teacher's task only 'to make the salient points salient', the researcher's motto 'There is nothing common or unclean', every minutest fact to be considered, valued, placed in its due proportion. How wise and generous the attitude of mind with which he approached traditional expressions of truth—'a spirit of reverence for old ideas which may perhaps be transcended but which discharged a very important function in their day: a spirit of patience which does not at once discard and renounce them, but seeks to extract their full significance: and an open mind for the real extent of their significance' (*The Life of Christ in Recent Research* p. 34). Once more how humble and yet how courageous the recognition that work on such deep subjects may fail to be right, but that an

author may at least deserve to be right. 'But for that the conditions are exacting and severe. First there must be comprehensive knowledge: then there must be sound method: and lastly there must be the right temper or balance of mind' (*ib.* p. 37.) This balance of mind made his work essentially that of a mediator; he could not endure the dilemma 'all or nothing'; he was always trying to see the strong points on each side, nearly always doing full justice to the motives of his opponents, laying his foundations strongly first, building slowly upon them, recognizing his own limitations, willing to acknowledge where he had made mistakes, if he did not feel quite sure of a view 'putting two queries over against it in the margin', very willing to collaborate with others, with great faith in younger students, while trenchant in his criticisms on what he thought wrong, yet enthusiastically generous in his admiration for new views which seemed to him true—witness his review of the work of Dr Moberly and Dr Du Bose, or this estimate of von Harnack, from whom he so often differed: 'Harnack has not only all the German virtues in the highest degree, but he has others less distinctly German—a width and generosity of outlook, a freedom from pedantry, a sympathy and understanding for human weakness, that are all his own.' Through the whole of his life he was attempting to mediate between traditional ideas and the claims of modern criticism, and from time to time he would turn aside to mediate, and always in a chivalrous spirit on behalf of the weaker party, in other controversies, as between Capital and Labour in social questions, between the Ritualists and their opponents in ecclesiastical, as between different conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice, different theories of education, as between England and Germany in the Great War. But these nearly all lie outside the scope of this JOURNAL. I must confine myself to his work as a Theologian. For this he equipped himself with great care: having won first classes in the Classical Schools at Oxford and a fellowship at Trinity (1866), he stayed for a few years in Oxford, where he was ordained in 1867, and soon after held two country livings, 1872–1876. This was a time of real preparation: his work left him leisure for study: visits to Germany had already made him acquainted with its language, and he became a thorough student of its theological literature.

This was seen at once in his first book, published in 1872, *The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, and his later books, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, *Modern Christologies*, and notably his address as President of the Congress of Religions in 1908, shew how carefully, and with what a wide outlook he kept abreast all his life with later developments. His first book attracted notice at once for its combination of reverence with freedom of criticism. It was an argument for the Johannine authorship of the Gospel: putting aside the external evidence as inconclusive, he carefully compared each chapter with the Synoptist narrative, shewing that in spite of difference of form there was essential agreement in the character of the Lord and the substance of the discourses: and the work remains of permanent and assured value. There followed in 1876 an equally sound and independent piece of work, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, an examination of the quotations from the Greek Testament in second-century writers; the most valuable part of it being the proof that the third Gospel was prior to Marcion's adaptation of it. These two books marked the author out at once as one who ought to hold a prominent position as a Teacher. Many of us were already looking for the day when he should return to Oxford as Professor; but Durham claimed him first, and from 1876-1883 he was Principal of Hatfield Hall in that University. The only literary output during these years consisted of Commentaries on the Romans and the Galatians contributed to Bishop Ellicott's N. T. Commentary for English readers. In 1883 he was elected Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis: the inadequate salary attached to that post would not have enabled him to live in Oxford had not Exeter College come to his aid and elected him to an official Fellowship. These two offices he held till 1895, when he was transferred to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity and a Canonry at Christ Church. This passage from Exegesis to Divinity fell in exactly with the scheme of work which he had long before mapped out for himself. That was, to lay his foundations in exact knowledge of the text and MSS; then to pass to Exegesis and Introduction of the books of the N. T.; then finally to deal with the deeper questions of Theology, with the hope that it might be given him

to write in the light of them a worthy Life of Christ. Before he came to Oxford he had gained a good knowledge of textual problems, not only of the N. T. but also of the old Latin translations of it, and of some of the Fathers. This bore fruit in articles on the Corbey St James (ff), on the Italian Origin of the Codex Amiatinus, on the Cheltenham list of the Canonical books of the Old and New Testament and of the writings of Cyprian (*Studia Biblica*, ii-iii), in a discussion of codex K in *Old Latin Biblical Texts* vol ii (1886), in a careful examination in his Seminar of Cyprian's Testimonia and of the N. T. text used by Irenaeus, and in a volume of Appendices to the N. T. in which he compared Westcott and Hort's text with that of Stephanus and gave a selection of important variants, with illustrations from the Memphitic, Armenian, and Ethiopic versions (1889). The tenure of the Ireland Professorship also saw the publication, in collaboration with Dr Headlam, of the thorough *Commentary on the Romans* (1895), and of the Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration* (1893). His own criticism on this book in later years was that it was too eloquent: a truer criticism would be that it was misnamed: it was not a thorough discussion of Inspiration; it confined the thought mainly to the prophetic inspiration and said little about that of psalmist or historian or of scribe: but it was rather a book of Introduction, full of knowledge and of insight into the contents of both Old and New Testaments. A visit to Palestine in 1902 resulted in a charmingly written and illustrated discussion of *The Sacred Sites of the Gospels* (1903): a visit to America in 1904 in a course of lectures on *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* (1905). This is one of the completest of his works, dealing with both the external and the internal evidence and weighing carefully all modern views of authorship and structure, containing with them some of his wisest thoughts on the methods of true criticism. He was still quite convinced that the Gospel was by an eye-witness, by the loved disciple, and still inclined to believe that the loved disciple was John. The same year saw the republication of his article in *Hastings's Dictionary* on 'Jesus Christ', under the title 'Outlines of the Life of Christ', the most useful book for theological students that he wrote, introducing them at once to the historical and the theological problems of the Life. His mind was turning now mainly to the latter: that had

been his aim from the first, and it was accentuated by the friendship with Dr Moberly which had resulted from his move to Christ Church. He has himself described his chief debt to his new friend: 'It is strange'—he wrote in criticism of some German thinking—'that it should not be seen that however inward a conviction may be and however internal the process by which it is reached, it must sooner or later express itself externally. Spirit must needs clothe itself with body: and it is only in the outward form that one spirit can communicate with another. The external may come in at different points in the process, but the internal without the external cannot exist. We in this country have learnt this lesson from Dr Moberly and his friends' (*The Life of Christ in Recent Research* p. 44). In the light of this friendship his mind turned more to the conception of *Priesthood and Sacrifice*: he organized and presided at a conference between Churchmen and Nonconformists on the subject and edited the results, pleased to find the amount of underlying agreement that revealed itself (1900). His mind turned also to deeper Christological problems. His *Life of Christ in Recent Research* (1907) was a thorough survey of the modern problems, and shewed how his mind was hesitating on the subject of the 'Nature' miracles. This tendency became more marked in *Christologies Ancient and Modern* (1910), containing a masterly review of the early and the later stages of the theme, and propounding a line of thought of his own in the hope that it might prove a contribution to its solution: a contribution which was worked out more fully in another volume, *Personality in Christ and in Ourselves* (1911). He had been much impressed by the tendency of psychology to lay stress on the subliminal consciousness as a large factor in our thoughts and actions, and it seemed to him that the fact of the gradual emergence of the subconscious into the conscious offered a real analogy to the way in which the Divine Nature in Christ would have emerged into and permeated the human. This contribution was not felt to be helpful. It almost ignores the fact that the subliminal consciousness is a very mixed storehouse containing things bad and good as well as new and old: it strangely puts the unconscious on a higher level than that which has become conscious and rational, and places the real union of the Divine

and Human on a lower level than a deliberate harmony of will and love.¹

The same year (1911) saw the publication of the Oxford *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*. His own contribution to this is only a short but very suggestive essay on the conditions under which the Evangelists would have written, both their psychological attitude to their theme, and the external limitations imposed by the difficulty of ready reference to written sources; but the whole work is the outcome of his influence. He had in his first book anticipated the present solution of the Synoptic problem; he had worked through it in detail year after year in his Seminar, and the volume is the joint contribution of those who had attended it. All these later books had been sketches preparatory to the main work of all his aim, *The Life of Christ*. But it was becoming clear that that aim would never be achieved. Time was slipping by very rapidly, and there was another reason: it was necessary to make up his mind more decidedly as to his attitude to the Gospel miracles. This had always been an anxious problem with him: he had tried to hold the balance between the traditional view and the claims of a rather rigid theory of the uniformity of Nature, but by 1912 the balance had gone against the traditional view: he felt clear that while God's power could mould and control the lower laws to higher purposes, yet His Nature required that He should respect the limitations which those laws imposed, and he could no longer accept, though he hesitated to say that he rejected, the Virgin Birth, the literal Resurrection and Ascension of the Lord, and the Nature Miracles. This was the theme to which he recurred again and again in the next few years: he dealt with it in a paper at the Church Congress 1912: it led to sharp controversy with Bishop Gore (*Bishop Gore's Challenge to Criticism*, 1914), to a friendly correspondence with the Dean of Christ Church (*Spirit, Matter and Miracle*, privately printed 1916), and with a former pupil, the Rev. N. P. Williams (*Form and Content of the Christian Tradition*, 1916), and he returned to the theme in his last public lecture (*Divine Overruling*, 1920) and his Nunc

¹ With regard to the relation of the conscious to the subconscious self I should like to call attention to a sermon by Dr H. Scott Holland, printed for the first time in his posthumous volume *The Philosophy of Faith and the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 95-106.

Dimittis (*The Position of Liberal Theology*, 1920). These critics urged that his view of uniformity was too rigid, that it excluded from the Divine power 'the faculty of initiative, the power of making fresh departures', that greater spiritual power might embody itself in greater external results (the influence of Dr Moberly, who had impressed this truth on him at one time, had been for some years removed by death), that he did not give sufficient weight to the actual testimony for the miracles, that he had not considered how far the times in which the Gospels were written were consistent with the growth of legendary matter: but his own mind remained quite clear; the only limitation he could allow was he would not assert positively more than that his view *might be true*: but to himself it brought conviction and peace: it seemed to have cleared away the last barrier between science and religion and to have introduced a unity in all thought: and he championed it with characteristic sincerity and courage. There synchronized with this change about miracle, partly induced by it, a change in his view of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. He was partly affected in this by Mr E. F. Scott's book on the Gospel, which seemed to him to picture an adequate situation out of which the Gospel could have arisen, but the deciding influence came from the article in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* by Baron Friedrich von Hügel.

Time only will shew what is the value and effect of his Christological discussions: what is certain is that his influence was one of the great factors in bringing about the acceptance of the critical view of the Bible, that he more than any one else in England helped to solve the Synoptic problem and did work that will last on the exegesis of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle to the Romans, that he made the English mind face the problem of eschatology in the N. T. We in Oxford know that he lifted the level of Professorial work and drew round him a circle of devoted students: all will recognize the strong religious belief in the Divine overruling of History, in the Divine character of Christ, in the universal meaning of His life and of the Atonement wrought by His death. It was my privilege to share the last walk that he took. Three things stand out prominently in my recollection of it. A fortnight before he had given to members of the Churchmen's Union an address

characterized by all his old vigour and felicitousness ; this was nominally an account of the work of Dr Hatch ; it was really also a comparison in respect of style, learning, and scientific method of ten recent theologians, Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, Pusey, Bright, Liddon, Church, Bigg, Stanley, and Jowett ; and now reflexion filled him with self-reproach that in that address (it is printed in *The Modern Churchman*, October 1920) he had said about Dr Westcott that 'he dabbled in fundamentals' : he felt that he had been unjust to the author of *The Gospel of the Resurrection*. There was delight in the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, with their vision of the Reunion of Christendom, and also an optimistic view of the future of theological study in England. There was lastly a hope that it might be given to him to do a little more work ; he wished to do this in two directions. He said once that the process of learning would never end for him till life ended (*Christologies Ancient and Modern* p. 5) ; this proved true, and equally true was it that the process of teaching never ended till then : he was hoping to draw out the indications given by the Gospels of the Divine consciousness in the Lord's utterances ; and he was still looking forward to being able to preach once again in the Cathedral : he had asked the Dean and Chapter some months before to allow him to be the preacher on Wednesdays in Lent 1921 : and he told me that his theme would be the lessons to be learnt from the War. That was not to be. But for how much have we to be grateful, for the work, the example, the stimulus, the affection *tam cari capitis*. It would be too exacting to wish for more.

WALTER LOCK.

NOTES AND STUDIES

LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA CORRESPONDANCE DE SAINT BASILE

BY THE LATE ABBÉ M. BESSIÈRES

(EDITED BY C. H. TURNER: SEE NOTE ON p. 137)

CHAPITRE III

L'EMBRANCHEMENT B

§ I. Tableau synoptique des familles Bo et Bu.

DES deux familles Bo et Bu la plus complète quant au nombre de lettres est la famille Bo. Mais elle est de formation plus récente que Bu, dont elle est peut-être issue. Nous prendrons comme bases de notre tableau les deux mss Coislin 237 (C) et Mediceus iv 14 (F) de la famille Bo, dont ils sont les représentants les plus anciens. F représente un état intermédiaire entre Bo et Bu.

TABLEAU V.

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre combiné Bo-Bu	Bo			Bu		
		Medic. iv 14 (F)	Coisl. 237 (C) Arsenal 234 (A) ¹ Monac. 497 (M) ²	Vatic. 7:3	Vatic. 2209 (R)	Paris. 971	Ambros. 604
14	1		A fait défaut jus- qu'au numéro	inter epp. Gregorii.		om.	om.
[Greg. 6]	2		33, M* (c'est-à- dire première	tr. après 4		om.	om.
[Greg. 114]	3		main de M) jus- qu'au numéro 29,			om.	om.
2	4		de l'ordre com- biné.			om.	om.
				335 [Greg. 6]			
19	[5]		tr. après cp. 14 (ordre combiné) C			om.	om.
				195 279			

¹ Le ms de l'Arsenal 234 (état actuel) ne commence qu'au milieu de la lettre 19. Les 23 premiers numéros sont à identifier avec les 23 premiers numéros du Coislin 237. [But the Coislin MS appears to have 24 letters, not 23, previous to ep. 203, in the middle of which the Arsenal MS now begins: see chapter I p. 38].

² On trouve au début du Monacensis 497 (M) d'insertion postérieure les lettres suivantes: 2 (α'), 1 (β'), 4 (γ'), 14 (δ'), 7 (ε'), 19 (ς'), 47 (ζ'), [Greg. Naz. 114] (η'), 361 (θ'), 362 (ι'), 363 (ια'), 364 (ιβ'), 242 (ιγ'), 189 (ιδ'), 102 (ις'), 16 (ις'), 226 (ιη'), 259 (ιθ').

TABLEAU V (*suite*).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre combiné Bo-Bu	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R	Paris. 971	Ambros. 604
	[190]	epp. 7			epp. 7	epp.	epp.
	[192]	169			169	169	169
	[193]	171			170	170	170
	[194]	170			171		171
	[351]	ep. 47			47		
9	6			om.		om.	om.
4	7			tr.		om.	om.
13	8						
211	9			tr.			
12	10			tr.			
3	11			om.			
1	12			tr.			
40	13						
41	14			om.			
	[5]		ep. 19 C				
58	15					om.	om.
295	16						
16	17						om.
259	18						
226	19						om.
62	20		incipit cod. M*				
102	[21]		om. CM*				
302	[22]		om. CM				
269	23						
51	24					om.	om.
251	25	om. ¹				om.	om.
99	26					om.	
203	27		incipit cod. A			om.	om.
207	28					om.	om.
5	29						
6	30						
247	31		om. A ²				
246	32		om. A			om.	om.
238	33		om. A		om.		om.
240	34						
229	35						
230	36						
121	37					om.	
	[246]	ep. 122 ³			ep. 122		
130	38						
140	39						om.
135	40					om.	om.
160	41					om.	
55	42					om.	om.
253	43						
256	44						

¹ La lettre 251 aux Evésiens, où sont relatés maints détails de la vie d'Eustathe de Sébaste très importants au point de vue historique, fait partie de la tradition Bo et Bu. Son absence dans F doit donc être imputée à quelque accident ou oubli.

² Par suite de la perte d'un folio, A passe du commencement de $\kappa\varsigma'$ (ep. 6) à la fin de $\kappa\theta'$ (ep. 238).

³ Remarquer l'accord de F avec R, et l'accord des quatre autres mss Bo entre eux.

TABLEAU V (*suite*).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre combiné Bo-Bu	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R	Paris. 97 ¹	Ambros. 604
29	45						<i>om.</i>
25	46					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
300	47						
101	48						
301	49						
227	50						
228	51						
26	52						
18	53						
106	54						<i>om.</i>
206	55						
139	56					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
82	57					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
80	58					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
				ep. 60 ¹			
61	59			<i>om.</i> ¹		<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
69	60					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
66	61					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
67	62					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
133	63						
266	64					<i>om.</i>	
219	65						
156	66						
100	67						
136	68		<i>om. C ut uid.</i>			<i>om.</i>	
30	69					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
162	70						
98	71					<i>om.</i>	
241	72						
138	73					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
27	74						<i>om.</i>
182	75						
183	76						
48	77						
128	78						
239	79		<i>om. C ut uid.</i>			<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
127	80					<i>om.</i>	
95	81						
141	82						
198	83						
237	84						
34	85						<i>om.</i>
268	86					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
				1 ^{re} partie seulement			
145	87			ep. 268 2 ^{me} partie ep. 64			
31	88						
146	89						
28	90					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
63	91						
210	92					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>

¹ [I cannot help suspecting some slip in M. Bessières' notes at this point: that he had written 60 for 61 seems more likely than that Vat. 713 should have chanced to substitute the one letter for the other.]

TABLEAU V (*suite*).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre combiné Bo-Bu	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R	Paris. 971	Ambros. 604
126	93						
204	94					om.	om.
54	95		om. M				
291	96		om. M				
53	97		om. M			om.	om.
244	98					om.	om.
250	99					om.	om.
				de Sp. S. ch. 23 epp. 4, 211, 12, 116, 17, 179 [Gr. 113]			
216	100			om.			
258	101			om.			
245	102			om.			
49	103			om.			
50	104			om.			
195	105			tr. après 5			
184	106			om.			
185	107			om.			
181	108			om.			
81	109			om.			
79	110			om.			
119	111			om.	om.		
223	112					om.	om.
224	113						om.
212	114						
265	115						
131	116						
214	117						
175	118						
264	119						
267	120						
85	121						
123	122						
262	123						
45	124						
46	125						
323	126						
23	127						
22	128						
284	129						
205	130						
206 bis ¹	131			om.		om.	
113	132						
114	133					om.	
57	134					om.	om.
154	135						
164	136						
165	137						

¹ La lettre 206 figure deux fois dans la plupart des mss B : une première fois sans adresse, comme lettre de consolation *παρὰμνητική* (se reporter au numéro 55 de notre ordre combiné, p. 107 *supra*), une seconde fois avec l'adresse *τῷ αὐτῷ*, c'est-à-dire Ἐλπιδῷ, à qui est adressée la lettre précédente 205.

TABLEAU V (*suite*).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre combiné Bo-Bu	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R	Paris. 971	Ambros. 604
68	138					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
252	139						
197	140					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
120	141					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
129	142					<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>
89	143	<i>om.</i> ¹			<i>tr. (σπα'</i>	<i>om.</i>	<i>tr. (σπα')</i>
159	144				de Bu)		
161	145						
176	146						
191	147						
150	148						
231	149						
202	150						
200	151						
201	152						
218	153						
232	154						
248	155		<i>om. M</i> cp. 82 M				
190	156						
236	157						
233	158					<i>om.</i>	
234	159						
235	160					<i>om.</i>	

Après le n° 160 de notre ordre combiné Bu diffère de Bo : mais nous continuons à faire figurer les chiffres de R en lettres grecques (compléter ces indications par celles du tableau VI), pour montrer les lettres que Bu a de commun avec Bo et celles qui étant dans Bo manquent dans Bu.

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre Bo	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R
188	161	<i>om.</i> ²			<i>σπé'</i>
199	162	<i>om.</i>			<i>σπς'</i>
217	163	<i>om.</i>			<i>σπζ'</i>
260	164				<i>ρξδ'</i>
341	165	<i>tr. après</i> 179			<i>om.</i>
335	166				<i>ρξδ' bis</i>
349	167				<i>σ'</i>
350	168			<i>om.</i>	<i>ρση'</i>
351	169			<i>om.</i>	<i>ρθθ'</i>
352	170			<i>om.</i>	<i>ρπ'</i>

¹ On est surpris que cette lettre intéressante adressée à Mélèce d'Antioche manque dans F. On peut s'expliquer cette lacune en admettant que jusqu'au numéro 160 de l'ordre combiné F dépend d'un ancêtre identique à R, et qu'à partir des numéros suivants il dépend d'un ancêtre ressemblant aux autres mss Bo, qui assignent à la lettre 89 une place différente de celle que lui assigne Bu (*σπα'*, voir tableau VI p. 115 *infra*).

² Les trois lettres canoniques 188 199 217 manquent dans F, parce que ces trois lettres ne figurent pas dans la partie que ce ms a de commun avec Bu. A la vérité ces trois lettres figurent bien dans R, mais dans la partie de ce ms qui n'a rien de commun avec Bo et particulièrement avec F.

TABLEAU V (suite).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre Bo	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R
353	171			om.	ρπα'
354	172			om.	ρπβ'
355	173			om.	ρπγ'
356	174				om.
356	175		om. C ut uid.		ρξη'
337	176			om.	ρξθ'
338	177			om.	ρο'
339	178			om.	ροα'
340	179				ροβ'
	[165]	ep. 341	ep. 341 bis CA		
342	180				ρογ'
343	181				ροδ'
347	182				ρπδ'
348	183				ρπε'
344	184				ροε'
345	185				ροε' bis
346	186				ρος'
38	187				σπγ'
105	188				σμγ'
189	189		om. CM (189 figure parmi les lettres de la 2 ^{me} main de M, voir p. 105 n. 2)		σξε'
7	190	tr. après ep. 5			tr. après ep. 5
71	191	om. ¹			σξε'
169	192	tr. après ep. 5			tr. après ep. 5
171	193	tr.			tr.
170	194	tr.			tr.
271	195				σιγ'
84	196				σις'
276	197				σιθ'
148	198				σκς'
149	199				σλς'
74	200				σλη'
112	201				σμβ'
279	202				σμδ'
179	203			tr. après 99, voir p. 108	σν'
73	204				σνδ'
281	205				σξα'
86	206				om.
72	207				σς'
225	208				σοδ'
365	[209]		om. CAM		om.
24	210				σογ'
15	211				om.
274	212				om.
286	213				om.
142	214				om.
143	215				om.
144	216				om.

¹ Ep. 71, à S. Grégoire de Nazianze, figure dans la première partie de F, parmi les lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze.

TABLEAU V (*suite*).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre Bo	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R
311	217				om.
109	218				om.
303	219				om.
306	220				om.
278	221				om.
134	222				σιβ'
194	223				σιε'
208	224				σκδ'
329	225				ρζα'
163	226				{ σγ'
20	227				{ σκε'
21	228				σβ'
151	229				σδ'
		ep. 182 bis ¹			σκα'
124	230				σπβ'
261	231				σμη'
125	232				σπδ'
90	233				σμε'
243	234				σξ'
263	235				σξζ'
242	236				σσε'
91	237				σνθ'
254	238				om.
92	239			ep. 295 bis ²	om.
255	240				om.
132	241				σνα'
65	242				σι'
97	243				ση'
292	244	om.			σνβ'
193	245				σλγ'
122	246	tr. après 37			tr. après 37
282	247				σξη'
334	248				σξθ'
333	249				om.
186	250				ρπθ'
187	251				ρς'
137	252		om. C tr. 253 252 A		σε'
294	253				σoγ'
222	254				σνη'
221	255				σoθ'
220	256				σπ'
94	257				σα'
17	258				σκβ'
56	[259]		om. CAM		σκγ'
328	260				om.
118	261				ρζβ'
116	262				σλα'
325	263				σμ'
324	264				σλε'
277	265				σκα'

¹ La lettre 182 figure deux fois dans F : voir le numéro 75 de l'ordre combiné, p. 107 *supra*.

² Voir n° 16 de l'ordre combiné, p. 106.

TABLEAU V (*suite*).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre Bo	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R
293	266				ρπζ'
299	267				σις'
313	268		om. M		σλθ'
312	269		tr. 270 269 M		om.
83	270				om.
304	271				ρπς'
196	272				ρςγ'
147	273				σιη'
33	274				om.
75	275				σλζ'
178	276				ςξγ'
152	277				σκ'
153	278				om.
111	279				ρξε'
104	280				ρξς'
110	281				ρξζ'
280	282				σλδ'
272	283				σκζ'
96	284				σκη'
180	285				σλ'
76	286				σλβ'
192	287				σνε'
177	288				ςξβ'
32	289				ςξδ'
172	290				σνγ'
321	291				ρςδ'
				[Greg. 57]	
52	292				σμα'
173	293				σθ'
174	294				ρπη'
10	295				σμς'
283	296	om. ¹			om.
296	297				om.
297	298				om.
107	299				om.
108	300	om. ²			om.
93	301				om.
103	302	om. ³			σςζ'
87	303				σδ' bis
78	304				om.
273	305				om.
275	306				om.
315	307				om.
318	308				om.
316	309				om.
70	310				om.
319	311				om.
320	312				om.
317	313				om.
322	314				om.
326	315				om.
327	316				om.

¹ (Ep. 283) : à une veuve, sans grand intérêt.² (Ep. 108) : au tuteur des héritiers de Julitte, qui avait été elle-même veuve.³ (Ep. 103) : aux habitants de Satala. Cette lettre est ἀρενίγμφος dans quelques mss.

TABLEAU V (suite).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre Bo	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R
77	317				om.
209	318				om.
36	319				om.
285	320				om.
309	321				om.
314	322				om.
305	323				om.
308	324	om. ¹			om.
117	325				om.
298	326				om.
35	327				om.
310	328				om.
249	329				ρσζ'
11	330				om.
331	331				ρςζ'
155	332				om.
213	333				om.
88	334				om.
270	335				om.
287	336	om. ²			om.
288	337				om.
307	338				σθβ'
37	339				om.
289	340				om.
330	341				ρςε'
332	342				om.
168	343				σνς'
				ep. 156 bis ³	
157	344				om.
158	345				σνζ'
290	346				σνη'
215	347				om.
257	348				σδ'
60	349				σιδ'
59	350				σια'
47	351	tr. après 5 p. 106 <i>supra</i>			tr. après 5 p. 106 <i>supra</i>
166	352	om. ⁴	om. M		om.
167	353		om. M		om.
				ep. 280 bis ⁵	
64	[354]		om. CAM	om.	σνα'
a ⁶		om.	om. M		om.
b ⁷		om.	om. M		ρςζ'
c ⁸		om.	om. M		om.

¹ (Ep. 308) : ἀνεπίγραφος ἐπὶ προστασίᾳ.² (Ep. 287) : à Eusèbe de Samosate, anno 376.³ Voir le numéro 66 de l'ordre combiné, p. 107 *supra*.⁴ (Ep. 166) : sur cette lettre à Eusèbe de Samosate, voir note des Bénédictins [Migne, col. 640, note 51] 'inter epistolas (Gregorii Nazianzeni) haec trigesima est, ipsique videtur tribuenda'.⁵ Cf. n° 282 de l'ordre Bo, p. 112 *supra*.⁶ Pseudo-Apollinaire (MS. Βασίλειος 'Απολινάριφ) : éditée par L. Sebastiani à Rome, 1796.⁷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου.⁸ πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὸ Ὁμοούσιον.

TABLEAU V (*suite*).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre Bo	F	CAM	Vatic. 713	R
[Libanios 1226			om. CM		om.
1227			om. CM	om.	om.
1228]			om. CM		ρζη'
[Greg. Naz. 136]		om.	om. CM	om.	om.
d ¹			om. ACM	om.	om.
115		om. ²			σζ
[Greg. Nys. 2 ³]		om.	om. CM	om.	om.

N.B. — Le Mediceus iv 14 a subi vers la fin une perturbation et certaines mutilations qui rendent la comparaison malaisée avec les autres mss. (Voir description, ch. I p. 43.) Néanmoins ce ms semble former un chaînon nécessaire entre Bu et Bo. L'ordre des lettres qu'il donne reproduit assez souvent les variantes de Bu. En outre le texte des lettres, quand se produit une divergence entre Bo et Bu, demeure fidèle à Bu (voir le tableau des variantes de la lettre 46). En conséquence le Mediceus iv 14 peut passer pour le représentant d'un état ancien de Bo, les légères variantes que présente Bo étant des remaniements de cet état dont le Mediceus iv 14 subsiste comme témoin.

§ II. Supplément au tableau précédent pour la famille Bu.

On a vu que les mss Vat. 2209 (R), Paris. 971, Ambros. 604, cessent de concorder avec les mss de la famille Bo à partir du n° 160 de l'ordre combiné. Mais entre eux ils continuent à présenter de grandes analogies qui ressortiront du tableau suivant à la base duquel nous plaçons l'ordre du Vat. 2209.

TABLEAU VI.

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Vat. 2209 (R)	Par. 971	Amb. 604 ⁴	Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Vat. 2209 (R)	Par. 971	Amb. 604 ⁴
III	ρξε'	om. ρξε'		344	ρoe'		
104	ρξς'	jusqu'à		345	ρoe' bis		
110	ρξς'	ρπε'		346	ρoς'		
		(23 lettres)		349	ρoς'		
335	ρξς' bis	om. ρξς' bis		350	ρoη'		
336	ρξη'	jusqu'à		351	ρoθ'		
337	ρξθ'	ρπε'		352	ρπ'		
338	ρo'	(20 lettres)		353	ρπα'		
339	ρoa'			354	ρπβ'		
340	ρoβ'			355	ρπγ'		
342	ρoγ'			347	ρπδ'		
343	ρoδ'			348	ρπε'		

¹ Basile, Homélies (Migne 31, col. 1488 et suiv.).

² (Ep. 115) : à une femme hérétique Simplicia : dans F parmi les lettres de S. Grég. Naz. σλβ'.

³ Migne 46, col. 1009.

⁴ Après ρξε' Amb. 604 donne 32 lettres qui devaient figurer plus loin : σι', σιβ', σιέ--σκ', σκβ'--σμά', σμγ' σμδ', σν' σνα' : voir p. 115 *infra*.

TABLEAU VI (*suite*).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Vat. 2209 (R)	Par. 971	Amb. 604	Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Vat. 2209 (R)	Par. 971	Amb. 604
304	ρπς'			280	σλδ'		
293	ρπς'	om.	om.	324	σλε'		
		ep. 33	ep. 33	149	σλς'		
174	ρπη'	tr. ρπθ'		75	σλς'		
186	ρπθ'	ρπη'		74	σλη'	om.	
187	ρς'			313	σλθ'		
		ep. 328	ep. 328	325	σμ'		
329	ρςα'			52	σμα'		
118	ρςβ'			112	σμβ'	om.	om.
196	ρςγ'			105	σμγ'		
321	ρςδ'			279	σμδ'		
330	ρςε'	om.	om.	90	σμε'	om.	om.
331	ρςς'	om.	om.	10	σμς'	om.	om.
περί τοῦ σώμα- τος τοῦ κ.	ρςζ'		om.	356	σμζ'	om.	om.
[Liban. 1228]	ρςη'	om.	om.	261	σμη'	om.	om.
[Greg. Naz. 136]	ρςθ'	om.	om.	179	σν ²		
				64	σνα'		
249	σ'	om.		292	σνβ'	om.	
94	σα'			172	σνγ'	om.	
20	σβ'		om.	73	σνδ'		
163	σγ'	om. ¹		192	σνε'		
21	σδ'	om.		168	σνς'		
87	σδ' bis	om.				ep. 157	ep. 157
137	σε'			158	σνζ'		
72	σς'			290	σνη'		
115	ςζ'	om.	om.	91	σνθ'		
97	ση'	om.	om.	243	σξ'	om.	om.
173	σθ'			281	σξα'	om.	
65	σι'	tr. (pour les		177	σξβ'	om.	
59	σια'	om. lettres σί		178	σξγ'		
134	σιβ'	jusqu'à σνα'		32	σξδ'		om.
		v. p. 114 n. 4)		189	σξε'	om.	om.
271	σιγ'		om.	71	σξς'	om.	om.
60	σιδ'		om.	263	σξζ'	om.	om.
194	σιε'			282	σξη'	om.	
299	σις'			334	σξθ'	om.	om.
84	σιζ'			257	σο'		
147	σιη'			132	σοα'		
276	σιθ'			307	σοβ'	om.	
152	σκ'			24	σιγ'	om.	
277	σκα'		om.	225	σοδ'		
17	σκβ'			242	σοε'	om.	
56	σκγ'			294	σος'		
208	σκδ'			103	σοζ'	om.	
163 bis	σκε'			222	σοη'		
148	σκς'			221	σοθ'	om.	
272	σκζ'	om.		220	σπ'	om.	
		(jusqu'à σλς' incl.)		89	σπα'	om.	
96	σκη'			124	σπβ'		
151	σκθ'			38	σπγ'	om.	om.
180	σλ'			125	σπδ'	om.	om.
116	σλα'			188	σπε'	om.	om.
76	σλβ'			199	σπς'	om.	om.
193	σλγ'			217	σπζ'	om. ³	om.

¹ Voir σκε', doublette de la même lettre 163.² [The scribe of R appears to have jumped over the cypher σμθ' in his enumeration.]³ Suivent les deux épîtres 93, 83, d'une autre main.

N.B. — La concordance entre les 3 manuscrits est légèrement altérée du fait que dans l'Ambrosianus 604 tout un lot composé de 32 lettres se trouve transporté à une place différente de celle qu'elles occupent dans le Vat. 2209 (R). Mais ces 32 lettres offrent entre elles la même succession dans les deux ms. Ce n'est donc qu'une divergence sans importance.

§ III. Remarques et conclusions sur les familles Bo et Bu.

Il est évident que les deux familles Bo et Bu remontent à une même source en ce qui concerne leur grande série concordante, mais il y a lieu d'examiner de plus près la partie très importante où les deux familles divergent. Nous croyons que Bu représente pour cette partie un état moins avancé de classement que Bo, et que cette dernière famille est issue d'un archétype voisin de Bu, mais plus complet que le Vaticanus 2209 (R). Dans notre tableau V l'ordre Bo étant pris pour base, nous avons noté, dans la colonne du Vat. 2209, la place qu'occupe chaque lettre de la série divergente dans ce manuscrit. En examinant les deux ordres, on a l'impression que l'auteur de l'ordre Bo se servait d'un exemplaire du type Bu, avec la préoccupation de rapprocher les lettres qui, suivant son idée, devaient former des groupes homogènes. Quand ces lettres ne se trouvaient pas trop dispersées, la tâche était facile. Il n'y avait qu'à les transcrire à mesure, en rejetant à une autre place les lettres intercalées.

(i) Exemple : Les deux familles donnent une série de six lettres à Sophronios, maître des offices. Dans Bu elles occupent les places suivantes :

$\sigma\kappa\zeta', \sigma\kappa\eta', \sigma\lambda', \sigma\lambda\beta', \sigma\nu\epsilon', \sigma\xi\beta'.$

L'auteur de l'ordre Bo n'a fait que rapprocher ces lettres sans aucune intervention d'ailleurs. Ce sont **272 96 180 76 192 177**. (Cf. tableau V à partir du n° 283 de l'ordre Bo, p. 112.)

(ii) De même, on a dans les deux familles trois lettres :

243 aux évêques d'Italie et des Gaules,

263 } aux Occidentaux.

242 }

Dans Bu ces trois lettres importantes occupent les places suivantes : $\sigma\xi', \sigma\xi\zeta', \sigma\sigma\epsilon'$. Bo les rapproche les unes des autres dans l'ordre ci-dessus. (Voir ordre Bo du tableau V, numéros 234, 235, 236, p. 111.)

(iii) Même remarque pour les lettres **20** et **21** au sophiste Leontios qui sont $\sigma\beta'$ et $\sigma\delta'$ dans Bu (ordre combiné du tableau V, 227 et 228).

(iv) Les deux familles Bo et Bu contiennent quantité de lettres de recommandation ou d'intercession au sens large du mot. Seulement dans Bu elles ne se suivent pas immédiatement. Bo les rapproche, mais sans aucune intervention. Ce sont :

271 à Eusèbe de Samosate, pour lui recommander un prêtre nommé Cyriaque.

84 à un gouverneur de province, pour lui recommander d'exonérer un enfant.

148 } à Trajan, au sujet d'un certain Maxime.

149 }

74 à Martinien, pour qu'il intéresse l'empereur au sort de la Cappadoce.

112 à Andronicos, au sujet d'un certain Domitien.

279 sans adresse, au sujet d'une femme maltraitée.

179 à Arinthée, pour un homme calomnié.

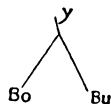
73 à Callisthène, intercession.

281 au préfet Modeste, en faveur d'Helladios.

Ces lettres, qui figurent au tableau V (nos 195, 196, 198-205 de l'ordre Bo), sont respectivement dans Bu

σνγ', σιζ', σκζ', σλζ', σλη', σμβ', σμδ', σνδ', σεα'.

Ces exemples sont les plus caractéristiques. Nous ne croyons pas nécessaire d'insister sur les autres de moindre importance. Des observations qui précèdent concluons provisoirement que Bu représente un état plus archaïque que Bo de l'embranchement B, état dans lequel le classement des lettres est moins avancé. Si nous admettons que les deux familles dérivent d'un ancêtre Y, nous dirons que Bu continue plus directement cet ancêtre, tandis que Bo s'en écarte le plus des deux. On peut figurer ce rapport comme suit :



Le Mediceus iv 14 (F) représente un état intermédiaire entre Bo et Bu. Si l'on consulte le tableau des variantes de la lettre 46, on verra que ses leçons sont presque toujours celles de Bu. Quant à l'ordre même des lettres, c'est celui de Bo, moins quelques divergences vers le début, divergences pour lesquelles il concorde avec Bu.

Il semblerait que tous ces remaniements d'ordre auraient dû aboutir à une classification très logique et très claire de la correspondance dans la famille Bo. Pourtant il s'en faut que l'ordre Bo soit aussi satisfaisant que les ordres Ab ou Ac. Sans doute, on s'y est efforcé de grouper ensemble les lettres à un même correspondant, par exemple les lettres à Amphilochios d'Iconium, les lettres de Basile à Libanios et de Libanios à Basile, les lettres à Eustathe de Sébaste, la plus grande partie des lettres à Eusèbe de Samosate ou aux personnes de son entourage, etc., etc. Pourtant cette méthode de classement n'a pas été poussée jusqu'au bout : ainsi les lettres à Méléce d'Antioche ne sont pas réunies ensemble. Est-ce parce que Méléce, exilé durant presque tout son épiscopat, changea souvent de résidence ? En tout cas on ne peut invoquer

une telle raison quand il s'agit des lettres à Grégoire de Nazianze qui durent entrer les premières dans le Corpus basilien.

On ne saisit pas toujours très bien la raison qui a fait rapprocher les lettres dans Bo, quand il s'agit de correspondants différents. Sans doute il y a des séries homogènes aisées à justifier. Par exemple on comprend pourquoi les lettres **247 246 238 240 229 230 121 130** se suivent sans hiatus (31-38, ordre Bo), parce qu'elles sont adressées à divers destinataires résidant tous à Nicopolis d'Arménie. De même la lettre **140** à l'église d'Antioche a attiré à sa suite **135** et **160** (39-41, ordre Bo), dont les destinataires habitaient Antioche, ensuite (43, 44) **253** aux prêtres d'Antioche, **256** à des moines de Bérée (près d'Antioche). Mais pourquoi **55** figure-t-elle dans ce groupe? A moins que son destinataire, le prêtre Grégoire qui violait les canons, ne fût lui aussi un Syrien, ce qui est douteux. On s'explique également que la lettre **139** aux Alexandrins soit suivie des lettres **82 80 61 69 66 67** à St Athanase, **133 266** à Pierre d'Alexandrie (ordre Bo, 56-64). Mais pourquoi **219**, au clergé de Samosate, est-elle séparée de tout le paquet à Eusèbe de Samosate (ordre Bo, 65, 67-74) par **156** au prêtre Evagrius, qui ne résidait probablement pas à Samosate, mais dans quelque ville d'Arménie? Parfois certaines lettres sont groupées d'après leur objet ou ce qui en fait en général la matière. Ainsi on a toute une série (Bo 95 et suiv.) ayant trait à des questions disciplinaires et canoniques (**54 291 53** à divers chorévêques), à des questions théologiques, compliquées de questions de personnes — Apollinaire de Laodicée, Eustathe de Sébaste — **244 250** à Patrophile, ami de Basile et d'Eustathe, **216** à Méléce d'Antioche, **258** à Epiphane, évêque de Salamine en Chypre, **245** à Théophile au sujet d'Eustathe. Mais dans cette série que font les lettres **49 50 195 184 185 181 81**? La correspondance avec Eustathe (**79 119 223**: Bo 110-112) est suivie de la correspondance au sujet d'Eustathe (**224 212 131**), mais on ne comprend pas la présence dans ce groupe de la lettre **265** à quelques évêques égyptiens exilés.

En somme les manuscrits Bo nous présentent, pour ainsi dire, un système de classement à trois degrés. Premièrement, les lettres sont en général groupées par correspondants. En second lieu, elles sont groupées suivant un point de vue géographique. On s'est efforcé de mettre ensemble toutes celles qui étaient parties, à des dates diverses, vers une même destination. Enfin, elles sont groupées suivant leur objet ou certaines ressemblances purement formelles. Voici ce que nous entendons par là. Les anciens distinguaient différents genres de lettres; par exemple le genre consolatoire (*παραμυθητικόν*), le genre parénétique, le genre protreptique, et le genre apotreptique (voir à ce sujet Demetrios de Phalère, dans les *Epistolographi Graeci* de Hercher, collection Didot). Ce point de vue de la distinction des genres n'est pas absent à coup sûr

de la classification des lettres qui a abouti à l'ordre Bo. Ainsi nous avons les lettres **62 269** qui se suivent avec l'adjonction *παραμυθητική*,¹ de même **300 101 301 227** (47-50). Mais voici où commence l'inconséquence. En cherchant à réunir ensemble les lettres de consolation, les auteurs de l'ordre Bo rencontrent la lettre **247**, qui contient à la fois une consolation et une exhortation. Cette lettre est adressée aux habitants de Nicopolis ; là-dessus ils ont jugé à propos de mettre à la suite de **247** la lettre **246**, adressée elle aussi aux Nicopolitains, ensuite de **238** et de **240** aux prêtres de Nicopolis, de **229** aux clercs de Nicopolis, de **230** aux magistrats de Nicopolis, de **121** et de **130** à Théodote de Nicopolis (31-38 Bo). La série épuisée, Bo revient aux lettres de consolation. Seulement la lettre **140** (*τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀντιοχείας παραμυθητική*) amorcera une série adressée à d'autres destinataires résidant à Antioche ou ailleurs en Syrie. Autre exemple : la lettre **29** (*τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀγκύρας παραμυθητική*) attirera à sa suite la lettre **25** à Athanase, évêque d'Ancyre (Bo 45, 46).

On pourrait de même passer en revue quelques exemples de lettres d'exhortation. Mais le procédé est le même. Il semble que pour un grand nombre de lettres les séries aient été amorcées en partant d'un ordre où dominait le point de vue formel que nous venons d'exposer. Ce qui a été dit suffira peut-être à donner une idée de la complication de l'ordre Bo, complication issue d'un certain manque de logique.

Famille Bz.

§ IV. Les manuscrits Vaticanus 435 et Berolinensis 23, ou famille Bz.

Comme nous l'avons noté en décrivant le Berolinensis 23, nous avons à faire à deux manuscrits unis par un rapport de filiation, le Berolinensis se présentant comme une copie du Vaticanus 435. Car, pour certaines lettres, on retrouve dans le Berolinensis non pas l'ordre primitif, mais l'ordre interverti du Vat. 435 : les lettres **102 302 269 62** précèdent dans Berol. les lettres **40 41 295 259** tout à fait selon l'état actuel du Vat. 435, qui diffère à ce point de l'ordre primitif du Vat. 435, comme on peut le voir ch. I pp. 46, 47 *supra*.

Le fait qu'au début le Berolinensis dépend de l'ordre interverti du Vaticanus prouve suffisamment qu'il n'est qu'une copie de ce dernier ms ; copie que nous pourrions négliger dans la suite. Seulement il faut noter que le Berolinensis 23 a complété le Vaticanus 435 par 24 pièces faisant partie de la tradition Bz et qui accusent une lacune dans le Vaticanus 435, epp. **282 95 141 198 237 85 284 71 137**

¹ [These two letters do follow one another in CM* : but in F, Vat. 713, and R the sequence is interrupted by two other letters, **102** and **302**, of which only the second is *παραμυθητική* (see epp. 20-23).]

294 257 233 234 235 153 93 264 267 222 221 220 89 124 268.
Parmi ces 24 pièces il y en a d'ailleurs quelques-unes que le Vaticanus
435 donne, mais en les plaçant différemment : par exemple, epp. 153 268.

TABLEAU VII.

§ V. La famille Bz et la famille Bo.

La famille Bz présente avec la famille Bo des analogies d'ordre qui
ressortiront du tableau suivant :

Bo	Bz	Bo	Bz	Bo	Bz	Bo	Bz	Bo	Bz
14 ¹									
[Greg. 6]	om.	123 ⁴		205 ¹²	tr.	354		318	
[Greg. 114]		262		206	tr.			316	
2 ²				113		347 ²⁰		70	
		57 ⁵		114		348		319	
9		154			205			320	
4		164			206	283 ²¹		317	
13						296		322	
211		17 ⁶		81 ¹³				326	
12		56		79		142 ²²		327	
3		328				143		77	
1		118		98 ¹⁴		144		209	
40				241		311		36	
41		III ⁷		138				285	
19 ³		104		27		306 ²³		309	
58		119				278		314	
295				168 ¹⁵				305	
16		272 ⁸		157		218 ²⁴		308	
259		96		158		232		117	
226						248		298	
62	tr. infra	80 ⁹		227 ¹⁶		190		35	
102		61		228				310	
302						184 ²⁵		249	
269		34 ¹⁰		66 ¹⁷		185		11	
	62	268		67				331	
51		145				253 ²⁶		155	
251				229 ¹⁸		256		213	
99		161 ¹¹		230				88	
203		176				103 ²⁷		270	
207		191		349 ¹⁹		87		287	
5		150		350		78		288	
6		231		351		273		307	
247		202		352		275		37	
246		200		353		315		289	

¹ Cette liste de concordances repose sur le tableau V, pp. 105-114. Pour les premières lettres de la liste, 14-246, voir l'ordre Bo, numéros 1-32.

² [Note that Bz shows no trace here of the letters inserted at this point by F and Bu (epp. 7 169 170 171 47).]

³ [Note again that Bz goes with C here (p. 106), not with F.]

⁴ Ordre Bo 122, 123.

⁵ *ib.* 134-136.

⁶ *ib.* 258-261.

⁷ *ib.* 279-281.

⁸ *ib.* 283, 284.

⁹ *ib.* 58, 59.

¹⁰ *ib.* 85-87.

¹¹ *ib.* 145-151.

¹² *ib.* 130-133.

¹³ *ib.* 109, 110.

¹⁴ *ib.* 71-74.

¹⁵ *ib.* 343-345.

¹⁶ *ib.* 50, 51.

¹⁷ *ib.* 61, 62.

¹⁸ *ib.* 35, 36.

¹⁹ *ib.* 167-172.

²⁰ *ib.* 182, 183.

²¹ *ib.* 296, 297.

²² *ib.* 214-217.

²³ *ib.* 220, 221.

²⁴ *ib.* 153-156.

²⁵ *ib.* 106, 107.

²⁶ *ib.* 43, 44.

²⁷ *ib.* 302-340.

Si nous comparons Bz avec la partie de Bu qui s'écarte de Bo (Tableau VI) nous découvrirons d'autres analogies, dont les plus frappantes ressortiront du tableau suivant :—

TABLEAU VIII.

Bu (Vat. 2209) et Bz (Vat. 435).

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre Bu	Bz	Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Ordre Bu	Bz
151	229		168	256	
180	230				cp. 157
116	231		158	257	
76	232				cp. 227
		ep. 33			cp. 228
193	233		290	258	
		ep. 80	91	259	
		ep. 61			cp. 240
		ep. 127			ep. 258
		cp. 68	243	260	
280	234				ep. 66
324	235				cp. 67
149	236		281	261	
75	237		177	262	
74	238		178	263	
313	239		32	264	
325	240				

Bz ne diverge de Bu, le plus souvent, qu'en intercalant entre les numéros de Bu des séries entières prises ailleurs dans l'ordre Bu-Bo.

La conclusion qui se dégage des tableaux ci-dessus est que Bz remonte à un même ancêtre que Bu et Bo, et se trouve uni par un rapport particulièrement étroit avec Bu.

§ VI. Conclusions sur Bu-Bz.

La parenté entre les ordres Bu et Bz étant certaine, la question d'antériorité se pose nécessairement. Bu est-il un remaniement de Bz ou inversement ? Les deux ordres sont-ils des remaniements d'un ordre antérieur, et dans ce cas lequel reproduirait-il plus fidèlement l'archétype commun ? Autant de problèmes qu'il faut examiner maintenant.

Nous estimons que Bz est à Bu dans le même rapport que Bu à Bo. C'est-à-dire que Bz représente un état plus archaïque de la tradition B, en ce qui concerne le classement des lettres, que Bu. Cette dernière famille nous apparaît comme un remaniement soit de l'ordre Bz, soit d'un ordre voisin de Bz. Par conséquent, dans l'histoire de la tradition B, la famille Bz nous fait atteindre un stade plus lointain que les autres familles de l'embranchement B, réserve étant faite de Bx.

(i) Soit la série :

Bz

- 193 Μελετίω ἀρχιάτρω
 80 Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας
 61 Τῷ αὐτῷ
 127 Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων
 68 Μελετίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ
 280 Μοδέστῳ ἐπάρχῳ.

Dans Bu cette série se réduit à 193, 280. Les numéros intermédiaires ont été reportés ailleurs, 80 et 61 dans le groupe des lettres à Athanase, 127 dans le groupe des lettres à Eusèbe, 68 parmi une série à Méléce.

193 et 280 sont restées à leur place primitive et font partie des résidus non classés dans Bu figurant au tableau VI (σλγ', σλδ').

(ii) Soit encore la série :

Bz

- 325 Μαγνηνιάνῳ
 21 Λεοντίῳ σοφιστῇ
 265 Εὐλογίῳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ etc.
 245 Θεοφίλῳ ἐπισκόπῳ
 34 Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπ' Σαμοσάτων
 268 τῷ αὐτῷ ἐν ἐξορίᾳ ὄντι
 145 τῷ αὐτῷ
 160 Διοδώρῳ
 52 κανονικὴ περὶ τοῦ ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὸν υἱόν etc.
 214 Τερεντίῳ κόμητι
 291 Τιμοθέῳ χωρεπισκόπῳ
 48 Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ
 55 Γρηγορίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ
 112 Ἀνδρονίκῳ ἡγεμόνι
 293 Ἰουλιάνῳ
 105 διακόνοις θυγατρᾷ Τερεντίου κόμητος
 279 Μοδέστῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν πραιτωρίων
 210 τοῖς κατὰ Νεοκαισαρείαν λογιωτάτοις
 173 πρὸς κανονικὴν Θεοδώραν
 90 ἐπισκόποις δυτικαῖς συνδικῇ

Bu

σμ'
 σδ'
 ρθ'
 ρς'
 πη'
 πθ'
 ς'
 μδ'
 σμα'
 ρκα'
 ρ'
 π'
 μέ'
 σμβ'
 ρπζ'
 σμγ'
 σμδ'
 ςέ'
 σθ'
 σμέ'

Dans cette liste nous avons 21 265 245 34 268 145 160 214 291 48 55 293 210 173, qui ont été déplacées par Bu suivant les principes généraux de classement que nous avons examinés à propos de Bo et qui trouvent leur application dans la première partie de Bu.

A vrai dire 21 293 173 n'ont pas été incorporées par Bu dans la partie méthodiquement classée antérieure à ρξέ'. Mais il n'est pas déraisonnable de supposer que le déplacement de ces lettres se justifie par les

mêmes raisons que celui des autres. Ainsi **21** au sophiste Leontios a été rapprochée de **20** (bien qu'elle en soit séparée par **163**). Or la lettre **20** est adressée elle aussi à Leontios. Pour **293** et **173** qui sont peu susceptibles de classement, on peut encore supposer que dans le bouleversement de l'ordre Bz opéré par Bu elles se sont trouvées déplacées sans intention. Quant aux autres lettres de la série elles ont continué à faire partie des résidus non classés, et ont été maintenues à leur place ancienne.

(iii) La série ci-dessus se continue ainsi (après la lettre **90**) : Bz **161 176 191 150 231 202 200**, adressées à Amphilochios évêque d'Iconium.

Ces lettres ont été incorporées par Bu dans une série plus ample adressée à Amphilochios et commune à Bu et à Bo (voir tableau V, du n°. 145 au n°. 160 de l'ordre combiné Bo-Bu, p. 109). A la suite nous avons la lettre **10**, qui dans Bu vient immédiatement après la lettre **90**, comme elle, à titre de résidu inutilisable dans le classement.

(iv) Entre **10** et **356** la famille Bz nous offre la série suivante : Bz **341 337 338 339 340**, de la correspondance entre Basile et Libanios, reportées ailleurs par Bu dans une série plus ample.

La lettre **356** doit être adjointe à la série ci-dessus. Comment se fait-il que Bu ne l'ait pas reportée dans son groupe naturel et nous l'offre ici isolée ? oubli sans doute. En tous cas **335** qui figure dans Bz après **356** a été adjointe au groupe Basile Libanios par Bu.

(v) Continuant à parcourir la série des lettres nous rencontrons :

Bz	Bu
131 Ὀλυμπίω	ρκ'
179 Ἀρινθαίω	σν'
97 τῇ βουλῇ Τυάνων	ση'
115 πρὸς Συμπλικίαν αἵρετικὴν	σζ'
236 Ἀμφιλοχίω	ρξ'
92 πρὸς Ἰταλοὺς καὶ Γάλλους	ομ.
128 Εὐσεβίω ἐπισκόπῳ	πα'
130 Θεοδοτίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ	μγ'
64 Ἡσυχίῳ	σνα'
101 παραμυθητικῇ	να'
69 Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας	ξγ'
113 τοῖς ἐν Τάρσῳ πρεσβυτέροις	ρλζ'
114 τοῖς ἐν Τάρσῳ περὶ κυριακῆς	ρλξ'
205 Ἐλπίδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ	ρλδ'
206 τῷ αὐτῷ	(νη') ρλέ'

Dans la liste ci-dessus **97** et **115** ont été déplacées par Bu sans qu'on en saisisse la raison.

Les autres ont ou bien conservé leur place ancienne (ce sont **179**, **64**), ou été incorporées dans la partie classée de Bu (antérieure à **ρξέ**). Inutile d'entrer dans le détail.

(vi) Suite de la série Bz :

<i>Bz</i>	<i>Bu</i>
133 Πέτρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας	ξς
292 Παλλαδίῳ	σνβ
159 Εὐπατρίῳ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ	ρμζ
172 Σωφρονίῳ	σνγ
81 Ἰννοκεντίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ	ριγ
79 Εὐσταθίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σεβαστείας	ριδ
301 παραμυθητικῇ ἀνδρί	νβ
216 Μελετίῳ	ρδ
266 Πέτρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας	ξζ
238 Νικοπολίταις πρεσβυτέροις	om.
73 Καλλισθένει	σνδ
192 Σωφρονίῳ μαγίστρῳ	σνε
53 Χωρεπισκόποις	ρά
136 Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων	σα
30 τῷ αὐτῷ	οβ
162 τῷ αὐτῷ	ογ
98 τῷ αὐτῷ	οδ
241 τῷ αὐτῷ	οε
138 τῷ αὐτῷ	ος
27 τῷ αὐτῷ	οζ
182 τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις Σαμοσάτων	οη
31 Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ	σα
166 Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων ¹	om.
168 Ἀντιόχῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ	σνς
157 Ἀντιόχῳ	om.
158 τῷ αὐτῷ	σνζ
227 πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Νικοπόλει κληρικούς	νγ
228 πολιτευομένοις Κολωνείας	νδ
290 Νεκταρίῳ	σνη
91 Οὐαλλεριάνῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰλλυρίων	σνθ
240 τοῖς Νικοπολίταις	λζ
258 Ἐπιφανίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ	ρέ
243 πρὸς Ἰταλοὺς καὶ Γάλλους ἐπισκόπους	σξ
66 Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας	ξδ
67 τῷ αὐτῷ	ξέ
281 Μοδέστῳ ἐπάρχῳ	σξα
177 Σωφρονίῳ μαγίστρῳ	σξβ
178 Ἀβουργίῳ	σξγ
32 Σωφρονίῳ μαγίστρῳ	σξδ
26 Καισαρίῳ ἀδελφῷ Γρηγορίου	νε

¹ Cette lettre doit être attribuée à S. Grégoire de Nazianze. Cf. Migne, col. 640, n te 51.

*Bz***229** τοῖς κληρικοῖς Νικοπόλεως**230** τοῖς πολιτευομένοις Νικοπόλεως**189** Εὐσταθίῳ ἀρχιάτρω**71** Γρηγορίῳ Βασιλείῳ*Bu*

λθ'

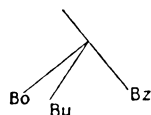
μ'

σξέ'

σξς'

Dans cette liste les lettres **292 172 73 192 168 158 290 91 243 281 177 178 32 189 71** ont gardé dans Bu la place qu'elles avaient dans l'archétype avant le remaniement, les autres ont été avancées pour les raisons qui ont été déjà énoncées et qu'il serait fastidieux de redire.

En sorte qu'il apparait que Bu n'est pas autre chose qu'un remaniement de l'ordre Bz et, par conséquent, que les ordres Bo et Bu sont issus de l'ordre Bz. Nous pouvons maintenant dresser le stemma des familles de l'embranchement B étudiées jusqu'ici, en nous souvenant que ce stemma représente une généalogie des ordres mais non des manuscrits. Nous remplacerons l'hypothétique manuscrit *y* par quelque chose de connu par reconstitution, à savoir un manuscrit d'où est issu en ligne directe le Vaticanus 435 et qui peut lui aussi par excellence s'appeler Bz.



On aperçoit dès maintenant quelle est la grande valeur des manuscrits Bz. Il est regrettable que nous n'en possédions pas de meilleur échantillon que le Vaticanus 435.

L'ordre Bz se caractérise par sa grande incohérence. Il suffit, pour s'en rendre compte, de découper dans le Vaticanus 435 une tranche d'adresses consécutives. Soit, par exemple, la série qui va de κδ' à λς': mettons Bu et Bo en regard de Bz, nous obtenons un parallélisme instructif. L'idée n'est point venue, semble-t-il, aux auteurs de l'ordre Bz de réunir toutes les lettres avec une même adresse en séries continues. Si dans Bz deux ou plusieurs de telles lettres se suivent, il arrive rarement que les séries au même correspondant soient complètes.

Ed. Bénéd.
(et Migne)*Bz**Bo-Bu*

99	κδ'	Τερεντίῳ κόμητι	99
203	κε'	τοῖς παραλιώταις ἐπισκόποις	203
207	κς'	τοῖς κατὰ Νεοκαισαρείαν κληρικοῖς	207
5	κζ'	πρὸς Νεκτάριον παραμυθητικῇ	5
6	κη'	πρὸς τὴν ὁμόζυγον Νεκταρίου παραμυθητικῇ	6
247	κθ'	τοῖς Νικοπολίταις πρεσβυτέροις	247
246	λ'	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	246

238 240 229 230 121 130 (à divers
Nicolopolitains)

140 λα' τη ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀντιοχείας**140**

135 160 253 256 (à divers habitants
d'Antioche ou de Syrie)

Ed. Bénéd. (et Migne)	Bz		Bo-Bu
29	λβ'	τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀγκύρας	29
		25 (à Athanase, év. d'Ancyre)	
		
139	λγ'	τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι	139
219	λδ'	τῷ Σαμοσατέων κλήρῳ	v. <i>infra</i>
82	λέ'	Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας	82
		80 61 69 66 67 (à Athanase d'Alexandrie)	
		133 266 (à Pierre d'Alexandrie)	
		219 (v. <i>supra</i>)	
		156	
		100 etc. (une longue série de lettres à Eusèbe de Samosate)	
28	λς'	τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Νεοκαισαρείας	28
		63 210 126 204 (à divers résidant à Néocésarée)	

Ce rapprochement entre Bo Bu d'une part et Bz d'autre part met en lumière le procédé de classement employé dans Bo Bu en prenant Bz pour base.

Est-ce à dire que l'ordre Bz soit un ordre de pur hasard? non évidemment. Il semble bien, par exemple, que la série Bz μδ'-μῆ' 156 134 224 135 271 (Εὐαγρίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ, Παιωνίῳ [*sic*] πρεσβυτέρῳ, Γενεθλίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ, Διοδώρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ Ἀντιοχείας, Εὐσεβίῳ ἑταίρῳ συστατικῇ ἐπὶ Κυριακῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ) ne se soit pas formée automatiquement de façon que les destinataires des quatre premières soient des prêtres et que la cinquième ait été écrite pour recommander le prêtre Cyriaque. De même, si l'on ne rencontre nulle part dans Bz la série continue et complète des lettres à un même correspondant, on y trouve néanmoins diverses séries amorcées. Exemple :

136 30 162 98 241 138 27 à Eusèbe de Samosate,
liste suivie de

182 31 166 168 157 158 à divers personnages de l'entourage d'Eusèbe.

La question se pose de savoir si la série a été formée intentionnellement par les auteurs de l'ordre Bz. On y répondra au chapitre iv.

§ VII. Le manuscrit Bx (Parisinus 1020 S, ancien Harleianus), ses rapports avec Bo et Bu.

Le manuscrit Bx nous apparaît lui aussi comme un dérivé d'un même ancêtre que les autres familles de l'embranchement B et représente, au moins dans ses 260 premiers numéros, une tentative originale de classe-

ment qui, bien que procédant de principes appliqués dans d'autres familles, telles Ab et Ac, n'offre avec ces familles que des rencontres fortuites, et lui constitue une physionomie à part dans l'embranchement B. Le copiste semble ne s'être d'abord proposé que de nous donner les lettres de S. Basile à S^t Grégoire de Nazianze, si l'on s'en rapporte au titre général : Τοῦ μακαρίου Βασιλείου ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας πρὸς Γρηγόριον ἐπίσκοπον Ναζιάνζου. Puis, élargissant son programme, il a reproduit la majeure partie de la correspondance, donnant même dans son recueil l'hospitalité à des pièces rares telles que Bas. ep. 8, pour laquelle il est, parmi les manuscrits des lettres de S. Basile, le seul témoin, epp. 361 362 363 364, ou pseudo-correspondance avec Apollinaire de Laodicée, éditée pour la première fois par Cotelier dans ses *Monumenta Ecclesiae Graecae* t. 2 p. 84 et suiv. et reproduite par les Mauristes d'après cette édition : correspondance qui ne nous est conservée que par ce ms. et par le Monacensis 497 (M : famille Bo, p. 39) dans une série insérée paraissant dépendre de Bx.

Bx manifeste une intention très nette de classement. De 1 à 27 ce sont des lettres à Grégoire de Nazianze, à Grégoire de Nysse, à un évêque Grégoire oncle de l'auteur, à Césaire frère de Grégoire de Nazianze. Cette première section répond, en le débordant, au titre du recueil : Τοῦ μακαρίου Βασιλείου . . . πρὸς Γρηγόριον ἐπίσκοπον Ναζιάνζου.

Puis vient la correspondance avec Libanios suivie de la pseudo-correspondance avec Apollinaire de Laodicée, avec Diodore prêtre très savant d'Antioche, futur évêque de Tarse, auteur très fécond (28-50). On trouve réunie dans cette section la correspondance de S. Basile avec les écrivains illustres de son temps.

51 52 53 54 sont relatives à Eustathe, et d'une façon générale aux calomnies contre lesquelles S. Basile a à se défendre. Ce sont des apologies personnelles (lettres 224 226 244 250).

55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62. Lettre à quelques évêques exilés d'Égypte, lettres synodales aux occidentaux, lettres à Ambroise évêque de Milan, à Valérien évêque d'Aquilée (lettres 265 90 92 243 242 263 197 91). Toutes ces lettres avaient ceci de commun d'être destinées à l'Occident.

De 63 à 133 correspondance avec divers évêques. Dans cette section les lettres 253 et 256 paraissent difficiles à justifier, étant adressées à des prêtres et à des moines.

De 134 à 136 lettres à des chorévêques.

De 137 à 148 à des prêtres, soit individuellement, soit collectivement.

De 149 à 164 à des églises ou à diverses collectivités.

De 165 à 169 à des moines.

De 170 à 244 (inclus) à divers laïcs, soit revêtus de magistratures, soit simples particuliers.

249 (les numéros 245-248 manquent) et 250 ἀνεπίγραφοι.

251-256 à des femmes.

257 à l'hérétique Eunomios (ep. 16).

258 à un scribe.

259 Julien à Basile.

260 Basile à Julien.

Jusqu'ici le classement est logique et conséquent. Mais à partir de 261 jusqu'à 296 plus rien n'est classé. On trouve dans cette section des noms déjà connus : Libanios, Eustathe de Sébaste, Eusèbe, Amphiloehios. Si les lettres qui leur sont adressées ici ne sont pas incorporées dans les groupes où elles seraient à leur place, c'est que probablement l'ordre Bx était déjà constitué jusqu'au numéro 260 lorsque la section finale (261-296) lui fut adjointe.

Ce manuscrit a été collationné par les Mauristes, et figure fréquemment dans leur apparat, en sorte qu'on peut, à l'aide de leur édition, se rendre compte des rapports de Bx avec Bo (Coislin 237 [C] ou Medic. 14, pl. 4 [F]), rapports qui paraissent très étroits quant à la tradition du texte.

Nous allons passer maintenant en revue quelques leçons communes à Bo et Bx, en utilisant l'apparat des Mauristes. Notre liste n'est pas un relevé de tous les cas, mais une collection d'exemples.

Ep.	Ed. Bénéd. tom. iii.	Ed. Migne P. G. 32	Leçon de Bo-Bx	alii
1	70 B* ¹ <i>ib.</i> *	221 B <i>ib.</i>	ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίδος	πραειν. ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας <i>οι.</i>
2	70 E 73 C D 75 A B	224 A 229 A B 233 A <i>ib.</i>	ἄξιον εἰκόνων εἰκόνας τὰ προσκαλούμενα αὐτόν ἐνεργεία ἀλόγοις	εἰκόνων εἰκόνα εἰκόνας εἰκόνα τὰ προσκ. ἡμᾶς ἐργασίᾳ ἀτόποις
5	77 C	237 D	τόν γε μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος χρόνον	τό γε νελ τὰ νελ <i>οι.</i> χρόνου
6	79 D*	243 B	ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς	ἀνθρωπίνῃ ζωῇ
18	96 D <i>ib.</i>	284 A B	ἡμῖν συναγωνίζεται αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς	ὑμῖν συναγωνίζεται αὐτόν τὸν τῆς
25	103 D	297 D	καὶ οὐδέ	καὶ οὐς οὐδέ
26	105 A C*	301 B 304 A	καὶ ἐν σοί ἐπιμελήσεσθαι	καὶ σοί ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
27	106 A	B	ταχὺ ἂν	τάχα ἂν
53	147 A*	396 D	χωρεπισκόποις	πρὸς τοὺς ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν ἐπισκό- πους
55	149 B D*	401 B 404 A	Παρηγορίῳ εἰς σκάνδαλον	Γρηγορίῳ εἰ (νελ ἡ) σκάνδαλον
56	150 D	405 A	ἐπάγων	<i>οι.</i>
58	151 D*	408 B	ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἀδελφῶ	ἀδελφῶ
	152 C*	409 A	ὡς ἄλλως	ἄλλως νελ οὐδὲ ἄλλως
59	153 B E	412 A C	τοῖς γινομένοις πρέποι	τοῖς γενομένοις πρέπει
	154 B*	414 A	δεδιδαγμένους	προδεδιδαγμένους

¹ [An asterisk signifies that in this case no other MSS are cited by the Benedictine editors than the Bx MS and one or both of their Bo MSS (C and F).]

Ep.	Ed. Bénéd. tom. iii.	Ed. Migne P. G. 32	Leçon de Bo-Bx	alii
60	154 E*	416 A	αὐταρκεστάτην	οἴη.
	155 A*	ib.	εὐχεσθαί σε	εὐχεσθαι
61	D*	416 C	τὴν ἡμετέραν	τὴν ἑαυτῶν <i>vel</i> τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
63	157 A	420 A	Ἑλλαδίῳ	Ἑλπιδίῳ
66	159 A*	424 B	τοῦ Κυρίου	τοῦ Θεοῦ
	E*	425 B	ἐπικαιριώτερον	καιριώτερον <i>vel</i> ἐτικαιριώτερον
67	160 C	428 A	ἐναχθῆναι	συναχθῆναι
69	162 A	429 C	περί τοῦτο	περί τοῦτου
	D	432 B	ἐφορίσαι	ἐφορίζεσθαι
	163 A	C	οὐδαμοῦ	οὐδαμῶς
73	167 A*	441 A	ἐπειδὴ οὖν	ἐπειδὴ δέ
81	174 B	457 A	εὗρω	ἕξω
	ib.	ib.	τὸ τίμιον	τὸ τιμώτατον
	ib.	ib.	ἄρρητον	ἄρρηκτον
	C	B	παρισπασμὸν	πορισμὸν
	D	C	σοὶ φανεράν γενέσθαι	φανεράν καταστήσαι σοι
82	175 A*	D	πᾶσα ἀγαθὴ ἐνέργεια	πᾶσα ἀγαθοῦ ἐνέργεια
90	181 C*	472 D	διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ	καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐνλαβεστάτου
			εὐλαβεστάτου	υἱοῦ καὶ
92	185 B*	481 A	παιδίοις	παῖς

Nous arrêtons ici cette liste des leçons communes au Parisinus 1020 S et aux autres manuscrits des familles Bo et Bu. Pour la compléter on peut se reporter à l'édition des Mauristes, où les leçons de notre ms. sont relevées avec soin. L'examen de ces leçons nous amène à penser que le Parisinus 1020 S remonte à un ancêtre identique à celui des familles Bo Bu.

La comparaison de l'ordre donné par le Parisinus 1020 S avec l'ordre Bz transformera cette induction en certitude. Non que le Parisinus 1020 S ne montre une grande indépendance à l'égard de l'ordre Bz. Il n'en saurait être autrement du moment que le Parisinus 1020 S nous présente dans ses 260 premiers numéros un classement des lettres très systématique et très clair en somme. On comprend dès lors quel bouleversement il a dû faire subir à l'ordre qui lui a servi de base. Néanmoins il reste encore assez de cet ordre dans notre manuscrit pour que nous puissions le reconnaître avec certitude. Nous reprendrons donc dans un tableau la liste intégrale des lettres du Parisinus 1020 S et nous indiquerons en chiffres exprimés en caractères grecs la place occupée par chaque lettre du Parisinus 1020 S dans le Vaticanus 435.¹ Ensuite nous passerons en revue les concordances, et nous commenterons le tableau comparatif.

¹ [I have thought that it would be at once simpler for printing and more convenient to the reader to merge into one two tables of M. Bessières, and, instead of having a partial concordance of Bx and Bo and a complete concordance of Bx and Bz, to give a single fairly exhaustive concordance of the whole B family in its relation to Bx. The reader will notice the following series common to Bo and Bx (I use the numbers of the Bo column): 175-180, 168-171 (so also Bz), 57-64, 70-74 (and Bz), 145-150 (and Bz), 31-36, 271-276, 283-290, 292-295, 81-84.]

TABLEAU IX.

Bo-Bu (voir pp. 105- 114)	Ordre Bx ¹ (numéros de l'éd. Bénéd. et Migne)	Bz	Bo-Bu	Ordre Bx (numéros de l'éd. Bénéd. et Migne)	Bz
192	169	τη'	58	80	ζβ'
193	171	τις'	59	61	ζγ'
194	170	τιε'	60	69	ρμθ'
350	59	μγ'	61	66	ρπς'
349	60	νς'	62	67	ρπη'
15	58	ιδ'	63	133	ρνδ'
51	26	ρςγ'	64	70. 266	ρξβ'
166	335	ρλς'	164	260	ος'
175	336	om.	46	25	σιβ'
176	30. 337	ρλα'	135	154	νβ'
177	338	ρλγ'	136	164	νγ'
178	339	ρλδ'	137	165	σλα'
179	340	ρλε'	37	121	σμθ'
180	342	om.	38	130	ρμς'
165	341	ρλ'	107	185	σνε'
174	356	ρλς'	238	254	σν'
182	347	σδ'	105	50. 195	ςςθ'
183	348	σε'	246	122	σνβ'
167	349	ρςη'	240	255	σνγ'
om.	40. 357	om.	106	184	σνδ'
168	350	ρςθ'	112	223	μ'
169	351	σ'	241	132	σνς'
170	352	σα'	108	181	σνζ'
171	353	σβ'	43	253	σνη'
om. ²	361	om.	44	256	σνθ'
om.	362	om.	348	257	οιη.
om.	363	om.	141	90. 120	οιη.
om.	364	om.	142	129	om.
40	135	μς'	100	216	ρξ'
41	50. 160	ρθ'	134	57	να'
113	224	μς'	143	89	σπα'
19	226 ³	ις'	138	68	ςε'
98	244	λη'	79	239	om.
99	250	λθ'	68	136	ρξς'
om. ?	265	ρδ'	69	30	ρξη'
233	90	ρκα'	67	100	ου'
239	92	ρμδ'	70	100. 162	ρξθ'
234	243	ρπς'	71	98	ρο'
[236	242 ⁴	σιε']	72	241	ροα'
235	60. 263	σια'	73	138	ροβ'
140	197	νδ'	74	27	ρογ'
237	91	ρπγ'	77	48	ριγ'
57	82	λε'	78	128	ρμε'

¹ [M. Bessières omits the first 20 numbers of Bx, because they are partly imperfect, partly in a later hand: see chap I p. 49. But as the eight leaves in the later hand give the right number of letters (η'—κα'), I do not doubt that they represent correctly the original contents.]

² [This and the three following letters are also given in Monacensis 497 [M], but by a later hand: see note 2 to Table V, p. 105 *supra*, and p. 127, l. 15.]

³ [This letter and the next are not given in M. Bessières' enumeration of the Bx letters in chap. I p. 49.]

⁴ [At a later point (but not in his list on p. 49) M. Bessières names ep. 242, which I include doubtfully: = Bo 236, Bz σιε'.]

TABLEAU IX (*suite*).

Bo-Bu	Ordre Bx (numéros de l'éd. Bénéd. et Migne)	Bz	Bo-Bu	Ordre Bx (numéros de l'éd. Bénéd. et Migne)	Bz
195	271	μη'	231	261	ρλγ'
85	34	ρ5'	25	251	κγ'
86	268	ρ5'	90	28	λ5'
87	110. 145	ρη'	28	160. 207	κ5'
343	168	ροη'	om.	8	om.
344	157	ροζ'	92	210	ριθ'
345	158	ροθ'	243	97	ρμα'
88	31	ροε'	21	102	ιη'
89	146	om.	16	295	ιδ'
101	258	ρπε'	124	45	τα'
130	205	ρνβ'	122	123	μβ'
131	206	ρνγ'	123	262	ν'
24	51	κβ'	127	23	om.
102	120. 245	ρε'	227	170. 20	πε'
261	118	οδ'	228	21	ργ'
145	161	ρκβ'	6	9	δ'
146	176	ρκγ'	49	301	τα' ²
147	191	ρκδ'	265	277	ο'
148	150	ρκε'	12	1	θ'
149	231	ρκ5'	om. ?	290	ρπβ'
150	202	ρκζ'	29	5	κζ'
	... 1		30	6	κη'
151	200	ρκη'	22	302	ιθ'
157	130. 236	ρμγ'	47	180. 300	π'
139	252	? νζ'	48	101	ρμη'
109	81	? ρνη'	271	304	ξ5'
27	203	κ5'	272	196	τιβ'
95	54	λζ'	273	147	ξζ'
97	53	ρξ5'	23	269	κ'
96	291	ριβ'	274	33	ρςβ'
66	156	μδ'	275	75	ςθ'
222	134	με'	276	178	ρςα'
42	55	ριδ'	197	276	ξη'
18	140. 259	ιζ'	203	190. 179	ρμ'
75	182	ροδ'	242	65	μβ'
65	219	λδ'	93	126	σιθ'
132	113	ρν'	277	152	ξθ'
133	114	ρνα'	144	159	ρν5'
31	247	κθ'	229	151	π5'
32	246	λ'	110	79	ρνθ'
33	238	ρξγ'	111	119	ση'
34	240	ρπδ'	258	17	οβ'
35	229	ρςδ'	224	208	τια'
36	150. 230	ρςε'	283	200. 272	πγ'
39	140	λα'	284	96	πδ'
45	29	λβ'	285	180	πζ'
20	62	κα'	286	76	πθ'
50	227	ρπ'	287	192	ρξε'
51	228	ρπα'	288	177	ρς'
56	139	λγ'	289	32	ρςβ'

¹ ρκη', 'Αμφιλοχίου επισκόπου Ίκονίου : voir chap. I p. 50.² [Not only does τα' occur again in Bz (seven places higher in this column), but 301 in Bz comes in between ρνθ' and ρξ' (79 and 216) : since the letter after 216 is ρςβ', I suspect that 216 should be ρξα' and 301 ρξ'.]

TABLEAU IX (*suite*).

Bo-Bu	Ordre Bx (numéros de l'éd. Bénéd. et Migne)	Bz	Bo-Bu	Ordre Bx (numéros de l'éd. Bénéd. et Migne)	Bz
290	172	ρνζ'	295	10	ρκθ'
279	III	οζ	291	321	ομ.
282	280	ς5'	ομ. ?	115	ρμβ'
205	210. 281	ρπθ'	17	16	ι5'
280	104	οη'	248	334	σκθ'
281	110	οθ'	13	40	ια'
202	279	ριη'	14	260. 41	ιβ'
226	163	πα'		... ¹	
26	99	κδ'	187	38	ομ. ²
117	214	ρια'	247	282	ομ.
188	105	ριζ	181	343	ομ.
198	148	πβ'	184	344	ομ.
199	149	ςη'	185	345	ομ.
9	220. 211	ςε	186	346	ομ.
7	4	ε	81	95	ομ.
8	13	ς'	82	141	ομ.
10	12	η'	83	270. 198	ομ.
116	131	ρλθ'	84	237	ομ.
264	324	ςζ	172	354	ςγ'
245	193	ςα'	173	355	ομ.
267	299	? ξα'	121	85	ομ.
268	313	ρα'	232	125	ομ.
11	3	θ'	206	86	ς5'
204	230. 73	ρξδ'	303	87	ςξα'
259	56	ογ'	76	183	ςζ
244	292	ρνε'	252	137	ομ.
126	323	μα'	129	280. 284	ρκβ'
225	329	τι'	210	24	σκ'
262	116	πη'	207	72	σθ'
260	328	οδ'	208	225	σι'
200	74	ρ'	94	204	ομ.
118	175	σμδ'	53	18	σλη'
250	186	τθ'	253	294	ομ.
251	240. 187	ξε'	158	233	ομ.
91	63	ξδ'	159	234	ομ.
196	84	ξβ'	160	235	ομ.
201	112	ριε'	341	290. 330	ομ.
257	94	εγ'	342	332	ομ.
338	307	ςςζ'	119	264	ομ.
302	250. 103	ςε'	120	267	ομ.
292	52	ρι'	254	222	ομ.
293	173	ρκ'	255	221	ομ.
294	174	τιδ'	256	220	ομ.

Le tableau IX néglige les premières lettres du Parisinus 1020 S et ne commence qu'au numéro 21 (κα) parce que ce ms. a subi une mutilation, et que nous ignorons si les lettres écrites tardivement par une seconde main répondent à l'ancien contenu du ms.

(α) Les lettres 169 171 170, Bx 21-23, ont trait à l'affaire du diacre

¹ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τρεῖς θεοὺς καταγγέλλειν, voir chap. I p. 50, l. 12.

² [For the evidence of Berol. 23 in connexion with Bx see below, p. 136.]

Glycerios : voilà pourquoi Bx les a réunies, bien qu'elles ne se suivent pas immédiatement dans Bz. En effet dans Bz on a la suite :

169	τη'	Γρηγορίω Βασίλειος. (Au sujet de Glycerios)
186	τθ'	Ἀντιπάρῳ ἡγεμόνι
329	τί	Φαλερίῳ
208	τια'	Εὐλαγκίῳ
196	τιβ'	Ἀβουργίῳ
321	τιγ'	Θέκλῃ
174	τιδ'	πρὸς ἐλευθέραν
170	τιε'	Γλυκερίῳ
171	τις'	Γρηγορίῳ (Au sujet de Glycerios)

Bx écarte 186 329 208 196 321 174, qui n'ont rien à voir avec Grégoire de Nazianze et Glycerios. En outre Bx transpose les deux derniers numéros de cette liste pour que la suite des lettres à Grégoire de Nazianze ne soit pas interrompue.

(b) Dans Bz on a la suite :

224	μς'	Γενεθλίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ
135	μζ'	Διοδώρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ Αντιοχείας

qui viennent après 156 (μδ') Εὐαγρίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ et 134 (με') Παιονίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ. On voit la raison de ce groupement dans Bz. C'est justement le mot πρεσβυτέρῳ joint au nom du destinataire qui le motive. Mais Bx procède autrement dans son classement. 224 (Bx 51) a trait aux affaires d'Eustathe et cette lettre sera réunie au groupe des lettres concernant Eustathe, d'où la transposition qu'on note dans Bx.

(c) Bx 73-75 : 154		= Bz νβ'
164	} Ἀσχολίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Θεσσαλονικῆς	νγ'
165		σλα'

Les deux premières lettres de ce petit groupe se suivent dans le même ordre dans les deux familles. Mais Bx plus logique leur adjoint 165.

(d) Bx 76-78 : 121	} Θεοδότῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Νικοπόλεως	= Bz σμβ'
130		ρμς'

Transposition (dans Bz) pour des raisons chronologiques probablement.

185 Θεοδότῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Βεροίας = Bz σνε'

Attraction opérée par l'identité des noms.

(e) Bx 81-88 : 122	Ποιμενίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σατάλων	= Bz σνβ'
255	Βίτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Καρρῶν	σνγ'
184	Εὐσταθίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σεβαστηνῶ	σνδ'

Ces trois lettres se présentent dans le même ordre dans Bx et Bz : puis Bx insère à la suite de 184 la lettre 223 (qui est μ' dans Bz) parce qu'elle est adressée à Eustathe.

Ensuite la série reprend très homogène dans les deux familles.

Bx 132	Ἀβραμίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Βατνῶν	= Bz σνς'
181	Ὀτρεῖῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Μελιτηνῆς	σνζ'
253	τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις Ἀντιοχείας	σνη'
256	τοῖς . . . ἀδελφοῖς . . . Ἀκακίῳ, Ἀετίῳ etc.	σνθ'

Cette même série devait se continuer encore avec les numéros 257 120 129 qui répondent à une lacune dans Bz (du moins dans ses témoins actuels).

(f) Bx 90-95 :	120	Μελετίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀντιοχείας	= Bz om.
	129	„ „ „	om.
	216	„ „ „	ρξ'
	57	„ „ „	να'
	89	„ „ „	σπα'
	68	„ „ „	ζε'

Nous citons cette série pour montrer avec quelle liberté se comporte Bx à l'égard de l'ordre Bz quand il s'agit de former un groupe homogène avec des lettres adressées à un même correspondant, que les auteurs de l'ordre Bz n'ont pas songé à réunir ensemble.

(g) On pourrait de même citer la longue série de lettres adressée à Eusèbe de Samosate ou à des personnes de son entourage, qui va dans Bx de la lettre 239 (96 dans le manuscrit) à la lettre 146 (115 dans le manuscrit), soit un groupe de vingt lettres dont dix-huit seulement figurent dans Bz. La série n'est pas homogène ni continue dans Bz : elle y est distribuée en petits groupes qui, en général, se retrouvent juxtaposés dans Bx. Il n'y a que le groupe 136 (ρξζ' Bz) 30 (ρξη') 162 (ρξθ') qui se trouve disloqué par l'insertion de la lettre 100 (οα') entre 30 et 162. Il pourrait être intéressant de rechercher les raisons de la disposition adoptée par Bx en ce qui concerne ce groupe de lettres. Mais il nous suffit de constater que malgré l'indépendance de Bx nous retrouvons encore dans son ordre l'ordre Bz assez respecté, et que l'ordre Bz est donc à la base de l'ordre Bx.

(h) Les mêmes observations s'appliquent au groupe de lettres à Amphilochios évêque d'Iconium, qui va dans Bx du numéro 122 (qui est la lettre 161) au numéro 130 (qui est la lettre 236), soit neuf lettres parmi lesquelles il faut compter une lettre synodique d'Amphilochios (Migne *P. G.* 39 col. 93 et suiv.) occupant le numéro ρκη' et dont la place est laissée en blanc dans notre tableau. Nous n'avons aucun moyen de savoir si cette pièce figurait dans l'ancêtre commun et faisait partie de la tradition Bz : ce qui est sûr, c'est qu'on ne la rencontre plus dans le Vaticanus 435 ni dans le Berolinensis 23. Cette série se présente dans le Vaticanus 435 sous les numéros ρκβ', ρκγ', ρκδ', ρκέ', ρκς', ρκζ', ρκη', ρμγ'. Cet ordre est parallèle à celui de Bx.

- (j) Bx 133-136: 203 Τοῖς παραλιώταις ἐπισκόποις = Bz κς'
 54 Χωρεπισκόποις λζ'
 53 Χωρεπισκόποις ρξς'
 291 Τιμοθέῳ χωρεπισκόπῳ ριβ'

Encore un exemple de l'indépendance avec laquelle Bx procède à l'égard de l'ordre Bz. Les raisons qui ont motivé la formation du groupe ci-dessus sont assez apparentes. 203 est adressée à plusieurs destinataires pris collectivement. Elle fait suite à 252, aux évêques de la province de Pont, et à 81, à un évêque nommé Innocent. Dans ce groupe de lettres adressées collectivement à plusieurs évêques ou chorévêques nous avons deux lettres à destinataire individuel, savoir 81 et 291. La lettre 291 est attirée ici par la qualité du destinataire nommé Timothée. Pour ce qui est de la lettre 81, on peut croire que l'évêque Innocent gouvernait quelque diocèse de la province de Pont, où S. Basile avait d'abondantes relations. C'est pourquoi Bx la place après 252.

- (k) Bx 137-148: 156 Εὐαγρίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ = Bz μδ'
 134 Παιονίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ μέ'

Ces deux lettres inaugurent dans Bx toute une série de douze lettres, dont les destinataires sont prêtres. Sans doute on trouve dans Bz une telle série amorcée avec les numéros 156 (μδ') 134 (μέ') 224 (μς') 135 (μζ'), auxquelles on peut adjoindre 271 (μῆ') qui a pour objet de recommander à Eusèbe de Samosate un prêtre du nom de Cyriaque. Mais dans Bx la série est plus ample. Et pourtant elle ne comprend pas la liste entière des destinataires prêtres. On rencontre plus haut les lettres 49-51, 135 160 224, Διοδώρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ, Τῷ αὐτῷ, Γενεθλίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ.

- (l) Bx 151 152: 140 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀντιοχείας παραμυθητική = Bz λα'
 29 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀγκύρας παραμυθητική λβ'

Ces deux lettres se suivent parallèlement dans Bx et Bz: aucune raison ne motivait un changement dans Bx. La même raison s'applique à

- (m) Bx 154 155: 227 πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κολωνίᾳ κληρικούς = Bz ρπ'
 228 τοῖς πολιτενομένοις Κολωνίας = . ρπα'

et encore à

(n) Bx 200-203 Σωφρονίῳ μαγίστρῳ, 272 96 180 76 = Bz πγ', πδ', πς', πθ', sauf que Bx complète et perfectionne l'ordre Bz, qui ici encore laisse à désirer, puisqu'il intercale deux lettres destinées à d'autres qu'à Sophronios entre 96 et 180. Dans Bx les quatre lettres qui suivent sont encore adressées à Sophronios.

(o) Mêmes remarques pour

Bx 211 212: 104 110 Μοδέστῳ ἐπάρχῳ = Bz ση', σθ',
 groupe complété dans Bx par 111 280 281 précédant les deux lettres

ci-dessus, et par 279 qui les suit, ce qui donne en tout six lettres au préfet Modeste. Bien entendu, les quatre citées en dernier lieu sont dispersées dans Bz.

(p) De même, dans la famille Bz les lettres 214 au comte Térance et 105 aux filles du comte Térance sont séparées par 291 48 55 112 293, qui n'ont rien à voir avec le comte Térance ou ses filles. Bx rapproche 214 de 105 et les place à la suite de 99 adressée au même comte Térance (215-217).

(q) De même encore pour les lettres 148 et 149 (Bx 218 219) à Trajan qui sont πβ', ζη' dans Bz.

(r) Bx 220-223 (Ὀλυμπίω) 211 4 13 12 = Bz ζ, ε', ε', η'. Ces lettres se suivent dans les deux familles avec une légère variante d'ordre.

(s) Même remarque pour

Bx 241-244 :	63	ἡγεμόνι Νεοκαισαρείας	= Bz ξδ'
	84	ἡγεμόνι	ξβ'
	...		
	94	τῷ ἀρχόντι τῆς ἐπαρχίας Ἡλίας	εγ'

entre lesquelles se place dans Bx la lettre 112 Ἀνδρονίκω ἡγεμόνι qui est ριέ dans Bz.

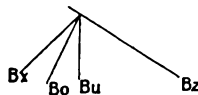
En fin de nos manuscrits Bz, l'un porte une lacune, c'est le Vaticanus 435. Mais ici le Berolinensis 23 supplée heureusement le Vaticanus 435. Nous allons comparer Bx, 262-296, avec le Berolinensis 23 pour cette section finale dans un petit tableau qui ne laissera pas d'être instructif.

Bx	Berol. 23	Bx	Berol. 23	Bx	Berol. 23
38	om.	87.	tr.	234	
282		183	tr.	235	
343	om.	137	tr. infra		153
344	om.	284			93
345	om.		71	330	om.
346	om.		137	332	om.
95		24	tr.	264	
141		72	tr.	267	
198		225	tr.	228	
237		204	tr.	221	
354	tr.	18	tr.	220	
355	om.	294			89
85			257		124
125	om.	233			268
86	tr.				

Dans cette section finale les deux ordres se rapprochent de plus en plus, au point que le parallélisme peut être noté dans un tableau, malgré les divergences qui subsistent. C'est que le Parisinus 1020 S, comme les manuscrits de la famille Bu, se termine par un groupe de résidus non classés, dont certaines pièces étaient pourtant susceptibles de classement. Nous croyons que pour cette section finale la tradition Bz n'était pas homogène. Certains manuscrits, comme le Vaticanus

435, l'ignoraient, certains autres la donnaient. Probablement l'ordre Bx était déjà fixé, lorsque les auteurs de cet ordre eurent connaissance de la section en question, et ils l'insérèrent à la fin des manuscrits au lieu de l'incorporer à leur ordre constitué.

L'ordre Bx se présente donc à nous comme un ordre dérivé. Il est issu de Bz malgré les divergences profondes qui apparaissent au tableau IX. Ces divergences s'expliquent par cette raison que Bx classe les lettres suivant un principe logique nécessitant de grands changements dans l'ordre qui lui sert de base. En conséquence l'ordre Bz nous apparaît comme antérieur à tous les autres ordres de l'embranchement B, et tout l'embranchement B comme issu d'un ancêtre aujourd'hui perdu de la famille Bz.



On peut maintenant dresser le stemma complet de l'embranchement B.

[SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE BY C. H. TURNER

In the Introduction prefixed to the first instalment of M. Bessières' treatise (pp. 4, 5), I have already expressed my dissent from him in this one point of the conclusions reached by him in chapter III, the chapter now printed. For while M. Bessières believes that the Bz family—only known to us through a thirteenth-century MS and a sixteenth-century copy from it—preserves most nearly the original form of the B line of transmission (on the ground principally of the great incoherence of its order of the letters), I for my part am convinced that Bz stands not at the head but at the end of the series, and that the group of the Bo MSS are not only older themselves in date but also present an earlier stage of the development. I was first brought to this conviction by an analysis of the readings for which M. Bessières cites the different groups of MSS in his chapter V: where Bo and Bz differed, the former was right, or at any rate the more nearly right. And the study of M. Bessières' tables of comparison printed in the preceding pages seems to me to shew the way to the true solution. If the Bz group not only shewed (as no doubt it does) a great incoherence of order, but was also the model which the other groups gradually worked up into some semblance of classification, we should expect the letters to any individual correspondent, so far as they had not already been brought into connexion with one another, to be scattered more or less evenly over the whole Bz series. Now that is just not the case. For instance, the three Glycerius letters, 169 170 171, are grouped together by all the other three families (pp. 106, 110, 133): in Bz they are separated indeed, but only by six letters: similar treatment befalls the letters to Sophronius (p. 135) and to Terentius and his daughters (p. 136)—the letters drift apart, but not far apart. The most rational explanation of such a state of things is that fresh letters have been stuffed pell-mell by the compiler of Bz into an existing framework (that of some one of the other B groups), which has been dislocated indeed to make room for the new material but has nevertheless not been quite destroyed.]

PALLADIANA.

II.

THE *Dialogus de Vita Chrysostomi* AND THE *Historia Lausiaca*:
AUTHORSHIP.

It had been my intention to discuss in the second section of these 'Palladiana' the questions raised by Dr Richard Reitzenstein in his work *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca* as to the historical character of the Lausiaca History. And it is well to say at once that his attitude is quite different from the crude scepticism of Weingarten, fashionable a generation ago, which saw in the two works a sort of *Gulliver's Travels*. But there will be firmer ground for dealing with Reitzenstein's theories, if the question of authorship can be settled first.

Reitzenstein does not deny that Palladius of Helenopolis was the author of the Lausiaca History; but he holds his claim to be at best unproven, and probably unfounded. The investigation will afford an opportunity of making good what must seem a strange omission in my edition of the Lausiaca History—the absence of any formal discussion of the authorship (see Part II p. 183). The reason was twofold: (1) it seemed permissible, in view of universal consent, to take Palladius' claim for granted; and (2) it was not possible to go into the question with any thoroughness without an examination, such as I had not then made, of the *Dialogus de Vita Chrysostomi*, also attributed to Palladius. The study on the authorship of the Dialogue appeared in 1908, buried away in a great volume of 'Chrysostomica', produced by the Collegio Graeco at Rome in celebration of the fifteenth centenary of St John Chrysostom, where it has lain inaccessible and little known. I am glad to have the opportunity of resuscitating the material in a place where it will be easily and permanently accessible, and at the same time of presenting the case in a somewhat new way.

We shall therefore consider

A. The question whether the Dialogue and the Lausiaca History are the work of one and the same author; and if so,

B. Whether the author was Palladius of Helenopolis.

The Lausiaca History is sufficiently well-known, as being a principal authority, perhaps on the whole the principal authority, for the history of Egyptian monachism in the fourth century; and the Dialogue

similarly is recognized as the principal authority for the troublous years of St John's episcopate and the controversy and struggle that raged around him during the last part of his life. The Dialogue is preserved in a single Greek MS of the eleventh century—Florence, Medic. Laurent. Plut. IX, cod. xiv—all others being copies of this. The text was first edited by Bigot (Paris, 1680), and it is printed in all subsequent editions of the Works of Chrysostom (in vol. xlvii of Migne's *Patr. Graeca*). It is a dialogue between a deacon of the Roman Church and an Eastern bishop, an adherent of St Chrysostom, who is represented as being in Rome about the time of his death.

With this by way of preface we proceed to the investigation.

A. Evidence as to whether the Dialogue and the Lausiatic History are the work of one and the same author.

It is a case of internal evidence:

(1) *Question of literary style:*

The present writer ought to know the literary style and characteristic peculiarities of the author of the Lausiatic History, having gone through it time after time, in collating the MSS, in constructing the text, and in revising the proofs. From mere general style and vocabulary I should not have been led to suspect that the Dialogue is by the author of the Lausiatic History. Indeed certain turns of expression much affected by the writer of the Lausiatic History are not found in the Dialogue: e.g. *εἰς λόγον* (in such phrases as *εἰς λόγον τροφῆς*), which occurs four times in the Lausiatic History, but not in the Dialogue. I feel, however, that I am lacking in that sense which seems to enable some critics confidently to identify the authors of writings by similarity of style. But in this case I find my impression is the same as Tillemont's: 'Quoique l'un et l'autre ouvrage soit d'un grec assez barbare, il me semble néanmoins que la Lausiacque a partout un air simple et naturel, et que le Dialogue est plus affecté, et d'un homme qui avoit quelque teinture d'une méchante rhétorique. . . . Ainsi je ne sçay pas si son style mesme ne seroit pas une raison essentielle de distinguer ce Pallade de l'autre' (*Mémoires* xi 643). It must, however, be acknowledged that the author of the Lausiatic History shews himself capable, on occasion, of flights of bad rhetoric.

On the other hand, of modern critics, the late Dr Zöckler speaks of 'the essential resemblance of the two works in regard to literary style'¹; and Dr Preuschen declares that the alleged difference of style is not a sufficient ground for questioning Palladius' claim to the authorship.² Dr Reitzenstein holds that the similarity of style and expression makes it extremely likely that the two works are by the same author (*op. cit.*

¹ Herzog *Realencyklopädie* (ed. 3), art. 'Palladius'.

² *Palladius und Rufinus* p. 246.

p. 6). This is a matter of appreciation whereon each one may form his own opinion after reading the two books.

(2) *Phraseology and Vocabulary.*

I proceed now to marshal the more tangible evidence, so far as it is known to me, in favour of the unity of authorship.

The following is a list of such definite phrases and expressions as I have been able to collect in the Dialogue, that seem to present positive resemblances to the Lausiatic History. The references to the Lausiatic History are to my edition (Cambridge, 1904); those to the Dialogue are to Bigot's pagination, which is preserved in the Paris edition of the *Opera Chrysostomi*, 1839, XIII i, the columns in Migne *P. G.* xlvii being inserted in brackets.

Dialogue.

41 (18) μυσταγωγῆθεις τὴν τοῦ
λουτροῦ παλιγενεσίαν
σφριγώσης τῆς νεότητος

εἰ καὶ σῶον ἦν τὸ φρονοῦν

52 (22) συγκροτήσας τὸ ἱερατεῖον
97 (37) θεασάμενοι . . . τὴν Ἰωάν-
νου εὐχάριστον φιλοσοφίαν ἀδομένην
99 (38) παρέστη αὐτῷ ὁ τοῦ τόπου
ἐκείνου μάρτυς, Βασιλίσκος ὄνομα
αὐτῷ, . . . φήσας, Θάρσει, ἀδελφε
Ἰωάννη· αὐριοι γὰρ ἅμα ἐσόμεθα

105 (40) τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρετῶν τῶν
εἰς εὐσέβειαν συντείνουσιν

116 (44) γυναικοῦέρακες

These are the only references in Sophocles' Lexicon to γυναικοῦεραξ (a lustful man) = γυναικομανής: nor does Dindorf's ed. of Stephanus' Thesaurus give any other.

144 (54), 185 (68) οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον
φαῦλοι

150 (56) τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον

158 (58) φαντασίαι τε νυκτεριναί

ὀκταμηνιαίῳ χρόνῳ ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐτα-
ριχεύετο

162 (60) (of Olympias) ὅσῃν δὲ
περιουσίαν χρημάτων ἢ κτημάτων
τοῖς δεομένοις διένειμεν, οὐκ ἔμον τὸ
λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν εὐ παθόντων

223 (81) ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων

Hist. Laus.

133 ἀφ' οὗ ἐμυσταγωγήθην καὶ
ἀνεγεννήθην

16 σφριγώσης ἔτι τῆς ἡλικίας

119 ὡς νέψ καὶ σφριγῶντι τὴν
ἡλικίαν

117 ἐλευθερωθεὶς τὸ φρονοῦν

153 διέφθαρτο αὐτοῦ τὸ φρονοῦν

165 συνεκρότησε τὸ ἱερατεῖον

141 ἵνα δείξω αὐτοῖς τὴν εὐχάρι-
στον σου φιλοσοφίαν

154 καὶ παραστὰς αὐτῇ ὁ μάρτυς
ὁ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, Κόλλουθος ὀνόματι,
λέγει αὐτῇ· Σήμερον μέλλεις ὁδεύειν
πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ὁρᾶν πάντας
τοὺς ἁγίους

83 τὰ εἰς ἡδονὴν συντείνοντα

116 θαυμαστὰ πράγματα τὰ συν-
τείνοντα εἰς ἀπάθειαν

161 γυναικοῦέρακες

7 οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον φαῦλοι

23, 82, 98 (introducing a proverb)
75 πρὸς τὰς φαντασίας τὰς νυκτε-
ρινας

119 Θεὸς . . . ἐξαμηνιαίῳ χρόνῳ
ταριχεύσας αὐτοῦ τὸ σαρκίον

146 (of Melania) αὐτῇ μὲν ὅσῃν
ῥῆσιν ἀνήλωσεν ἐν τῷ θείῳ ζήλῳ
καθάπερ πυρὶ φλέξασα, οὐκ ἔμον τὸ
διηγῆσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὴν Περ-
σίδα οἰκούντων

9 ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων

As we have said, Reitzenstein holds that community of authorship is established by resemblances of language and thought in the two books, and he signalizes in his notes a number of the parallels that in his eyes justify this conclusion. Two or three of his examples are among those that I had already indicated, as above; the others follow:

Dialogue.

3 (5) πόθεν παραγέγονας καὶ περὶ
ὧν ποθοῦμεν μαθεῖν

7 (7) πόθεν σε νῦν παραγεγόμενον
ἔχομεν τέως;

8 (7) οἶμαι γάρ σε τῆς συνόδου
εἶναι Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κων-
σταντινουπόλεως

24 (13) μικροῦ δὲ περιπνέσαντος
χρόνου

Reitzenstein says: Read *περιπνέσαντος*: the forms appear to be collateral.

65 (27) εἰς τὴν τοῦ δράματος ὑπη-
ρεσίαν

146 (54) τὸ κατὰ Ἀκάκιον δρᾶμα

223 (81) τοῦ διαβόλου εἶναι τὸ
δρᾶμα

112 (43) διδασκαλία πνευματικῇ

166 (61) λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ αἰδου-
μένῳ ἔψκει τῆς αἰσθητῆς μετα-
λαμβάνων τροφῆς

Hist. Laus.

102 πόθεν εἶ, καὶ τί παραγέγονας;

στοχάζομαι γάρ σε τῆς συνοδίας
εἶναι τῆς Εὐαγρίου

23 χρόνου δὲ περιπνέσαντος

23 σοφίζεται δρᾶμα τοιοῦτον

42 ἀστοχήσας ὁ δαίμων τοῦ δρά-
ματος τούτου

110 εἶπω ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ
δράματος

112 κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον δρᾶμα

162 ἐγνώσθη τὸ δρᾶμα

16 διδασκαλία πνευματικῇ

16 αἰδοῦμαι μεταλαμβάνων ἀλόγον
τροφῆς

I am quite prepared to find that a more extensive knowledge than I possess of Byzantine Greek and of the literature of the period would shew that some of these expressions have no significance as indications of identity of authorship; I merely state this part of the case as it presents itself to me, and leave it to those who are more competent to pass judgement.

(3) *Employment of biblical texts.*

For my own part, I attach greater weight to the following three cases of resemblance in the employment of biblical texts:

Dialogue.

104 (40) ἦλθε γὰρ Ἰωάννης μῆτε
ἐσθίων μῆτε πίνων, ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιο-
σύνης· καὶ λέγουσι· δαιμόνιον ἔχει

Hist. Laus.

13 ἦλθε Ἰωάννης ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιο-
σύνης, μῆτε ἐσθίων μῆτε πίνων . . .
καὶ λέγουσι· δαιμόνιον ἔχει

Cf. Mt. xi 18 ἤλθε γὰρ Ἰωάννης μὴτε ἐσθίων μὴτε πίνων, καὶ λέγουσιν· δαιμόνιον ἔχει. Mt. xxi 32 ἤλθε γὰρ Ἰωάννης πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ.

I have been able to find no authority of any biblical MS for the insertion in Mt. xi 18 of the clause from xxi 32, nor any instance of the combination outside the two passages just cited.

Dialogue.

154 (57) καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ὄνει-
δίζουσι τοὺς μαθητάς, λέγοντες·
Ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν μετὰ τελωνῶν
καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει

Hist. Laus.

13 καὶ πάλιν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπεμ-
βαίνοντες ὀνειδισμοῖς ἔλεγον· Ὁ δι-
δάσκαλος ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν
καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει

Cf. Mk. ii 16 . . . ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· ὅτι μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει (ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν).

The last three words do not belong to the text and are an insertion from the parallel passage in Mt. ix 11; they are, however, added in a considerable number of MSS and are a well attested reading. But the only MS that places them at the beginning of the sentence is the Old Latin Colbertinus (c); and it is doubtful whether a translation can be taken in a mere matter of order as representing a Greek reading. Thus the two passages cited agree in a form of the text very likely not found elsewhere, and certainly of extreme rarity. When to this agreement is added the further agreement that in both cases the text is introduced by a preface containing the root of *ὀνειδίζειν*, not found in the Gospel context in any of the parallel passages, the resemblances become very striking.

Dialogue.

202 (74) Cites 1 Jn. ii 18 παιδία,
ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν, and goes on εἰ
δὲ πρὸς τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν εἴρηται
παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐσχάτη κτλ.

Hist. Laus.

147 παιδία, γέγραπται πρὸς τετρα-
κοσίων ἐτῶν ὅτι ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν.

Here again it looks as if the reference '400 years ago' in citing this text is one of those mannerisms or tricks that betray personality and point to unity of authorship.

(4) *Descriptions of persons.*

We pass to another class of evidence. The author of the Dialogue and the author of the Lausiaca History came into personal contact with the same individuals, and it will be to our purpose to see what they tell us of some of them—of Isidore the hospitaller of Alexandria, of Ammonius the Tall, and of Olympias the deaconess of Constantinople.

Isidore the hospitaller:

Dialogue.

50 (22) Ἰσιδώρος τις . . . ὃν ἴσασι
Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλείστοι ἐκκλησιαστικῶν
ἐνεκεν εἰσβαλόντα εἰς αὐτήν, ξενο-
δόχον Ἀλεξανδρείας ὄντα . . .

54 (23) χωρεῖ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ τῆς
Νιτρίας πρὸς τὸ τάγμα τῶν μοναχῶν,
ἐνθα τὰς τῆς νεότητος ἐσχέκει δια-
τριβάς· καὶ καθίσας ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ
αὐτοῦ . . .

Ammonius the Tall:

Dialogue.

159 (59) λέγεται δὲ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ
μονάζοντος Ἀμμωνίου νόσους τὰς περὶ
ῥίγος ἐλαύνειν. τέθαιπται δὲ ἐν τῷ
μαρτυρίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων πέραν
θαλάσσης

The Martyrium of the Apostles across the Bosphorus was the Rufinian.

The piece from *Hist. Laus.* is critically not quite certain; but I have little doubt myself of its genuineness (see my edition p. 34, and note 22, p. 191). The passage in the Dialogue is strong confirmation of its authenticity.

Olympias:

Dialogue.

150 (56) . . . νύμφην ποτὲ γενο-
μένην Νεβριδίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων . . .

162 (60) . . . οὐδὲ εἰκοσι μῆνας
δουλεύσαι τῇ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονῇ . . .
λέγεται δὲ παρθένος ὑπάρχειν

It has to be considered whether the similarity of the information given concerning these three personages can be accounted for by the supposition that the author of the Dialogue and the author of the Lausiatic History each had known them and their surroundings: or whether it is of such a kind as to point to identity of authorship.

(5) *General Experiences.*

It may be inferred from the following piece that the author of the Dialogue had himself been in Egypt, and had seen the temples: καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Αἰγυπτίων ναοὶ μέγιστοι ὄντες, καὶ κάλλει λίθων κομπάζοντες, πιθήκους ἔχουσιν ἔνδον καὶ ἵβεις καὶ κύνας ἀντὶ θεῶν (39 (18)).

Further, it is evident from the whole tenor of the book that he was one of the innermost circle of adherents of St John Chrysostom during the controversies of his last years, and that he was one of those who went to Rome in his behalf. The author of the Lausiatic History says the same of himself (pp. 105, 157).

The author of the Dialogue claims to have conversed—ὥς αὐτὸς ἡμῖν

Hist. Laus.

15 . . . Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ
ξενοδόχῳ ὄντι τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκ-
κλησίας.

16 οὗτος γνώριμος ὦν τῇ κατὰ
Ῥώμην συγκλήτῳ πάσῃ καὶ ταῖς
γυναῖξιν τῶν μεγιστάνων

15 ὃς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῆς νεότητος
ἀθλα ἐλέγετο ἡνικεναὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ·
οὐ καὶ τὴν κέλλαν ἐθεασάμην ἐν τῷ
ὄρει τῆς Νιτρίας

Hist. Laus.

34 θάπτεται ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῷ
λεγομένῳ Ῥουφινιαναῖς. οὐ τὸ μνῆμα
λέγεται θεραπεύειν πάντας τοὺς ῥιγία-
ζομένους.

Hist. Laus.

150 νύμφη δὲ πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
Νεβριδίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῆς
πύλεως, γυνὴ δὲ οὐδενός·

λέγεται γὰρ κεκοιμηθῆσαι παρθένος.

διηγῆσατο, a favourite phrase in the Lausiac History (pp. 19, 49, 117, 121, 133) for introducing the author's reminiscences—with one Hierax, an aged monk expelled from Nitria by Theophilus, who had previously dwelt in the Desert of Porphyritis (or Calamus) by the Red Sea, and had there been a disciple of St Anthony (160 (59)). And the author of the Lausiac History mentions Hierax as one of those from whom he had heard the story of Paul the Simple and Anthony, who dwelt by the Red Sea, near the Desert of Porphyritis (p. 69).

(6) *Familiarity with the writings of Evagrius.*

This point of resemblance we owe to Dr Reitzenstein. He shews that both works contain citations from the writings of Evagrius. In *Hist. Laus.* there are two such citations: one was signalized by me on p. 123; and Reitzenstein recognized line 5 on p. 126, γνώσις φυσικὴ ἣν διαδέχεται θεολογία καὶ ἡ ἐσχάτη μακαριότης, as verbally taken from the Πρακτικός of Evagrius. He points out also that the expression ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας, meaning Christ (p. 150, l. 5), is found also in Evagrius (*Cent.* ii 22).¹ As for the Dialogue, Reitzenstein confronts the words ἀπὸ τῆς λογικῆς ἀρξάμενος σίριγγος τῆς τῶν προβάτων δοκίμασίας, ὀλιγάκις δὲ καταχρώμενος καὶ τῇ ἐλεγκτικῇ βακτηρίᾳ (45 (20)), with the following from Evagrius: γινώσκω σε ὅτι πολλῶν προβάτων εἰ ποιμὴν καὶ εὐρηκας βόσκημα ποιμαίνειν, ὀλίγον αὐτῶν διὰ ῥάβδου, τὸ δὲ πολὺ διὰ συριγμοῦ: and πῶς τὰ πρόβατά σου ποιμαίνεις, ὀλίγον διὰ ῥάβδου καὶ τὸ πολὺ διὰ συριγμοῦ.²

The author of the Lausiac History was a close disciple of Evagrius, living with him for several years in the Desert of the Cells; it is striking to find the author of the Dialogue also citing Evagrius.

Such is the evidence, so far as it is known to me, on which the question of community of authorship for the Dialogue and the Lausiac History has to be judged. It is a case of many converging lines of evidence; and taken all together it is very strong. In my judgement the conclusion is justified that the two books are the handiwork of one and the same author.

We have now to consider the second question:

B. Whether the author was Palladius of Helenopolis.

(1) It will be best to begin by ascertaining what is known of Palladius of Helenopolis apart from the Lausiac History. Our principal source of information is the Dialogue, which speaks of him in the third person. The earliest mention of him is that he took part as bishop of Helenopolis in a synod at Constantinople, held in the late summer of 400, and

¹ Frankenberg, *Evagrius Ponticus*, p. 145 (*Abhandlungen der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*: Berlin, 1912).

² From Evagrius' Letters published for the first time by Frankenberg, 1912, nos. 9 and 24 (pp. 573, 581): the Greek is Frankenberg's attempted retranslation from the Syriac, the original not being extant. Consequently it is quite likely that βακτηρία, not ῥάβδος, was the word used by Evagrius.

was one of three commissioners deputed to investigate a case at Ephesus (*Dial.* 131 (49)). In the following year he was one of those chosen by St John Chrysostom to accompany him on a visitation at Ephesus (134 (50)). He was one of the bishops who in 405 went to Rome to urge St John's cause with Innocent (26 (13)). In 406 he returned to Greece along with others bearing letters from the Pope and the Emperor, to the effect that an ecumenical Council should be convened; but on landing they were arrested and cast into prison at Athyra, a fortress in Thrace (32 (15)), and were afterwards sent into exile in distant places, Palladius to Syene in Upper Egypt, the modern Assouan, at the First Cataract (194 (71)).

Outside the Dialogue I find only three references to Palladius of Helenopolis: (1) The account of the Synod of the Oak in 403, contained in cod. lix of Photius' 'Bibliotheca', mentions Palladius of Helenopolis as one of the group of St John's friends accused of Origenism. (2) Sozomen (viii 26) preserves the letter written by Innocent in 405 to the clergy of Constantinople, wherein Palladius is mentioned as one of the Eastern bishops who had come to Rome bringing information of what was happening in the case of St John: this confirms the statement of the Dialogue. (3) Socrates (vii 36), in a list of bishops translated from one see to another, names Palladius, 'from Helenopolis to Aspouna'; this doubtless was part of the pacification of the troubles arising out of the case of St John, and may be placed about the year 417.

Thus what is known of Palladius of Helenopolis from sources other than the Lausiaca History may be summed up as follows: he was bishop of Helenopolis in 400; he took part as a foremost supporter of St John Chrysostom in the struggles of 400-405; he went to Rome in 405; he returned to Greece and was exiled to Syene (Assouan) in 406; and he was translated from his see of Helenopolis in Bithynia to that of Aspouna in Galatia, probably about 417.

(2) Let us confront with this what the author of the Lausiaca History has to say of himself. In the Prologue (p. 10 of my edition) he says he is going to set forth in a narrative form the stories of the fathers whom he had seen, or of whom he had heard, in the Egyptian desert and Libya and the Thebaid and Syene; also in Mesopotamia and Palestine and Syria, and in the parts of the West, Rome and Campania and the neighbourhood. It is at once evident how well this fits in with what is known of Palladius of Helenopolis.

When we pass to the author's more detailed statements as to his career, we find that the outstanding facts may be scheduled as follows:—

He made a sojourn in Egypt of twelve years; this began in 388 and ended in 400, or more probably in 399. The evidence will be recited just now.

His adventures on leaving Egypt are learned from c. xxxv (p. 105): he went first to Palestine and then to Bithynia, where he was ordained bishop; he took part in the controversy about St John Chrysostom, being at one time hidden for eleven months in a gloomy cell.¹ Finally, in c. lxi, p. 157, the author says that he was one of those that went to Rome on St John's account. There is nothing in the body of the book about Syene, but we have seen that in the Prologue Syene is mentioned as one of the places where the author had been.

To sum up: If the author of the Lausiac History left Egypt in 399, or even early in 400, and betook himself to Palestine and thence to Bithynia, there was ample time for him to be consecrated bishop before the synod in the summer of 400, at which Palladius assisted as bishop of Helenopolis. The other points enumerated tally exactly with the principal features of the career of Palladius: Helenopolis was a bishopric in Bithynia, and the author says that it was in Bithynia that he became bishop; the sufferings in behalf of St John, and the visits to Rome and to Syene are points in common. That two lives should thus agree in experiences so remarkable would be a most extraordinary coincidence.

(3) We shall now take the Dialogue and examine the grounds it may afford for supposing that its author was Palladius of Helenopolis.

The narrative in this work is thrown into the form of a dialogue between an Eastern bishop and a deacon of the Roman Church named Theodore. The bishop is the principal speaker; he is represented as having been one of St John's personal friends and adherents, and as having gone through all the long struggle in his behalf. Neither his name is mentioned, nor the name of his see, but it was a diocese in the East. The scene of the Dialogue is Rome; the time shortly after St John's death, before the news had definitely reached Rome, i. e. 407 or early in 408. Of course it does not follow that the Dialogue was written at that date. The bishop is represented as being quite an old man, and as having come to Rome for the first time. Neither circumstance could be true of Palladius of Helenopolis: for in 407 he was not yet 45 years of age; he had been in Rome in 405 on St John's business; and in 407-408 he was in exile at Syene in Upper Egypt. Moreover Palladius of Helenopolis is frequently throughout the Dialogue spoken of in the third person, as being a different man from the bishop who tells the story. Thus it is quite clear that the author did not intend his bishop to be Palladius of Helenopolis; but surely it by no means follows that—as Bigot and Tillemont and many

¹ There can be no doubt that Ep. cxiii among St Chrysostom's Letters, Παλλαδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, was to our Palladius. It says *λανθάνοντες καὶ κρυπτόμενοι πλείονα σχολὴν ἔχετε νῦν προσκαρτερεῖν ταῖς εὐχαῖς*. This suggests the situation depicted in the above passage of the Lausiac History.

after them have argued—therefore Palladius of Helenopolis was not the author. The writers of dialogues do not always introduce themselves among the interlocutors. Tillemont's contention that such a literary device would be unworthy of a bishop (*Mémoires* xi 643) is plainly inadmissible. There is no real difficulty of any kind presented by the theory that Palladius of Helenopolis at any date between St John's death (407) and his own (c. 425) may have written the Dialogue and introduced a fictitious 'bishop' in place of himself as the chief spokesman: there is no difficulty in supposing he may have written it at Syene and placed the scene at Rome to give actuality to the story. Nor should his speaking of himself in the third person cause any difficulty. The ground is thus clear for an examination of the evidence.

Palladius of Helenopolis could very well have written the Dialogue. What the 'bishop' describes as his own experiences are known to have been the experiences of Palladius: Palladius played in St John's affairs just the part that the 'bishop' claims to have played—he was one of the forty bishops who adhered to St John, as the 'bishop' claims to have been. The writer of the Dialogue appears to have been very well informed concerning Palladius and his doings. On pp. 198, 199 (72) two trivial stories connected with Palladius are related, under cover of what seems to be a transparent literary device—ὡς ὁ ἐλθὼν διηγῆσάτο συστρατιώτης: while on p. 134 ff (50) is given a minute and circumstantial account of the mission to Ephesus in 401, on which St John was accompanied by only three bishops—one being Palladius of Helenopolis.

(4) We must next turn to the external evidence. The tradition that the Dialogue was by Palladius goes back to the seventh century, being witnessed to by Theodore, bishop of Trimithus in Cyprus, c. 680. He writes in his Life of Chrysostom: Διαλέγεται περὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων τούτων πάντων, μετὰ Θεοδώρου διακόνου τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης, ἀνὴρ τις τίμιος Παλλάδιος τοῦνομα· οὗτος, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἔρημον οἰκήσας ἐπὶ ἱκανοὺς χρόνους κατηξιώθη τῆς ἐπισκόπης ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ. οὗτος συγγράφεται καὶ ἀρετὰς πολλῶν πατέρων· ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς κοινωνικὸς ὢν Ἰωάννου, κατὰ κλειστός γέγονεν ἑνδεκαμήνεον χρόνον ἐν οἰκίσκῳ ζοφερῷ (§ 2, *P. G.* xlvii, col. lv).

These details are taken from *Hist. Laus.* c. xxxv (p. 105). In this passage the two books are explicitly assigned to a single author, named Palladius, a bishop; and though it is not explicitly said that he was Palladius of Helenopolis, still it cannot with any show of reason be maintained that there was another Palladius who became bishop of a see in Bithynia about 400 and suffered in the cause of St John. Thus the tradition that the two books were composed by Palladius of Helenopolis goes back certainly to the seventh century. The

tradition that the Dialogue was composed by 'Palladius the bishop' is attested also by Photius *Bibliotheca* cod. xcvi.

The evidence of Socrates has to be considered. His account of the Monks of Egypt is given in bk. iv, c. xxiii; it ends with the following words: *εἰ δέ τις βούλοιτο τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν μαθάνειν, ὧν τε ἐποίησαν, ὧν τε ἐπραξαν, καὶ ὧν πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀκουσάντων ἐφθέγγεοντο, ὅπως τε αὐτοῖς τὰ θηρία ὑπήκουον, πεπόνηται Παλλαδίῳ τῷ μοναχῷ ἰδίον μονοβίβλιον· ὃς Εὐαγρίου μὲν ἦν μαθητῆς· πάντα δὲ ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν διεξῆλθεν· ἐν ᾧ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐφάμιλλον τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀνδράσιν ἐπανελομένων βίον μνήμην πεποιήται.* This is so applicable to the Lausiac History, setting forth its characteristic features, and especially the prominence it gives to holy women, that no question could have arisen as to the book referred to by Socrates being the Lausiac History, were it not that in the preceding account of the monks, who all figure in the Lausiac History, no use was made of that work, Socrates evidently getting his information from other sources. This apparent anomaly has so much impressed some modern critics, that they cannot think Socrates refers to our Lausiac History. Reitzenstein, for instance, surmises that a disciple of Evagrius named Palladius may have formed the great collection of Apophthegmata (*op. cit.* p. 5), and that this was the book referred to by Socrates. I do not think he will press this tentative suggestion now, in face of the body of evidence in support of Palladius' authorship of the Lausiac History.

(5) I have reserved till the end the question of the evidence of the MSS, to make it clear that the claim of Palladius is not based primarily upon this.

In the Greek MSS and the Versions the Lausiac History is attributed to

- Palladius bishop of Helenopolis
- Palladius bishop of Aspouna
- Palladius bishop of Cappadocia
- Palladius the bishop
- Palladius the monk, disciple of Evagrius
- Palladius
- Heracleides bishop of Cappadocia
- Heracleides the disciple of Anthony
- Heracleides the hermit, or the Alexandrine
- Heraclius the bishop
- Hieronymus (only one MS)

In some of the authorities the work is without name.

The evidence of the MSS is recited in full in my edition, ii pp. 3, 6, 8, 9, 170; summarized pp. 182-183.

Reitzenstein's theory as to the twofold attribution to Palladius and Heracleides is that they were the two most prominent figures fulfilling the general conditions of the case—monks in Nitria, then bishops and

foremost supporters of St John and sufferers in his cause—so that they were the two most obvious persons on whom to father the Lausiatic History: thus they cancel one another and leave the work anonymous (*op. cit.* p. 4). But neither historically nor textually are their claims on the same footing. Not one of the statements set forth above concerning Heracleides can be true of the friend of St John, whom he made bishop of Ephesus in 401; nor are the personal statements of the author of the Lausiatic History concerning himself true of Heracleides, as they are of Palladius. On p. 183 of my book I have shewn that the textual attestation of Heracleides' name is weak, and not such as to indicate a firm tradition.¹

But in regard to Palladius it is quite otherwise. If we revert to the stemma given in the previous article (p. 28) we shall see that the two principal branches of the textual tradition are those there designated $\beta\lambda$ and γ . All the representatives of γ , viz. W P T syr., agree in naming as author Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis²; and the principal copy of syr., the sixth-seventh century 'Addit. MS 12173' in the British Museum, presents the following title: 'Histories of the Egyptian Fathers, composed by Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, the disciple of Evagrius, at the request of Lausus.' This, dating from about the year 600, is the earliest extant explicit assertion of the claim of Palladius of Helenopolis. When we turn to the other branch of the textual tradition, $\beta\lambda$, we find that lat., the representative of λ , gives us 'Palladius the bishop', but without name of see, and 'Palladius the monk, disciple of Evagrius'. The representatives of β , the great class of B MSS, are so divergent in their testimony to the authorship that no conclusion can be drawn in regard to their common ancestor β ; only it is to be noted that in some B MSS Palladius bishop of Helenopolis is found, and in others Palladius bishop of Aspoune, his other see.

¹ A suggestion by M. Alfarc in *Les Écritures Manichéennes*, II, 114, to account for the attribution to Heracleides, perhaps deserves mention. He supposes that Heracleides the disciple of Mani and commentator of his writings, named with Hierakas in the form of abjuration of Manichaeism, was identical with the monk Heracleides, a disciple of Anthony, seen by Rufinus about 375, and that he was the author of a more ancient work on the monks, used by Palladius as basis of the Lausiatic History: 'L'étude du texte semble indiquer que Pallade exploite un travail plus ancien. Elle permet donc d'en attribuer la paternité première à Héraclide': hence the attribution to him in certain texts.

Here we are evidently in the realm of fine-spun hypothesis. I do not propose to discuss its intrinsic likelihood or reasonableness. For the textual critic it will be enough to examine the character of the attestations of Heracleides' name, as set forth on p. 183 of my book, in order to be satisfied that it would have been a textual impossibility for the original name to have filtered down in the manner suggested through the great mass of sources of the text.

² P names also 'Palladius bishop of Cappadocia', but this was introduced from an extraneous source.

The case of the Dialogue is much more simple: for only a single MS exists, and it is of eleventh century. Both in title and explicit it attributes the Dialogue to Palladius of Helenopolis: *Διάλογος ἱστορικὸς Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου Ἐλενουπόλεως γεγόμενος πρὸς Θεόδωρον διάκονον Ῥώμης περὶ βίου καὶ πολιτείας τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*. Opposite *Ἐλενουπόλεως* in the margin is written *ἐν ἄλλοις γράφεται Ἀσπόνων*, showing that other MSS also attributed the work to Palladius, who was translated from Helenopolis to Aspouna: similarly MSS of the *Historia Lausiaca* exist in which Palladius is styled bishop of Aspouna.

The title and explicit of the Florence MS contain the words *τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, which cannot have stood in the original, the epithet not having come into vogue as an agnomen of St John until a later period; but the insertion would be so natural that it does not discredit the rest.

I trust that what has here been written will remove Dr Reitzenstein's scruples as to accepting Palladius of Helenopolis as the author of the two books, and will moreover prevent the critics from being carried away by Reitzenstein's mere name. But already Dr W. Bousset, in a most thorough survey of Reitzenstein's book, has expressed his adherence to Palladius of Helenopolis as author of the Lausiaca History.¹ And, indeed, the author's remark concerning himself, that, about 400, he was made bishop in Bithynia, is practically tantamount to an explicit statement that he was Palladius of Helenopolis: for the bishops in Bithynia were few; and it cannot be imagined that in any other of them should the series of statements made about his own career by the author of the Lausiaca History have found verification, as it did in the person of Palladius.

Similarly in the case of the Dialogue: the evidence, both internal and external, supports the early and only tradition as to authorship. The historical value of the document is probably not thereby intrinsically enhanced, for the writer is, in any case, well informed and worthy of credit; but it certainly is a satisfaction to know that the chief source of information on St Chrysostom is the work of the historical personage Palladius, whose career is well known, whose knowledge of the saint was so intimate, and whose devotion to him was proved by the persecutions unflinchingly endured in his cause.

We may claim to have shewn by separate investigations that each of the two works we have been considering was written by Palladius of Helenopolis. This conclusion in respect to either of them gains greatly in strength from the independent proof that both proceed from one and the same writer. It will be well to carry the matter a stage further, and to examine the character of Palladius as an author, especially in the Lausiaca History. The particular question is the measure of

¹ *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1917, pp. 194, 199.

credence to be given to the numerous touches of personal reminiscence and the statements concerning himself that abound in the *Lausiatic History*.

Those scholars, from Tillemont onwards, who have had to deal with the writings and career of Palladius have considered how these statements are to be fitted into the known framework of his life, and have produced schemes, agreeing in general contour, but differing in points of detail, setting forth the chronology of his life. But Reitzenstein and Bousset pronounce this to be mere futility and misplaced ingenuity—a taking seriously what in reality was only a literary device to give life and actuality to the story (Reitzenstein, p. 8; Bousset, p. 197): indeed Bousset declares fact and invention to be so mixed up that it is wellnigh impossible to separate them, and that the reconstruction of Palladius' life has to be made from those statements alone that are found outside the *Lausiatic History* (p. 204).

It is evident that such a view of the many personal traits found in the *Lausiatic History*, if true, gravely compromises the character of the book as a first-hand account of Christian monachism at the close of the fourth century, and weakens its authority as an historical source. No apology therefore is needed for a re-examination of the evidence.

The two critics of course accept the general statement that Palladius did live as a monk in Nitria and Cellia, and was a disciple of Evagrius; but they are sceptical concerning what he relates concerning his movements in those places. Let us test what he says by bringing together his various statements concerning his stay in Egypt.

(1) The starting-point is that he came to Alexandria in the year 388 c. i p. 15).¹ He tells us that he spent two or three years in the neighbourhood of Alexandria (cc. ii, vii, pp. 16, 24), a year in Nitria (c. vii, p. 25), and nine years in the desert of Cellia with Macarius and Evagrius (c. xviii, p. 47). This gives in all twelve to thirteen years, and takes us to 400 or 401 for the close of Palladius' sojourn in Egypt. The earlier date, 400, must be taken, because he was bishop by the middle of that year.

(2) Palladius says that on his first coming to Alexandria he met Isidore the hospitaller, who then was seventy years of age and lived for fifteen years more. Fifteen years from 388 would give 403 as the date of Isidore's death. Now it was in 402 that Isidore along with the Four Tall Brothers fled from Theophilus of Alexandria to St John

¹ There is some textual uncertainty about the clause, which is absent from the MSS W P T. In Appendix Vii of my book (ii 237-240) there will be found a minute technical examination of the textual evidence, as the result of which the clause is shown to be genuine. It is accepted as such by Reitzenstein, who adds the common-sense argument that such a clause, merely fixing a date, might easily have been omitted by a scribe, as of no interest; but would not have been inserted by any other than the author himself (*op. cit.* p. 7).

Chrysostom (Soz. viii 13), and this is the last that is heard of him; so that, considering his great age, 403 is a probable date of his death. The *Dialogus* affords confirmation of the Lausiatic History, saying that in 398-399, when Theophilus began to persecute him, Isidore was eighty (50 (22)); if so, he would have been seventy in 388.

(3) There is some textual uncertainty as to whether Palladius says that he was present at the death of Evagrius (p. 122, l. 15); the context makes it probable that he was. Evagrius died at the Epiphany in 399 or 400.

(4) In the account of the visit to John of Lycopolis (c. xxxv) Palladius tells us that three years afterwards he grew ill and went to Alexandria to be treated by the physicians, who (doubtless after a period of treatment) advised him to go to Palestine. John of Lycopolis died shortly after Theodosius' victory over Eugenius, and therefore in the winter of 394-395; if Palladius' visit was made a short time before his death, 398 or 399 would be the year pointed to for the end of his stay in Egypt. As John was seventy-eight years of age at the time— $25 + 5 + 48$ (p. 100, ll. 8, 9, and p. 105, l. 16)—it is not straining things to suppose that Palladius' visit took place a short time before his death.

(5) That his stay in Egypt lasted about ten years is indicated by the statement in c. iv, that he saw Didymus the Blind on four occasions, visiting him at intervals during a period of ten years. It is known from other sources that Didymus was living at Alexandria at the time.

(6) In the Prologue (p. 9) Palladius says that at the date of writing he was in the thirty-third year of his monastic life and the twentieth of his episcopate. As he was consecrated in 400 the date of writing was 419-420, and consequently the date of his becoming a monk was 386 or 387.

These different chronological data do not tally with precise arithmetical exactitude; but they do hold together in a general agreement that is sufficiently remarkable when it is remembered that they are isolated statements picked out from many different places in the Lausiatic History, and related to quite independent sets of facts. It has to be remembered, too, that the book was written twenty years after Palladius left Egypt, and thirty years after he first went there. After such a lapse of time minute accuracy is not to be looked for in such autobiographical reckonings of time. In those days, when there were no almanacks or diaries, it was much more difficult than it now is to keep an accurate count of the years. It would be pedantic unduly to criticize these round numbers, recorded twenty years and more after the events. Elsewhere¹ I have gone with care into all the chronological data, with the result that the period 388 to 399 emerges as the date of Palladius' stay in Egypt.

¹ *Lausiatic History of Palladius* i 179 ff, 293 ff, ii 237 ff.

Against this stands one difficulty: a letter of St Epiphanius to John bishop of Jerusalem, written in 393 or 394 (51 inter Epp. Hieronymi), has been held to imply that one Palladius, a Galatian and Origenist, was at Jerusalem at the time. Various suggestions have been made:

(1) That of Bousset: that the statement is correct, and shews that no credence is to be given to Palladius' autobiographical notes (*op. cit.* p. 204).

But the series of agreements just set forth cannot be swept away in this manner; it cannot be imagined that notes of time arbitrarily interjected should hang together as these do.

(2) That of Preuschen: that Palladius' sojourn in Egypt should be placed earlier so as to make it fall before 393 (*Palladius und Rufinus* 243).

This solution may have been allowable at the time, while the textual evidence for the clause asserting that Palladius came to Egypt in 388 was open to doubt; but this is no more the case (see note, p. 151 above).

(3) That of Tillemont: that a second Palladius is to be postulated.

The name Palladius was common enough; but a second Galatian Palladius, an Origenist, is an unlikely hypothesis.

I myself made various suggestions (*Lausiac History* i 296, ii 242–243); but really all these suggestions are unnecessary. What Epiphanius says is: 'Beware of Palladius, though he once was a friend of mine, for he has gone in for Origen and his heresies, and he may mislead your people.'¹ He does not say that Palladius is in Jerusalem, or coming to Jerusalem. He simply says 'Beware', in case he should turn up. He may have heard a rumour that he was likely to come. That would be quite enough to explain the warning.

It may be thought that this is squeezing the item of evidence into line with the rest. But it is by such adjustments that general chronology is constructed. Unresolved difficulties beset chronology at every turn.² The chronology of those times is a series of nicely balanced combinations, against most of which there is some outstanding difficulty. Any one who has had occasion to scratch beneath the surface of the received chronology knows how it teems with recalcitrant facts, and that as a general scheme it is in great measure a balance of probabilities.

So much for Palladius' principal stay in Egypt. In other places he makes mention of other periods passed with various monks in divers places. They may be scheduled thus:

- c. xxxvi—1 year with Posidonius in Bethlehem (p. 107, l. 1)
- c. xlv—3 years with Innocent on the Mount of Olives (p. 131, l. 3)
- c. xlv—'a long time' with Philoromus in Galatia (p. 132, l. 16)

¹ 'Palladium vero Galatam, qui quondam nobis carus fuit et nunc misericordia Dei indiget, cave, quia Origenis heresim praedicat et docet, ne forte aliquos de populo tibi credito ad perversitatem sui inducat erroris.'

² Rauschen's *Jahrbuch der Christl. Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius dem Grossen* is a highly instructive study in the science of chronology.

c. xlviii—some time with Elpidius at Jericho (p. 142, l. 11)

c. lviii—4 years at Antinoë in the Thebaid (p. 151, l. 8)

There is no difficulty in finding time for all this. Palladius was sent into exile at Syene in 406; we know nothing further about him for ten years, until his translation to Aspoua about 417. He seems never to have returned to his bishopric of Helenopolis, another having been appointed to the see during his exile.¹ Thus there are ten years available; moreover it is quite possible that one of the above periods of monastic life may have taken place before he went to Alexandria in 388²; and another, if 399 be the date when he left Egypt, in the interval before he was made bishop. The four years at Antinoë are usually placed during his exile. Bousset objects that he was exiled to Syene, not to Antinoë; but we do not know how long he was kept at Syene—the sentence very likely was mitigated after a year or two—for Palladius speaks of himself at Antinoë as ‘the exiled bishop’ (c. lx, p. 154, l. 21).³

Another of Palladius’ statements about himself is criticized, I think unreasonably, by Bousset. In the concluding chapter Palladius, as is agreed, speaks of himself under the thin disguise of a ‘brother’. Among other things he says he had visited a hundred and six cities and had stayed at very many of them. Bousset ridicules this as impossible to harmonize with what Palladius records of his own career, and draws the inference that ‘a great many of the apparently personal notices scattered throughout the Lausiaca History are novelistic insertions not

¹ This seems to be the interpretation of Socrates’ note (vii 36): Παλλάδιος ἀπὸ Ἑλενοπόλεως μετῆνέχθη εἰς Ἀσπουνά. Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ Ἑλενοπόλεως μετῆνέχθη εἰς Ἀδριανούς.

² It will be noticed that ‘the thirty-third year of monastic life’ (above) would give 386 or 387 for the beginning of his life as a monk. *Pace* Reitzenstein, what is said in c. i is not incompatible with the notion that he may have lived as a monk for a couple of years in Syria or Palestine before coming to Alexandria. Passages might be adduced, e. g. from Cassian, showing that in passing from the monasticism of Syria to that of Egypt one was thought to be coming to the real thing.

³ A good illustration of the lack of objectivity in the critical methods of the philologists as contrasted with those of the textual critics, is afforded by Bousset’s treatment of this passage (*op. cit.* p. 202). It has been pointed out in the first of these articles that the structure of the second half of the book (c. xl to the end) is quite different in the group WPT_{syr}₁ and in the group B_{lat}₁, the difference consisting in a completely different order of the chapters, and in the absence from WPT_{syr}₁ of a considerable amount of matter found in B_{lat}₁. I shewed reasons for taking B_{lat}₁ as preserving the authentic form of the book (*Lausiaca History* ii p. xlviii), and this conclusion is fully accepted and acted on by Reitzenstein and Bousset. Only the latter wishes to adopt the order of WPT_{syr}₁ just in the single case of detaching cc. lix, lx (the nuns of Antinoë) from c. lviii (the monks of Antinoë), and placing them after c. lxiii, a story about Athanasius, so that ‘the exiled bishop’ should be Athanasius! To the textual critic such procedure is intolerable; either the structure of WPT_{syr}₁ is to be taken, or that of B_{lat}₁.

to be taken seriously' (p. 204). But when we consider how widely Palladius had travelled, and, as he says, mostly on foot—*πέζῃ τῇ πορείᾳ πατήσας πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Ῥωμαίων* (*Prologue* p. 11, l. 8)—that consequently his daily journeys could hardly have exceeded fifteen to twenty miles, and that he must each day have put up somewhere for the night; we shall see that a hundred and six is no extravagant or unlikely number of towns for him to have passed through: on the way from Alexandria to Syene he would have passed some fifty towns and villages, twenty of them being bishoprics.

To sum up this article: the following conclusions have been shewn to rest on good evidence: that the Lausiatic History and the Dialogue are the work of a single author; that their author was Palladius of Helenopolis; and that the autobiographical notes scattered throughout the Lausiatic History may not be dismissed as unworthy of credence.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

NOTE.—After the foregoing had gone to press I received from Mr Herbert Moore a proof copy of the translation of the Dialogue that he has made for the S.P.C.K. series of Translations. He adduces a number of additional pieces of evidence in favour of the unity of authorship of the Dialogue and the Lausiatic History. I signalize here three or four of the more striking.

1. Another instance of agreement in an apparently unique reading of a Scriptural text: Ecclus. viii 9 is thus cited in both Dialogue 101 (39) and Lausiatic History 11: *μὴ ἀστοχίσης διηγήματος γερόντων, καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔμαθον*. In the Cambridge LXX and in Holmes and Parsons the text is as follows, without indication of any variant :: *μὴ ἀστοχεῖ διηγήματος γερόντων, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἔμαθον παρὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν*.

2. The word *συνασμενισμός* (Dial. 188 (69), Hist. Laus. 163) 'apparently does not occur elsewhere in Greek literature'.

3. Compare the words of Olympias (Dial. 164 (61)): *εἰ ἐβούλετό με ὁ ἐμὸς βασιλεὺς [Θεός] ἄρρενι συζῆν, οὐκ ἂν μου τὸν πρῶτον ἀφείλετο*, with those of Melania (Hist. Laus. 155): *εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλετο παιδοποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἂν μου ἐλάμβανεν ἄωρα τὰ τεχθέντα*.

4. In the same place Olympias is called *ἡ ἄνθρωπος*, just as Melania is called *ἡ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ* (Hist. Laus. 29). This use of *ἡ ἄνθρωπος* as a term of praise of a woman seems to be unusual.

5. Mr Moore has compiled a list of some seventy words that occur in the two books and may seem to form a cumulative argument of identity of authorship: they would have to be examined with much care before their probative force could be estimated. But there can be no question that his contribution to the solution of the problem is a very notable one.

ΑΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΟΣ.

IN the July number of the JOURNAL Prof. J. A. Smith published a very interesting explanation of the use of this word in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv 25, 198, the ingenuity and acuteness of which I fully recognize, though I am unable to accept his conclusions. Before giving my reasons for this it will be best to transcribe the passage :

‘Ο μὲν οὖν θεὸς ἀναπόδεικτος ὦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιστημονικός, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς σοφία τὲ ἔστι καὶ ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τούτῳ συγγενῇ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει καὶ διέξοδον, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ πνεύματος συλλήβδην μὲν ἐν τι πρᾶγμα γενόμεναι συντελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὸν νιόν, ἀπαρέμφατος δὲ ἔστι τῆς περὶ ἐκάστης αὐτοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐννοίας. καὶ δὴ οὐ γίνεται ἀτεχνῶς ἐν ὧς ἐν, οὐδὲ πολλὰ ὡς μέρη ὁ υἱός, ἀλλ’ ὡς πάντα ἐν, ἐνθεν καὶ πάντα. κύκλος γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς πασῶν τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς ἐν εἰλουμένων καὶ ἐνουμένων.

This Dr Bigg (*Christian Platonists of Alexandria* p. 93) translates, with a query to the word ‘infinite’, as follows :—

‘The God then being indemonstrable is not the object of Knowledge ; but the Son is Wisdom and Knowledge and whatever else is akin to these, and so is capable of demonstration and definition. All the powers of the Divine Nature, gathered into one, complete the idea of the Son ; but He is infinite as regards each of His powers. He is then not absolutely One as Unity, nor many as divisible, but One as All is One. Hence He is All. For He is a circle, all the powers being orbéd and united in Him’.

Dr Smith’s interpretation gives quite a different sense to the clause ἀπαρέμφατος δὲ ἔστι τῆς περὶ ἐκάστης αὐτοῦ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐννοίας. For a full understanding of it the article itself must be referred to. But I shall perhaps give the main point when I say that he traces the word to the use of *παρεμφαίνειν* in connexion with the phenomena of an imperfect mirror. Such a mirror is said (at the imperfect patch) *παρεμφαίνειν τὴν αὐτοῦ ὄψιν*, instead of the object which it elsewhere reflects. So ἀπαρέμφατος may mean ‘not disabled from reflecting the object presented to it’, and the statement in the passage means that the Son has no powers of his own, but reflects, without impediment, the powers of the Father. It is essential to this interpretation that αὐτοῦ should refer to ὁ θεός, and not to ὁ υἱός. This in itself is difficult, but my main objection to the interpretation is that it does not give due weight to the history of ἀπαρέμφατος as a grammatical term.

Ἀπαρέμφατος, as far as we know, is a coinage of grammatical philosophy, and in the large majority of cases signifies the infinitive mood. It is in this sense that we first find it in the classic textbook of Dionysius Thrax (about 80 B.C.), which in subsequent centuries was expounded by generations of commentators, many of whom have given an explanation of the use and origin of the term. The Infinitive, as they tell us, is

called ἀπαρέμφατος, 'not-suggesting-further', because it does not suggest more than the bare meaning of the verb. The other parts of the verb (τὰ παρεμφατικά) suggest some particular ψυχικὴ διάθεσις or 'mood' and some particular person or number. This is not the case with the ἀπαρέμφατος, which may be thought of as having no persons or moods, or more properly (and this is exceedingly important for our purpose) as covering and combining them all. The word may also be applied to any class of words in so far as they exhibit the characteristics of the ἀπαρέμφατος proper. Thus the chief of the later grammarians, Apollonius, who lived a generation or so before Clement, and has left us an elaborate disquisition on the infinitive in his *περὶ συντάξεως*, can also speak of the personal pronouns, as ἐγώ and σύ, as being (in contrast to οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος) ἀπαρέμφατα γένους, not limited to any particular gender. This is still more frequently the case with the corresponding positives, παρεμφατικός, παρέμφασις. Thus he calls the article παρεμφατικὸν γένους, and by a slight extension notes that a singular ordinal numeral as ἐνδέκατος has a πληθυντικὴ παρέμφασις because we cannot use it without thinking of plurality. Again, by a further extension they may be applied to individual words. Ἐρρωσθε, we are told elsewhere, while in itself meaning *valete*, may have the sinister παρέμφασις of 'be off with you'. And it is apparently by some such enlargement that Epiphanius¹ speaks of a statement, which is to be taken literally and not allegorically, as being ἀπαρεμφάτως κεκηρυγμένον.

It is then in this sphere of grammatical philosophy that the word lives and moves and has its being. It is in fact a leading and fundamental term in what was in Clement's time one of the most favourite and best understood of studies. It is surely reasonable then to suppose that when Clement applies it to theological*metaphysics it is with direct allusion to its grammatical usage. When in recent utterances I find 'acid test' or 'touching a Freudian Complex on the raw' applied to politics, it is to contemporary science that I go for an explanation, not to the original meaning of the words as supplied by the dictionary. And so, even if when grammatical philosophy² first adopted these terms there was any thought of the optical sense of *παρεμφαίνειν*, we need not go so far back for an explanation—at any rate if grammatical usage will supply a clue, as I think it will.

Before, however, I give my own explanation, two others should be noted. Dr Gilbert Murray, in a note supplied to the reprint of Dr Bigg (loc. cit.), took the word to be passively used and explained the phrase as meaning that the Son 'is not indicable or defined by the conception

¹ 772 A. Stephanus gives another reference to Epiphanius (II 24 D) which I do not understand; but evidently the word is used in some quasi-grammatical way.

² I use this phrase, because it is important to remember that all this side of grammar was the work of the various philosophical schools and not of the 'Grammatici', who began by being literary critics and only took over our 'grammar' later.

*we have*¹ of each of his powers, e. g. Justice ; *our*¹ conception of justice does not παρεμφαίνειν Him, or indicate or define what He is'. With all deference to so high an authority, I do not think this is quite satisfactory. Apart from minor difficulties, such as the unauthenticated change of voice-sense, I agree with Dr Smith that we have no right to read into τῆς ἐννοίας the thought of human as opposed to divine. We may apply the terminology we are discussing, and say that the simple noun ἐννοια is ἀπαρέμφατος of such a παρέμφασις as 'ours' or 'which we have'.

I think that more is to be said for the rendering 'infinite as regards', which is also given in the Latin translation in Migne. We may allow that the word, suggesting as it does absence of limitations as regards persons, &c., *might* have easily come to mean 'unlimited in extent', and as a matter of fact this is the case with the accepted Latin equivalent *infinitus*.² But I know of no example outside this passage which suggests that such an extension actually took place.

My own explanation is as follows. Laying stress on ἐκάστης I understand Clement to mean that the idea of the Son does not call up the thought of powers exhibited singly and one to the exclusion of another, but of powers blended into a single whole. The phrase is not very translatable and the above is as near as I can get, though if it has to be given more shortly 'not limited to' would have to serve.³ Under it lies explicit, though perhaps half-felt, a grammatical allegory. Ordinary human beings do not exhibit all these powers, but possess one or some to the exclusion of others ; nor even, if they had them all, would they exhibit them simultaneously. They are therefore like 'paremphatic' words, which indicate one person, one mood, one number to the exclusion of others. But the Son is like the Infinitive mood, which is not limited to these individual persons or moods, *but embraces them all in an indivisible unity*.

I daresay that, at first sight, exception may be taken to the words I have here italicized, and it will be said that the analogy breaks down because the Infinitive does not embrace all moods and persons, but is the negation of them, and that therefore to say that the Son is like the Infinitive is to say that He has no powers at all. I think (as I hinted above) that a further study of the Greek doctrine on the subject will

¹ My italics in both cases.

² I doubt, however, whether *infinitus* (*indefinitus*, *infinitivus*) is a translation of ἀπαρέμφατος. I suspect that it comes from an earlier terminology, in which the infinitive was called ἀόριστος. This ultimately dropped out, because the name was required for the 'aorist tense', a need which of course was not felt in Latin. So too *modus* seems to be a translation of διάθεσις, which was the earlier Greek name for 'mood and voice'. Afterwards it was restricted to the 'voice' and was replaced for the mood by ἐγκλισις, though the doctrine that it expressed ψυχικὴ διάθεσις remained.

³ Dr Bethune-Baker suggests 'He is not to be particularized by the idea of his powers one by one'.

dispose of this objection. I have noted above that Apollonius speaks of the personal pronouns as *γένους ἀπαρέμφατα* and we should certainly think of these as covering all genders. And in the case of the Infinitive itself, while he sometimes uses expressions which imply that the Infinitive does not possess these 'accidents', we also find language of another sort, as when he calls it the *γενικὴ ἔγκλισις* or 'general mood', of which the others are *εἶδη* or species. A clearer example appears in one of the commentators on Dionysius Thrax (Heliodorus),¹ who speaks of the *ἀπαρέμφατος* as *ῥῆμα καθαρὸν οὐσίας μὴ καταμνησμένης, ὅτι εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναλύονται αἱ λοιπαί*. Clearer still is Aulus Gellius i 7. He is speaking of the Ciceronian 'hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futurum'. Some people thought that *futurum* was a solecism, but he points out that it is not a participle, but 'verbum indefinitum quod Graeci appellant ἀπαρέμφατον, neque numeris neque generibus praeserviens, sed liberum undique et impromiscuum . . . qui modus neque in numeros neque in personas neque in genera distrahitur, sed omnia isthaec una eademque declinatione complectitur.'² In fact, to use Clement's language, it is ἐν ὧς πάντα.

I put forward this explanation with diffidence, not only out of respect to the authority of others, but because to pronounce dogmatically on it would require more familiarity with Clement in particular and Christological controversy in general than I possess. But it has, I think, the merit that it explains an undoubtedly grammatical term in accordance with *contemporary grammatical doctrine*. This seems to me a matter of sufficient importance to justify labouring so minute a point. I have several times in this JOURNAL and elsewhere urged that grammatical and rhetorical conceptions, which to us are more or less dead and meaningless, are of the very life-blood of the thought of Clement's age, and that students of early Christian theology cannot afford to neglect them. And I feel grateful to Dr Smith for calling my attention to a passage which seems to me an admirable illustration of this truth.

F. H. COLSON.

THE ODES AND PSALMS OF SOLOMON: AN AMENDS.

My attention has been called by Dr Mingana to the fact that in my review in the JOURNAL (Oct. 1920, pp. 76-84) of the new edition of the *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, which Dr Rendel Harris and he have recently brought out in two volumes, I have done the editors an unintentional injustice.

(1) On receiving the volumes for review, my first care was to make use

¹ *Gram. Gr.* iii p. 400.

² A similar idea may be implied by another name *perpetuus* which is sometimes given to the Infinitive (e. g. Mart. Cap. 310).

of the complete facsimile of cod. H, now provided in vol. i, by collating with it the printed Syriac text in the same volume. The result was the list of some twenty corrections (for the most part of no great significance) which I give on p. 82. I regret exceedingly that in drawing up that list I neglected to look up the notes appended to the translations in vol. ii. Had I done so, I should have found that a considerable number of the errors which I noted had been set right by the editors in their second volume.

(2) I have further attributed a wrong pointing to the editors at xi 12, whereas my own 'correction' is not in accordance with Jacobite practice. The editors, having adopted the Jacobite system of punctuation, rightly point the two participles there in question with short *a* (*pēthāḥa*) in the first syllable. I suggested that they should '(probably)' have the usual long *ā* (*zēḥāpha*), because the Jacobite scribe has attached this vowel (though with the Nestorian vowel sign) to the second of the two words. But to suggest that it should be expressed by the Jacobite sign was, no doubt, an offence against Masoretic etiquette.

(3) Finally, on p. 83 I have said that 'attention seems never to have been drawn' to the fact of 'the insertion [in cod. H] of the letter *hē* at short intervals throughout the Odes' (indicating 'Hallelujah'). I failed to notice that the editors mention it at p. 132 of vol. ii, where they also point out that it extends only to Ode xxviii.

In offering my sincere apologies to the editors for the delinquencies just confessed, I take the opportunity of removing a couple of possible misunderstandings on my own account. They both concern the 'Addition', which I made on the proofs of my review and did not see again till its publication. (1) As to Ode xx 6 and its dependence on Ecclus. xxxiii 31: anxious to make my addition as brief as possible, I did not record that I had myself stumbled badly over this passage in the Odes some years ago (see *J. T. S.* xiv pp. 531-533, and xv pp. 45-47). (2) In the last line but one I intended to say 'B read no more than' &c., but it appears as 'B reads' &c. The point is, that in reality the passage is partly illegible, but the visible remains and the conditions of space make it certain that B could have read no more than 'my members in His Odes'.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

NOTES ON MR BURCH'S ARTICLE 'THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS' (July 1920).

(a) *Against the genuineness of the 'Twentieth Explanation of Cyril'.*

The genuine Lectures were written while Cyril was a presbyter, circa 347-350: this one quotes the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius, published in 374.

Would Cyril of Jerusalem have said that Josephus in his *Archaeologia* (and Irenaeus) gave particulars of the birth and death of the Virgin?

On p. 627 Cyril states that he baptized Isaac, a Samaritan. This refers to a story told in the Discourse of Cyril on the Cross in the same volume: a story patently fabulous. That same Discourse (p. 789) quotes Josephus and Irenaeus and comes from the same workshop as the Twentieth Explanation.

Note that the latter part of this Explanation is already to be found in print in Forbes Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* pp. 24-41, corresponding to pp. 842-848 of Budge's translation.

(b) 'This fragment marks the source of like ideas in the *Gospel according to Peter*, since there is very ancient authority for finding union between these two Gospels [i. e. *Hebrews* and *Peter*]. It is commonly known that as far back as Ignatius, *Ep. ad Smyrn.* iii 1 f, this union was recognized, whilst Origen *de Principiis* 1 Praef. 8 and Jerome *de Viris Illustribus* xvi are just as explicit.'

But in Ignatius l. c. Jesus appearing τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον says ψηλαφήσατέ με κτλ. No source is named.

Origen l. c. says that the phrase 'Non sum daemonium incorporeum' was in the *Doctrina Petri* (not the *Gospel*).

Jerome l. c. says that it was in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. The identification of *Doctrina Petri* (to all appearances the Preaching of Peter, κήρυγμα Πέτρον) with the *Gospel according to Peter* has yet to be made out.

(c) The old Irish homilist who says that it was the opinion of Augustine that the Star was an angel was, I think, most likely referring to the very passage in the Ps.-Aug. *de Mirabilibus Scripturae* which Mr Burch quotes: for that work is agreed to be an Irish production of the seventh century.

M. R. JAMES.

THE DATE AND PLACE OF WRITING OF THE SLAVONIC ENOCH.

NEARLY two years ago a note on *The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch* appeared in the JOURNAL (April 1919), written by Mr J. K. Fotheringham.

Mr Fotheringham's criticisms, which dealt with the date and place of writing assigned by me to the Slavonic Enoch, were not the result of independent investigation. The authority on which his criticisms are based is what he calls 'a brilliant little paper by Mrs Maunder, entitled *The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch*' (*The Observatory*, August 1918). Mrs Maunder sent me a reprint of this article. I was unable to accept her premisses or her conclusions, and I did not keep the article.

I will, therefore, simply reply to the arguments which Mr. Fotheringham reproduces from it.

1. First of all Mr Fotheringham quotes Mrs Maunder as referring

VOL. XXII.

M

to 'the flimsy evidence on which Dr Charles has assigned this work to an Egyptian Jew of the first century of our era'. The words are lacking in courtesy, but, if they were true, I could not object to them. But I cannot believe that Mr Fotheringham has considered the evidence, which is given in my edition, pp. xvi-xxvi, and reinforced in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* vol. ii 425-429. The main conclusions as to date and authorship arrived at in these works have, so far as I am aware, been accepted by all Christian and Jewish scholars of every rank—with the exception of Mrs Maunder and Mr Fotheringham.

2. Mrs Maunder and Mr Fotheringham find it difficult to believe 'that a book so widely current as Dr Charles imagines, though it survived to be translated into Bulgarian . . . should have disappeared altogether in its Greek form'. A scholar acquainted with this department of learning would experience no such difficulty. The Slavonic version of 3 Baruch was first published in 1886. Of the Greek original there was no trace save in a few references in Origen, &c.—not one-tenth of the number found in reference to the Slavonic Enoch. Yet the Greek original was found in the British Museum ten years later. The Slavonic version of *The Story of Ahikar* is made from the lost Greek version. Only within the last fifteen years has the original work, written in Aramaic (420-400 B.C.), been dug up at Elephantine. The Chronicle of John of Nikin was written early in the seventh century A.D. in Greek, whence it was translated into Arabic and thence into Ethiopic in the seventeenth century. The Greek original is lost and the Arabic version. It would be almost possible to fill this page with a list of works preserved only in versions, the originals of which, whether written in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, are for the present lost.

3. Mr Fotheringham says that lunar epacts are first met with in the third century A.D. If he studies 1 Enoch lxxii-lxxxii he will find these epacts taken account of *in the second century B.C.* See my second edition *in loc.*

4. He states that Mrs Maunder finds the Christian Eastern Calendar in the book and the 532 years cycle. There is no basis for the first statement. The words 'Thus the great circle has five hundred ~~and~~ thirty two years', which occur in xvi 5, are undoubtedly interpolated. *They have no connexion of any kind with their immediate context nor with any other statement or section of the book.* Yet it is on this interpolation that Mrs Maunder builds her theory.

5. Mrs Maunder maintains that the book was written by a Bogomil in Bulgarian between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries A.D.

The Bogomils were pure dualists. Over against God stood Satanail—a rebel angel with his followers. All the work of creation described in Gen. i was wrought by him and not by God. Moses was a tool of Satanail and the Law was from this satanic source. These two or three facts out of a large number are sufficient to prove that the Slavonic

Enoch, which ascribes the entire creation to God and quotes the Law as divine, could not have emanated from the Bogomils. Yet Mrs Maunder and her disciple maintain this theory. Finding that the Slavonic Enoch xxxi 4 states that Satanail's name was changed to Satan after his fall, and that this belief was current among the Bogomils, they promptly conclude that the old Jewish work—the Slavonic Enoch (which in its present form was written before A.D. 70, but parts of which go back to the first or second century B.C.)—was written by a Bogomil. But experts in this literature know that this statement occurs in works many centuries before the Bogomils existed. I will quote *Questions of St Bartholomew* (some time after A.D. 580 according to Lipsius) iv 25 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Βελίαρ λέγει Εἰ θέλεις μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομά μου, πρῶτον ἐλεγόμεν Σαταναήλ . . . ὅτε δὲ ἀπέγνων ἀντίτυπον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά μου Σατανᾶς. See Bonwetsch *Die Apokryphen: Fragen des Bartholomäus* (Aus den Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft . . . zu Göttingen, 1897, Heft 1), where the reader will find a discussion of the relations of this literature.

6. Jewish literature preserves in *Hebrew* a book once entitled 'the Book of Enoch' (and twice 'the Books of the Secrets of Enoch')—the actual name of the Slavonic Enoch. This book possesses a very great number of the statements recorded in the Slavonic Enoch. It claims to have been written early in the second century A.D., but probably it was later. Our book has parallels also in the Zohar and in a Hebrew apocalyptic fragment published by Jellinek *Beth-ha-Midrash* vi 19-30.

7. One more remark must be made. For some reason or other astronomers are very much at fault in the field of apocalyptic. Sir Isaac Newton, the greatest of them all, makes a poor figure in his attempt to interpret the Apocalypse. Dupuis and many others who approach it from the astronomical standpoint are much worse. But for wild extravagance in interpretation the Russian astronomer, Professor Morosow, whose work, published in 1907, was translated into German in 1912, bears the palm. Morosow claims that he has established that the Apocalypse was written in A.D. 395 (the actual day and hour being given) and that its author was John Chrysostom! Mrs Maunder seems to me to be in the same class with the Russian scholar.

R. H. CHARLES.

A SUPPOSED FRAGMENT OF THE LOST CODEX FULDENSIS OF TERTULLIAN.

It is well known that the Fulda codex of Tertullian, containing the *Apologeticus* and the *Adversus Iudaeos*, was collated by Franciscus Modius with the printed edition of De la Barre (Paris, 1580), and that the collation was published in the edition of Franciscus Junius (Franeker, 1597). No trace of the manuscript has since been discovered.

In 1913¹ Emil Kroymann, one of the Vienna editors of Tertullian, claimed to have discovered that ten leaves of the Fulda MS are still preserved in the Paris manuscript B.N. 13047, and he published part of the text of these leaves as such.²

Now, it is to be noted in the first place that B.N. 13047 is a Corbie book, which passed with very many other Corbie books to St-Germain-des-Prés in 1638. It is therefore fairly certain that it was at Corbie in Modius's time, and never was in Fulda at all. Further, if these ten leaves—as a matter of fact, there are eleven and a quarter—had been a part of the Fulda MS, which contained the whole of the *Adversus Iudaeos*, the fragment (chaps. vi–ix) would have begun at the top of the *recto* of the first leaf and ended at the foot of the *verso* of the last leaf. But what do we find? We find that the fragment begins near the foot of the *verso* of leaf 29 and ends near the foot of the *verso* of leaf 40, also that it follows immediately on a fragment of the Genesis of the Gallic poet Cyprian, which occupies the first part of the codex.³ After the Genesis fragment ends, about three-quarters down the page, f. 29 v., the fragment of Tertullian begins thus :

INCIPIIT *****

Itaque necessitas nobis incumbit ut quoniam (= Tert. *adv. Iudaeos* c. 6, Oehler, tom. ii p. 712 l. 1).

and ends thus :

non apperuit os suum (= Tert. *adv. Iudaeos* c. 9, Oehler, tom. ii p. 726 l. 12).

This fragment is, then, no part of the Codex Fuldensis, but it is something even more valuable. It is another representative of the same type of text, and belongs to the latter part of the eighth or the early part of the ninth century. What I conceive to have been the case is that the Corbie library was in possession of venerable fragments of various works, and that the head of the scriptorium gave instructions to have these copied into one *codex* by various scribes at his disposal.

We have a curious parallel to this in the case of the Zürich (Rheinau) fragments of the *Apologeticus* which I published in the JOURNAL (vol. viii [1906–1907] pp. 297–300).⁴ Chapters xxxviii–xl of the *Apology* appear there in the Fulda type of recension.

A. SOUTER.

¹ *Rheinisches Museum*, Bd. lxxviii p. 130 n. The statement is repeated by J. P. Waltzing, *Le Codex Fuldensis de Tertullien* (Liège, 1914–1917) p. 11.

² In *Rheinisches Museum*, Bd. lxx (1915) p. 362, he admits his error, as I discovered after writing this article ; but I allow the article to pass into print, because it is based on an independent examination of the manuscript.

³ Cf. *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat.*, vol. xxiii (1891) p. vii.

⁴ It is gratifying that at last the interest of these fragments has been realized, cf. Waltzing, *op. cit.* pp. 483–487 ; E. Löfstedt, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Tertullians Apologeticum* (Lund—Leipzig, 1918) pp. 13 f., 75–91.

REVIEWS

The First Book of Psalms in the Text of G. 1, transcribed by H. W. SHEPPARD. (Cambridge, 1920.)

THIS work, together with the collection of variants from the Books of Samuel and Kings, published in the October number of this JOURNAL, is of the nature of an appeal to those interested in the text of the Bible to undertake anew the work of Kennicott and de Rossi. Those who read through Mr Sheppard's article will not be surprised to find in his Book of Psalms an even higher degree of accuracy and loving care. He prints the text of a certain Hebrew MS which he calls G. 1 (Trinity Coll. Camb. *WAW Heb.* 11) exactly as it is written, marking in red and blue the very few corrections and additions (one or two accents, &c.) which have been or need to be made, partly on account of what he believes to be the importance of this particular text, partly to serve as an absolutely exact standard of future collation, both for the consonantal text and for the vowels, the accents, and the Masoretic notes. Nothing but praise is due to Mr Sheppard for the way he has executed his task. He has set the facts lucidly before those whom it concerns, both palaeographical and textual, and the style and learning of his Introduction is worthy of the best traditions of Cambridge scholarship. The only doubt that can arise is as to the magnitude of the advantage to be gained from the investigation he desires.

A few words on the general state of the text of the Hebrew Bible may not be out of place here, as non-specialists may easily fail to grasp the relative value of 'important variations' in Hebrew MSS, as compared with the more familiar variations in the text of the New Testament. Very soon after the New Testament had been printed in Greek by Erasmus, scholars and printers found out that the extant manuscripts did not always agree. Hundreds and then thousands of 'various readings' were collected, and when at last really ancient codices were collated thoroughly, such as the 'Alexandrinus', the 'Vaticanus', and Codex Bezae at Cambridge, these variations were discovered to be considerable, both in volume and in intrinsic importance. It was not only a mere question of scribal errors. The whole story of the Woman taken in Adultery was omitted by the best MSS, and the last twelve verses of the ordinary printed text of the Gospel of Mark were absent from some very ancient codices and marked as doubtful in others. Besides these notorious examples there were others of less note. Geographical names were interchanged, such as Dalmanutha and

Magedan, Gadarenes and Gerasenes. In the Book of Acts the variations were so great and so unlike the modest inaccuracies of mere copyists, that it has been seriously suggested that two separate editions by the author himself survive in our texts.

Something of the same sort was soon noticed in the codices of the Greek Old Testament. No wonder, therefore, that after some time more or less systematic investigations of the codices of the Old Testament in Hebrew were undertaken. Of these the two greatest are the collections of Hebrew various readings published by Kennicott (Oxford, 1776-1780) and by de Rossi (Parma, 1784-1788). No doubt neither of these two immense works comes up in execution to what is now required, but some idea of their scale may be gained by remembering that Mr Sheppard's MS is Kennicott's 425.

Any one who looks at a chapter in Kennicott or de Rossi must see at once that the 'various readings' in our Hebrew MSS are not to be compared with those of the Greek MSS of the New Testament. They are, both in number and in intrinsic importance, less than the variations in the text of the MSS of the Latin Vulgate. They are more like the variations between the MSS of the Peshitta among themselves. Words like 'and' (in Hebrew ו) are dropped or inserted, unimportant differences of spelling occur, one preposition is exchanged for another of similar meaning, besides the usual faults of scribes in dropping words and clauses through 'homoeoteleuton'. Moreover, the passages where the text is certainly wrong and invites correction are hardly ever those where MS variants are found. Imperfect alphabetical poems remain imperfect, and obvious gaps and *lacunae* remain unfilled.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that the effect of the publication of Kennicott's various readings was to withdraw interest from the study of Hebrew MSS of the Old Testament, nor has the course of modern discovery tended to reopen the question. In 1876 H. Strack published a Petersburg Codex of the Prophets in facsimile: this MS was written in A.D. 916, but to all intents and purposes its text is identical with that of the printed Hebrew Bible. There are little variations here and there, but they hardly affect the sense, and, most important of all, they are not 'recensional'. They seem to be of the nature of scribal errors or peculiarities, not the survivals of a different textual tradition.

Yet textual traditions different from the one that survives in our extant MSS once existed, as may be seen from a study of the ancient versions, i.e. from the Latin Vulgate, the Jewish Greek versions of Aquila and Symmachus, and, above all, of the ancient Greek version commonly called the Septuagint. Perhaps indeed the LXX does not bear witness to quite so different a text as it seems to do at first sight, for many divergences are only due to inefficiency in the translators.

Nevertheless there is at least a remainder of instances, where the LXX attests a Hebrew text different from that of our Hebrew manuscripts and superior to it.¹ The texts represented by the Latin Vulgate, by Aquila, and by Symmachus, are much nearer to the printed Hebrew, but there is no marked coincidence, to say the least, between the differences of these ancient texts from our printed Bibles and the Hebrew variants collected by Kennicott.

It is therefore believed that our Hebrew MSS go back to a single archetype, adopted as a standard perhaps about the time of Bar Cochba's rebellion (A.D. 135), to which all our codices attempt to conform, even to faults of spelling. This text is the standard for which the Masoretic vowels and the Masoretic notes were made, and so the actual variations found in the codices are to be regarded as nothing more than the unauthoritative aberrations of fallible copyists.

That is the view Mr Sheppard has set himself not exactly to challenge, but to attenuate and qualify. It would be doing his modest plea an injustice to represent him as a revolutionary in textual matters. And so, by way of bringing this lengthy but necessary introduction to a close, let me point out that there is a sort of channel by which real and significant variations may have filtered down into our extant Hebrew MSS. No doubt all these MSS profess to conform absolutely to the Masoretic standard, but it is possible, and even likely, that not all of them are exclusively derived from direct transcripts of that standard. Other MSS, perhaps less generally accurate, may have survived the troubles of the time of Hadrian; their descendants were doubtless corrected into conformity with the standard text, but such a process is never complete. In this way valuable old various readings may survive. By a similar process Old Latin readings do survive here and there in copies of the Latin Vulgate,² i.e. they are the last undetected remains of a text which has otherwise been corrected wholesale to an official standard.

Let us now turn to Mr Sheppard's gleanings and see what he offers us. On p. 14 (§ 15) he gives a list of the 'Important variants in Consonantal Text of G. 1' for the first forty-one Psalms. They are 24 in all, to be found in Ps. v 8; ix 14, 19; x 9, 13; xii 3; xiv 6; xviii 16, 26, 27^a, 27^b; xix 7, 10; xxii 17; xxvii 7; xxxi 8; xxxv 6; xxxvi 2, 12; xxxvii 1, 5, 19; xxxix 8; xli 4. With very few exceptions they are concerned with the smallest possible matters, affecting single

¹ The clearest example is 2 Sam. xvii 3, where two whole clauses which have been lost from our Hebrew MSS are preserved in the LXX (Driver's *Notes*, p. 248). There is no trace of the missing clauses in G. 1.

² On the mechanics of the process see *Westcott and Hort* ii 336 and Lawlor's *Book of Mulling*, pp. 65 ff., 73.

letters and generally not altering the sense. Thus in Ps. v 8 G. 1 has כרב for רב, i. e. where the ordinary text has 'in the multitude (of Thy lovingkindness I will come into Thy house)' it has 'according to the multitude . . .' In this it has no support from the LXX, Jerome's Latin, or the Syriac, or the Targum. Surely, therefore, the 'variant' is nothing more than the slip of a mediaeval pen, even if G. 1 be a faithful copy of its immediate parent. In ix 14 and 19 the variants are mere matters of spelling¹; so are those in xviii 27, where G. 1 agrees with the parallel text of 2 Sam. xxii 27, by dropping a letter in each case. In xviii 26, xxxvii 1, and xli 4, G. 1 prefixes an 'and' to the half-verse; in xxvii 7 it omits 'and'. In xxxi 8 and xxxv 6 G. 1 writes one letter of a word wrong, producing nonsense; similarly בקרב לי (for בקרב לבי) in xxxvi 2 is nonsense and entirely without support. In this latter case the context suggests לבו (*his* heart) for לבי (*my* heart), and this is read, or conjectured by some Hebrew codices, in agreement with LXX, the Latin, and the Syriac. G. 1's לי, on the other hand, implies the לבי of the ordinary text, which is attested by the Targum and by Symmachus.

Half the list thus crumples up into nothing at the first glance. Most of the other variations are also, in my opinion, non-significant. That in x 13 G. 1 reads *bal* for *lō*, both words meaning 'not', or that in xxxvi 12 G. 1 omits the second 'al, also meaning 'not', without any support, seem to me ordinary accidents of transcription. The same may be said of a pair of cases of the interchange of synonymous prepositions: 'el for 'eth in xii 3, and 'ad for 'al in xix 7. It does not seem to me to make any difference that the Targum, the Syriac, and Aquila support 'al, while the LXX and Latin seem to imply 'ad, for the sense in any case is 'as far as', and it is more likely that the scribe of G. 1 (or his predecessor) wrote ער for על *ad sensum* than that G. 1 should be here preserving an isolated fragment of a pre-Masoretic text that may have agreed in this instance with the text underlying the ancient Greek version! Similarly in xviii 16, by dropping the last letter of a word, G. 1 turns 'Thy rebuke, O LORD,' into 'the rebuke of the LORD', almost in exact agreement with the parallel in 2 Sam. xxii 16, and also in agreement with the Targum. But such changes are so easily made by scribes of every age and country, that I venture to assert no argument can be founded on isolated instances of the sort. In xxxvii 19 G. 1 has צרה 'trouble' for רעה 'evil', against all the versions, and in x 9 the word 'poor' עני (20) is dropped at the end of a line: these must be mere scribal errors.

¹ The variant in ix 14 is so trifling that the word is spelt in Fürst's Concordance as in G. 1 on p. 416, but as in the printed Bibles on p. 318. In xi 19 G. 1 has the marginal reading (Keri) in text.

We are left, then, with a remainder of five variants, viz.:

Ps. xiv 6	יהוה	but G. 1 reads	את יהוה
xix 10	צדקו	”	” צדק
xxii 17	כארי	”	” כערי
xxxvii 5	עליו	”	” על יהוה
xxxix 8	אדני	”	” יהוה אדני

The only really important reading of these is, of course, that in Ps. xxii 17, but each of the other four contain some point of interest.

Ps. xiv 6 runs ‘Ye put to shame the counsel of the poor, Because the LORD is his refuge’: with G. 1’s variant the latter clause becomes ‘Because Thou, O LORD, art his refuge’. This is otherwise unsupported, and it is noteworthy that the Targum has ‘Because he placed in the Lord his refuge’, which clearly supports the common text against G. 1. What is curious is that ‘Thou’ is written defectively (את): it cannot be the preposition *’eth*, for חסה ‘to take refuge’ always has ב, not את. Surely this ‘variant’ is nothing more than a mental reminiscence of Ps. xci 9 (כי אתה י” מוחסי).

Ps. xix 10 is, literally, ‘The precepts of the LORD (are) truth, are righteous together’. This is quite good Hebrew and is supported by the Targum. But the change of nominal and verbal predicate is a little harsh, so LXX makes the LORD’s precepts ‘true, justified’, while the Syriac makes them ‘in truth and just’. G. 1, by dropping the last letter of ‘are righteous’, makes the precepts ‘truth, righteousness’. Here again I feel sure we have nothing but an accident of transcription.

Ps. xxii 10: *transeat*.

Ps. xxxvii 5, literally, ‘Roll upon the LORD thy way, and trust upon Him, and He will bring it to pass.’ So the printed Hebrew, with LXX, Jerome, and Syriac. The Targum has (1°) ‘upon the LORD’ . . . (2°) ‘upon His word’, which surely comes to the same thing. But G. 1 has (1°) ‘upon the LORD’ . . . (2°) upon the LORD. This would naturally have been set down as mere carelessness, but that Mr Sheppard observes (p. xv): ‘Of great importance is the uncorrected variant in Ps. xxxvii 5 יהוה על יוֹכֵחַ. This is supported by the fact that among the 31 instances of על יהוה, listed in Ginsburg’s *The Massorah* vol. ii p. 399, letter ע-§ 436, יוֹכֵחַ is given, while נוֹל is *not* given.’ In other words, the instance is listed as if the verse read ‘Roll upon Him thy way, and trust upon the LORD’. Is this likely? Is it not more likely that the compiler of the Masoretic note, or Dr Ginsburg himself, made a trifling slip?¹

¹ I suggest that the cause of the slip was the existence of the texts which read יהוה נוֹל אל (in accordance with the usual construction of נוֹל): so eight of Kennicott’s MSS, seven of which further read נוֹל for נוֹל.

Ps. xxxix 8 begins 'And now what wait I for, O Lord?'—i. e. *Adonai*. G. 1 has יהוה אדני. The Targum has יהוה alone, which may stand for either (*sic*), but not for both; Symmachus has δέσποτα, which implies אדני.¹ Here one of Kennicott's MSS reads יהוה אדני and over fifty read יהוה alone. Seeing that the ordinary text is supported by Symmachus it is difficult to regard G. 1's variant as more than a transcriber's blunder: at the most it may be held to betray the use of an exemplar which had יהוה unskilfully corrected to אדני.

There remains Ps. xxii 17, where the first hand of G. 1 wrote כערי for the Masoretic כארי. This is the famous verse 'They pierced my hands and my feet', for which our Hebrew Bibles give us 'Like a lion my hands and my feet'. In the context this is very near nonsense. A plural verb is needed, and even the Targum has 'They bite like a lion my hands and my feet'.² The LXX reads ὥρυξαν, followed by Jerome's *foderunt*; the Syriac has 'they tore' (ܚܪܥܬܗ); Aquila has ἥσχυναν. Symmachus, on the other hand, is now known, since the decipherment of the Cairo Geniza fragment of the Hexapla by Taylor and Schechter, to have read ὥσ λείων. Finally, some Hebrew MSS (Kennicott's 39, 207, 242) read כארו for כארי.

The evidence of the versions, supported as it is by Aquila and by general considerations of style, make it pretty clear that the true text is a verb in the 3rd pl. perf., i. e. the last letter must be ו, not י, and the first letter must be part of that verb, not the כ which means 'as'. The LXX evidently understood the word to be the same as ברו, translated ὥρυξαν Ps. lvii (lvi) 7; but it makes no sense. Aquila's ἥσχυναν, on the other hand, points to פָּעִיר or פָּאִיר 'they disfigured'. This verb כאר *kā'ar*, also spelt כער *kā'ar*, is not otherwise found in Biblical Hebrew,³ but exists in Jewish and Edessene Aramaic and also in Talmudic Hebrew. The commonest derivative is מכואר (or מכוער) 'ugly'.

For our present purpose it is not necessary to ask whether כארו (or כערו) is the true original reading in Ps. xxii 17. What seems to be certain is that it is what Aquila translated from, and it is possible that the few MSS which read כארו do so by preserving a tradition and not by a grammatical conjecture. That some Rabbinical tradition once existed against taking כארי to mean 'like a lion' seems to be a fair inference from the curious Midrashim to Psalms and to Esther, published by Buber and quoted by Schechter (*Cairo Genizah Palimpsests* pp. 23 f., 42 ff.). The Midrashim explain this whole Psalm of

¹ See Ps. lxxviii 21, cx 1, in Field.

² A variant is 'They gore like lions'.

³ Unless it be intended in Nahum iii 6: see the Targum (מִכְעָרָא).

Esther, and tell us that enchantments had sought to make Esther's hands and feet unsightly (כַּאֲרוֹת) in the eyes of Ahasuerus.

Well, what does G. 1 attest? Its consonantal text originally read כַּעֲרִי. Mr Sheppard suggests that this is for כַּעֲרִי or כַּעֲרִי.¹ But is it likely that the Psalmist wrote 'The assembly of evil-doers have inclosed me, the disfigurers of my hands and feet'? Is there any evidence for the use of the Qal-form of this word, except in the Rabbinic adjective כַּאֲרוֹר? It is easier to regard G. 1's כַּעֲרִי as a further corruption of the difficult כַּאֲרִי of the ordinary text, than to suppose that in this one instance it should have inherited a pre-Masoretic reading attested by Aquila, and yet not agree with the most obvious part of Aquila's reading after all. What G. 1 does is, so to speak, negative. It is one of the band that is not satisfied with regarding כַּאֲרִי as made up of כ and אַרִי. אַרִי is not interchangeable with עַרִי, but the root כַּאֲרִי is interchangeable with the root כַּעֲרִי, so that the fact that the original scribe of G. 1 wrote כַּעֲרִי shews that he connected it with the verb meaning 'to disfigure', not with the noun meaning 'lion'. So did Aquila, so did the scribes of Kennicott's 39 and 207.

I do not think that the importance of the consonantal text of G. 1 is really made out for Pss. i-xli. And I venture to think that those who have examined the collation of G. 1 for the books of Samuel and Kings (*J. T. S.* xxii pp. 44-55) will give a similar verdict. It is most attractive to find a Hebrew MS which reads 'Geshurites' instead of 'Ashurites' in 2 Sam. ii 9, in agreement with the Syriac and the Latin Vulgate. But one swallow does not make a summer, and that variant stands alone. If there had been any genetic connexion in 1 Sam. ii 9 between G. 1 and these versions I feel sure that it would have been demonstrable elsewhere. It was very well to make the collation, for until that work had been done and displayed, those who knew that G. 1 had at least one coincidence with ancient authorities would believe that a very great light was being hidden under a bushel. It is Mr Sheppard's misfortune, not his fault, that his MS has not a larger element of critical value.

So much for the consonantal text of G. 1. Mr Sheppard claims (p. xvii) that G. 1 has a unique value for its accents, i. e. the marks added to each word of a pointed Hebrew Biblical MS, directing the chanter how to modulate his voice. This may be the case: at least, the full accented text of Psalms i-xli as edited by Mr Sheppard from G. 1 will enable those who are interested in the subject to study the accents in full from a mediaeval authority, and so to compare them with the accents as

¹ P. xii. The former of these forms Mr. Sheppard curiously terms 'Inf. Abs.' I suppose he means Inf. Construct with suffix. But this produces an exceedingly harsh construction.

printed in our Hebrew Bibles and with the rules for them excogitated by modern scholars, such as Wickes and Baer.

The real interest of the accents, however, does not lie in their theological, or specifically Hebrew, aspects so much as in their bearing on early mediaeval music. Some day, perhaps, a scholar will arise with a sensitive musical ear and a trained musical understanding, who will also have learned what can be learned both from MSS and from oral instruction about Latin Plain-Song, Greek Ecclesiastical Chant, the Jewish traditional Chant, and last (but assuredly not least) the ancient system of intoning the Koran. This hypothetical prodigy would have the best equipment for investigating the surviving traces of the musical rhythms of the ancient Greeks. Mr Sheppard may claim to have added a brick to the training-house of such a scholar.

F. C. BURKITT.

*r*₂—*New and Complete Edition of the Irish Latin Gospel, Codex Usser. 2*, by H. C. HOSKIER. (Quaritch, London, 1919.)

MR HOSKIER'S edition of *r*₂ consists of nine pages of introduction, followed by the 172 pages of the text of *r*₂ and by 46 pages in which Dr T. K. Abbott's every 'error, inaccuracy, or ambiguity' is faithfully recorded, in a form suitable for binding up and interleaving with Abbott's edition. I have no doubt that Mr Hoskier's work on *r*₂ is far superior to Abbott's, but when it is remembered that Abbott's *Evangeliorum Versio . . . ex Codice Usseriano*, published in 1884, was pioneer work, that Abbott's book, primarily an edition of *r*₁, was the source from which scholars first learned about the two types of 'Irish' text, and that the collation of *r*₂ was only subsidiary, I venture to think that Mr Hoskier's attitude is pharisaical. It is mainly a question of varieties of spelling not reported. When therefore Mr Hoskier calls the late Dr Abbott's work 'deplorable' I think it right to point out that in the eleven lines shewn in Dr Abbott's photograph of *r*₂ (Matt. xxvii 4-9) Mr Hoskier has omitted the accent in acheldemáth¹ (p. 38). On p. 16 of his corrections he records his belief that the word is acheldemách, and quotes Dr Lawlor as reading acheldemath, whereas Dr Lawlor has the accent. It doesn't matter, of course, but old-fashioned believers in Providence may reasonably believe that this little slip in the eleven lines covered by the facsimile is a judgement on Mr Hoskier for intemperate words against a scholar who did good work for his generation.

¹ So I read the word, agreeing with Dr Lawlor.

r_2 is a queer survival. For the most part its text is Vulgate, of much the same type as the Books of Armagh, Durrow, and Kells, that is to say it generally agrees (except in spelling) with Wordsworth and White, but every now and then differs from that standard, generally but not always in agreement with MSS of the 'European' Old Latin. r_1 , on the other hand, the ancient seventh-century Codex Usserianus 1, has for the most part a non-Vulgate text, with curious affinities. The interesting thing about r_2 is that parts of it at least are akin to r_1 . In date it must be at least two centuries later. Its immediate ancestor must have been very largely corrected to the Vulgate, but in the latter half of St Matthew and (to a less extent) in the latter half of St Luke the correction is less thorough, so that it may often be used to supplement r_1 as a witness to the text of the Gospels once current in some part of Ireland before the days of St Patrick.

As a specimen of the parts where r_2 preserves a good many Old Latin readings I give Lk. xvi 1-3 in Wordsworth and White's text, with the variants of r_2 and a selection of other O. Latin variants.

1 Dicebat autem et¹ ad discipulos suos Homo quidam² erat diues qui habebat uilicum³, et hic diffamatus⁴ est apud illum quasi⁵ dissipasset bona ipsius⁶. 2 et uocauit illum⁷ et ait illi⁸ Quid hoc audio de te? redde rationem uilicationis⁹ tuae, iam enim non poteris uilicare¹⁰. 3 ait autem uilicus intra se¹¹ Quid faciam, quia dominus meus aufert a me uilicationem¹²? fodere non ualeo¹³ mendicare erubescō.

¹ et om. D P K V W b d e f l r_1 r_2 ² + qui r_1 ³ uilicum] dispensatorem e r_1 r_2 ⁴ defamatus D E P r_2 ⁵ quasi] qui r_2 ⁶ illius E gal r_1 r_2 ⁷ + dominus eius (α) r_1 ⁸ ei r_1 ⁹ uilicationis] actus e , dispensationenis r_2 (sic), hiat r_1 ¹⁰ non poteris uilicare] non potueris disp . . . r_1 , . . . is dispensare r_2 ¹¹ uilicus intra se] uillic . . . r_2 , intra se dispensator r_1 ¹² a me dispensationem r_1 , [dis]pensationem meam r_2 ¹³ posso r_1

This passage very well illustrates the character and use of r_2 . It shews the close connexion with r_1 , and that r_2 is nearer the Vulgate. It also shews one of the characteristic agreements of the Irish texts r_1 r_2 with the Cyprianic e . What however in r_1 and r_2 is a mere occasional survival is a fundamental constituent of e , which differs very much more from the Vulgate than r_1 or r_2 . In this passage, for instance, it has *honestus* for diues, *substantiam eius* for bona ipsius (or, illius), *clamauit* for uocauit, in ver. 2 it has *non enim potes actum administrare*, and ver. 3 begins *dixit autem sibi actor ille* and ends with *confundor* for erubescō.

The variations of r_2 from the usual texts are never so extensive, but it is satisfactory to have its evidence in full, and the thanks of those who work at early Latin biblical texts are due to Mr Hoskier for having gleaned the last ears from this part of the field.

F. C. BURKITT.

Novum Testamentum Graece: textum recensuit, apparatus criticum ex editionibus et codicibus manuscriptis collectum addidit HENR. IOS. VOGELS. (Schwann, Düsseldorf, 1920.)

It is many a day since an edition of the Greek New Testament appeared from the Roman Catholic side. Dr Vogels, who was Professor in Strassburg till the close of the War, is well known as one of the very ablest Roman Catholic New Testament scholars of our time. The work he has done on Augustine's *De Consensu* and Tatian's *Diatessaron*, as well as his thorough review of Von Soden's edition of the Greek New Testament, are proof of this. The present work, which is beautifully printed on light but opaque paper, with a most attractive page, recalls Nestle's Stuttgart editions in appearance, but its text is not, like his, based on a consensus of modern editors. It is founded on the original authorities themselves, and is a scientific attempt to get back to the original text. He recognizes that no genealogical tree of the manuscripts even of the versions is possible. He puts his finger on two obvious weaknesses of Von Soden, one his scanty treatment of these versions, and the other his acceptance of the Arabic Diatessaron as substantially Tatian's, ignoring the researches of Sellin, Burkitt, and others, which make it clear that it has passed through a Peshitta stage. Those of us who have worked much at the versions are entitled to rejoice at the recent recognition of their superlative importance by such men as Harnack and Vogels. Vogels has learned to value the Vulgate, as restored by Wordsworth and White, much more highly than the Old-Latin MSS, and considers it has most value where it disagrees with the Old-Latin authorities. He admits that the agreement of Old-Latin and Old-Syriac against other authorities furnishes us with a very old reading, but maintains that such a reading is never the true one.

In his apparatus he aims especially at the presentation of variants which affect the subject-matter, in order to shew where and from what motives the text was altered. But many variants are mentioned, particularly Old-Latin and Old-Syriac, which illustrate the history of textual criticism. These Latin and Syriac variants are given with unusual fullness; the variants from other versions are cited only occasionally. The Arabic Tatian is quoted only where it disagrees with the Peshitta. These last quotations constitute, I think, the most attractive feature of the book, and help to make the critical apparatus of the Gospels on the whole the best published for the ordinary student. To say this does not mean that it is faultless. Omissions like those mentioned in the next sentence are doubtless due to the fact that the editor was separated from his library during a considerable part of the time occupied in the preparation of this book. In Matt. i 16 the evidence of Θ and the Ferrar group is omitted; Matt. xxvii 16, 17 Θ is omitted; Mark i 29b

W's agreement with D, as also at i 40 and ii 26, is omitted; so at xii 14, ©, and at xiv 72, W and ©; © should be added at Luke ix 10, xiv 25, xx 36, xxiv 39, and W © at Luke xx 20. At Heb. iii 2, 6 the important evidence of the early papyrus is overlooked.

The text is, in my view, decidedly inferior to the apparatus. So far as I have tested it, it differs very little from Von Soden, and Von Soden represents a retrogression from Westcott and Hort. The English scholars not only collected evidence but they studied it, and in most cases were able to extract its true meaning. In the case of the following passages it is my deliberate conviction that the true reading is not to be found in Vogels' text: Matt. iv 17, xi 5, xiii 11, xxv 1, Mark xi 9-10, Luke i 46, v 14, vi 35, x 24, xi 33, xii 11. 14, xvii 29, xviii 29, xix 37. 38, xxi 27, xxii 62, xxiii 34, John i 41, viii 34, xii 8, Acts ii 18. 20, xiii 33, 1 Cor. xii 2, Eph. i 15, iv 28. 32, Heb. iii 2. 6, xi 4 *bis*, James ii 3, Jude 22. 23, Rev. ii 1 and parallels, xvii 3, xviii 2. 19. Yet the edition is indispensable, particularly to students of the Gospel text, and the editor deserves our gratitude for a very attractive book.

Die Reichenauer Handschriften beschrieben und erläutert von ALFRED HOLDER :

Zweiter Band: Die Papierhandschriften, Fragmente, Nachträge (= Die Handschriften der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe VI). (Teubner, Leipzig, 1914.)

Dritter Band: Lieferung 1 (= Die Handschriften der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe VII). (Teubner, Leipzig, 1916.)

Dritter Band: Lieferung 2: Zeugnisse zur Bibliotheksgeschichte, gesammelt und bearbeitet von KARL PREISENDANZ. (Teubner, Leipzig, 1918.)

THE first volume of this massive work was described by the present writer in the JOURNAL for 1906-1907 (vol. viii pp. 309-312). The author has not lived to see its complete publication, for he passed away on January 12, 1916, after a week's illness, at an advanced age. Handicapped by a sightless eye like his countryman and friend Hermann Usener, he yet accomplished a vast amount of exacting work of the highest importance for classical, theological, and Celtic students. His industry and accuracy were amazing, and they were matched by an ever-ready willingness to assist other scholars, irrespective of nationality. My own personal debt to him is very heavy. In the course of his life he had collated over three hundred manuscripts, and among his papers are complete collations of all the manuscripts of Eucherius and of nearly all the manuscripts of certain early works of Augustine, as well

as a partial copy of the Montpellier MS of Tertullian and copies of many curious notes he had found in manuscripts. He visited this country twice or three times and worked at London and Cheltenham. The present work is from the point of view of the palaeographer and student of manuscripts much the most important of all his productions and by itself would assure to him lasting fame.

There are in the Reichenau collection about 160 paper manuscripts, mostly, of course, of the fifteenth century. Among these the postils of Nicolaus de Lyra are well represented: no. 92 is a hitherto unprinted chronicle by Wilhelm Recher (A. D. 1451) of which the text is here given; no. 105 (saec. xv-xvi) consists of sermons in German for all the Sundays of the year, portions of which are here printed. It should be noted once for all that considerable portions of the texts of MSS are printed *in extenso* in cases where they are not already accessible in print, and, throughout, references are given to printed editions where they exist.

The enumeration and description of the fragments, about two hundred in number, constitute a very important feature of this catalogue, as mention of a few will shew. Frag. 14 contains a portion of the Gospel of Matthew in half-uncial of the end of the sixth century; frag. 15 is from the Epistle of James in uncials of the end of the seventh century; 17 is a portion of an Irish sacramentary (saec. viii-ix), already edited by the late Dr H. M. Bannister in the JOURNAL vol. v (1903-1904) pp. 49-75; 21, a fragment of a French sacramentary (saec. viii); 23, a fragment of a Gregorian sacramentary (saec. ix). There are also fragments of other sacramentaries, missals, lectionaries, breviaries, homiliaries, &c. All these are copied diplomatically and should, I fancy, be of the greatest interest to our liturgiologists. Among the other fragments worthy of note are: no. 95, Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle (saec. ix) in an insular hand; 100, Pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* (saec. vii-viii), half-uncial; 104, Gregory of Tours (saec. viii in.), French uncials; 146, Canons (saec. ix).

Then follow twenty-seven pages of additions to the first volume of the catalogue, mainly references to illustrative literature and corrections, which seem practically exhaustive¹; additions to the second volume; finally, ten photographs of pages from MSS now at Geneva and Donauerschingen, containing old catalogues of Reichenau MSS.

The third volume begins with an exhaustive index of authors and subjects of the Reichenau MSS, and continues with an extract from a sixteenth-century MS about the foundations of the Reichenau collection. Then follow diplomatic editions of the five old catalogues of Reichenau MSS, with modern shelf-marks in brackets, whether the

¹ On page 658, line 20 for '146' read '416'.

MSS are now at Karlsruhe or elsewhere. The catalogue now at Donaueschingen is the same as no. 15 in Becker's collection, but it has been wrongly assigned by him and by others to St Gall.¹

Up to this point the work is all Holder's: he had in fact corrected the last sheet six days before he died. The second part of the third volume has been compiled by Karl Preisendanz from numerous notes left by Holder, and the task, no easy one, has been exceedingly well performed. Holder had desired to make a full list of all surviving MSS of Reichenau origin, wheresoever now situated, and this object he had in great part attained. Another scheme he had for complete photographs of all these MSS, to be deposited in the Karlsruhe library, will not be so easy of accomplishment. The first part of Preisendanz's work is a conspectus of the evidence for the use of Reichenau MSS from the ninth century down to the date (1804) when the collection was transferred to Karlsruhe; this is followed by a brief account of Holder's services to the study of the manuscripts. The different systems of old shelf-marks and other signs of ownership are then tabulated, a very neat piece of work. Next we have a detailed description of the Reichenau MSS now at St Paul in Carinthia, a very ancient and important group (works of Isidore, Canons,² &c.), followed by a parallel account of the Reichenau MSS now at Stuttgart. We are also provided with a table of the Karlsruhe *Augienses*, giving present number, date, possessor and price paid (where known), notes, signatures, &c., with a conspectus of the whole stock of Reichenau MSS arranged according to authors and subject titles. Next comes a long extract from the second book of Johannes Egon's *De Viris Illustribus Monasterii Divit-Augiensis* in a much more accurate form than it has in Pez's *Thesaurus*. A quadripartite index gives (*a*) the *Augienses* in other libraries, (*b*) persons and matters, (*c*) MSS referred to, (*d*) modern books most often cited. The part closes with addenda to the third volume and a set of ten palaeographically most valuable collotypes representing pages of the Reichenau MSS at St Paul.

These stately volumes form a splendid monument to the Reichenau collection, worthy of it both in scholarship and in the external accessories of paper and printing. No existing collection has been better served, and the present catalogue will serve as a model for all future catalogues of other libraries of manuscripts.

We are promised an index of words which will doubtless be the last part of this magnificent work.

¹ I was myself misled in this matter in my article in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy (phil.-hist. Kl.), Bd. cxix (1) (Vienna, 1905) p. 22, where the MS numbered 1 is identical with my A (*Augiensis* ix).

² References to the latter should have been given according to C. H. Turner's pages, in addition to Migne lxxvii. Turner's S is here dated saec. viii (?) / ix.

Sancti Aureli Augustini Tractatus sive Sermones inediti ex codice Guelferbylano 4096: detexit adiectisque commentariis criticis primus edidit GERMANUS MORIN, O.S.B. Accedunt SS. Optati Mileviani, Quodvultdei Carthaginensis episcoporum aliorumque ex Augustini schola Tractatus novem. 1917. Campoduni et Monaci ex typographia Koeseliana.

As it is well known that Denis, Caillau, and others have published Augustinian sermons which were unknown to the Benedictines of St Maur, one is not altogether surprised by Dom Morin's discovery of a number of additional discourses. Having had occasion to traverse the vast collections of Latin sermons in manuscript, in the interests of his edition of St Caesarius of Arles, Dom Morin happened upon a Wolfenbüttel (formerly Weissenburg) manuscript, written in northern Germany in the ninth century. The manuscript is itself somewhat mutilated, and the same was true of its archetype. It contains altogether ninety-five documents. Of these thirty-one are already known sermons of St Augustine, some of them with scanty or no manuscript authority; nine others are genuine, but they appear here interpolated, corrupted, or mutilated in some way; fifteen others are not genuine, though attributed to Augustine since ancient times, of which one was written by Jerome, one by Maximus of Turin, five by Caesarius, and the remainder by African and other anonymous authors, with the exception that one seems to be by Quodvultdeus, and is now for the first time published complete. There are, further, thirty-two undoubted productions of St Augustine, most of which were hitherto either in part or entirely unknown. Finally, there are eight others, also unpublished, which, though unworthy of Augustine, are not later in date than the sixth century; one of these Dom Morin ascribes with considerable probability to Optatus of Mileu. He also conjectures that the whole collection was put together by Caesarius.

The editor is to be congratulated on this important discovery. The introduction gives an adequate account of each document, with information where, if anywhere, it is to be found in print. The Optatus sermon, ascribed to this author also in the ancient Orléans (Fleury) MS 154, has for subject the Massacre of the Innocents. One of the most important of all is a sermon on the Apostles' Creed, related to number 213 in the Benedictine collection. Of no. 213 no manuscript was known to the Maurists; since their day Caspari discovered a fifteenth-century MS at Breslau, and Rottmanner another of the same date at Munich. The much older Wolfenbüttel MS gives the true readings: *qui natus est de spiritu sancto et uirgine Maria*, and *sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus et sepultus*. Other features also make this volume indispensable to students of liturgies. One of four genuine sermons on St Cyprian

contains a list of his works. The best of all, in the opinion of the editor, is a splendid sermon on the consecration of a bishop, published already in the *Revue Bénédictine* t. xxx (1913) pp. 398-408.

After a collotype exhibiting the rather remarkable script of the manuscript, the new sermons are printed, each with a critical apparatus after it. The critical apparatus are furnished with occasional notes on usage which are of great value. The volume ends with an index of scripture passages by Pfarrer Josef Denk, where, most conveniently, verses previously unknown in their Augustinian form are asterisked; an index of names and matters, and an index of words and expressions.

The beautiful quarto volume is a credit to the Kösel Press, as well as to the Görres Society and Karl Muth of Munich, who shared the expense of its production. The dedication to Count von Hertling is a natural tribute to an Augustinian scholar of note. The editor, though a Frenchman, was treated with especial consideration in Munich in war-time.

A. SOUTER.

The Pastoral Epistles: with Introduction, Text and Commentary, by R. ST JOHN PARRY, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1920.)

The Pastoral Epistles of St Paul: the Greek Text with Commentary, by the Rev. A. E. HILLARD, High Master of St Paul's School. (Rivingtons, 1919.)

THE views of scholars and students on the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles have been considerably modified since the days when critical orthodoxy followed the lead of Baur in recognizing only four letters as genuine. If considerable doubt is now felt about some of them, especially Ephesians and 2 Thessalonians, it is generally admitted that a case can be made out for all the ten Epistles. The English scholarship which has produced and published Commentaries has been throughout conservative. But of late years popular educated opinion in this country has probably not accepted the view that the Pastoral Epistles, as we have them, are the work of St Paul. It has been generally recognized that the historical situations they presuppose, their treatment of the personalities of Timothy and Titus and of questions of ecclesiastical organization, the character of the false teaching denounced in them, and especially their style and vocabulary, constitute a serious case against Pauline authorship, whether or not St Paul regained his freedom after the two years' imprisonment, the record of which closes the story of St Luke's second treatise. The two latest English Com-

mentaries support the traditional view of authorship and situation. They are the work of a most competent New Testament scholar and an able schoolmaster. The student will find the work of the New Testament scholar most helpful. Perhaps the clear and didactic statements of the schoolmaster will appeal more widely to the average intelligent reader.

As we should expect, Dr Parry, in dealing with the historical background of the Epistles, supports Lightfoot's view that occasions for the events to which reference is made cannot be found during the years covered by the history of the Acts, but that in themselves these events are probable, and that the tradition of St Paul's release and journey to Spain is supported by sufficient evidence to guarantee its historical truth. Perhaps it would be more satisfactory to keep the two questions separate. The evidence is too scanty to compel decision. As regards the Spanish journey we are really dependent on one passage of Clement of Rome, in which he speaks of τὸ τέρμα τῆς δόσεως. It is possible that Clement, perhaps an Oriental, certainly writing a letter which was to travel eastwards, may have used the phrase of Rome, though a Roman writer would certainly not have so used it. We must also remember that in the same sentence, in which the awkward use of a string of participles makes the exact meaning very obscure, Clement speaks in the immediate context of the phrase quoted, of St Paul's bearing the witness of martyrdom before the Roman authorities and so 'leaving the world'. And if, as on the whole is probable, the phrase does mean Spain, we have still to reckon with the possibility that Clement, writing at least thirty years after St Paul's death, deduced the visit to Spain from St Paul's intention of paying such a visit expressed in Romans, rather than from trustworthy tradition of its fulfilment. The Spanish journey is not good building material for hypotheses about the Pastoral Epistles. They had better be considered on their merits apart from the Spanish question. On the other hand the absence of any reference to it in the Epistles is a clear point in favour of the genuineness at least of the Pauline *personalia* contained in them. So far as the question of genuineness is concerned, which perhaps dominates Dr Parry's Introduction rather too exclusively, he is right in not giving too much space to these references. If St Paul was released they present no difficulty; if not, the difficulty is great, possibly insuperable. The apologist does well to make sure of the release. But in themselves they are important in the history of St Paul. It is just possible to fit them into the last months of imprisonment, if he was expecting release, and the first few days after his condemnation was certain, especially if we assign the Ephesian, Colossian, and Philemon group to the Caesarean imprisonment, for which there is much to be

said. The 'leaving' of Timothy at Ephesus *might* refer to an incident on the Third Journey; or it is *just* possible to refer πορευόμενος to Timothy (cf. Eph. i 17 δὴ ὑμῖν πεφωτισμένους). It *might* have been Prisca and Aquila who left Trophimus sick at Miletus; ἀπέλιπον is third plural as well as first singular. But these are forced interpretations, to be avoided except under the pressure of absolute necessity. The fact, however, remains that the references are not made up from obvious sources, and are not in themselves improbable. They are therefore substantial evidence in favour of a release, at least for a short time. Strictly interpreted, and confined to their really necessary implications, they suggest a short period of moving about after the first imprisonment. They necessitate far less journeying than the usual schemes of reconstruction, which generally include a visit to Spain, suggest. It would perhaps have been worth while to face the question of the least possible movement they necessarily imply. They are worth considering in themselves, and apart from other complications, as evidence of at least some activity on St Paul's part after the two years at Rome.

The strength of Dr Parry's Introduction¹ lies in his direct consideration of other hypotheses which have been put forward to explain the origin of the Epistles. His criticism of the view that the author 'wishes at once to magnify the great Apostle and to denounce or warn his own contemporaries under the pseudonyms of Timothy and Titus' is really to the point. 'It must be pointed out how very unpleasant a picture it gives us of the supposed author himself. He is not only willing, on this shewing, to libel the departed in order to direct a necessarily ambiguous attack upon the leaders of his own time, but he does not hesitate to put these attacks into the mouth of St Paul himself.' This deals with a particular theory of Jülicher's. But it faces the difficulties which beset many of the suggestions offered to explain the treatment of Timothy and Titus in these letters. Here and elsewhere Dr Parry succeeds in shewing that much of their content is possible and even natural if they are the work of St Paul dealing with an actual situation, but quite unnatural, if not impossible, if another is using St Paul's name to deal with a later situation.

Dr Parry combats the prevalent view that in these Epistles the transference has already been made from living faith to doctrinal correctness. His studies of the meaning of ὑγιαίνων, διδασκαλία, λόγος, and other words, especially παραθήκη and πίστις, are sound, careful, and illuminating. The results would have been more convincing if comparisons

¹ I cannot agree with Moffatt's curt note in his survey of recent Biblical literature in the *Hibbert Journal*, July 1920: 'Mr. R. St John Parry's recent edition . . . of the Greek text maintains the Pauline authorship but without any fresh considerations.'

had been made with Sub-Apostolic literature as well as with the earlier Pauline Epistles. But he has made a real contribution to the study of the meaning of certain words in these Epistles. We may notice especially *ὀρθοτομεῖν* and *ὑποτύπωσις*.

Dr Hort found in difference of style and vocabulary the most serious arguments against the Pauline authorship. Dr Parry maintains the thesis that vocabulary follows subject. He traces the working of this rule in the recognized Epistles, and lays stress on the differences to be expected in letters addressed to Churches and to individuals, especially personal friends. His classification of peculiar words according to subjects (1) erroneous teaching, (2) ministry, (3) Church order, (4) the special duties laid on Timothy and Titus, (5) St Paul's own experience and circumstances, (6) the Scriptures, (7) lists of moral qualities, and (8) those not connected with special subject-matter, is a most useful piece of work. He might perhaps have added some discussion of St Paul's general style, to shew how far his style generally changes with changing circumstances, and the natural effect of the custom of dictating to amanuenses, who, though they probably made use of shorthand, may have left their mark on the final result. Such influence is of course too conjectural to work out in detail, but its possible effect should be taken into account. And St Paul's power of 'becoming all things to all men' is a real factor in the case. Some men form their own style and maintain it with rigidity. Others are continually influenced by their circumstances and their friends. And here, too, the comparison of Sub-Apostolic writings would have been useful.

Much of Dr Parry's best work is to be found in his interpretation of special words and phrases. In addition to points already noticed attention should be called to his explanations of *τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῦς ἰδίους*, 'His testimony borne in due season', of *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* and its connexion always with *σωτηρία* and life, *βαθμός*, 'opportunity for better action', *ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων ὧν* (2 Tim. i 13), *τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου* (Tit. i 9), and his note on the treatment of *νόμος*.

In dealing with questions of the 'office' entrusted to Timothy and Titus Dr Parry makes out a strong case for the view that they are commissioned to carry on the sort of work that St Paul himself had done for his Churches when circumstances permitted, work which he may or may not be able to resume at Ephesus, for he is clearly not altogether master of the situation. Of 1 Timothy Dr Parry writes, 'we need not seek for parallels to later developments of the Episcopal office'; of Titus, 'we have to seek for a precedent in St Paul's own practice'. The situation is clearly prior to the establishment of monarchical Episcopacy. Was there an intermediate stage, between the time of Apostolic supervision and that of Episcopal rule which lasted and found sufficient

favour to call out the attempt to find support for it in literary fiction in the name of St Paul? Dr Parry certainly makes out a plausible case for a natural rather than an artificial situation.

The case against the distinction of ἐπίσκοπος from πρεσβύτερος as separate officers is well stated. That is not difficult, but the further contention, in which greater independence is shewn, that διάκονοι are a second class of Presbyters, their assistants but not a separate order, is ingeniously worked out. It has the merit of apparently harmonizing all the passages in the N.T. which throw light on the subject. But does it really explain the language of Phil. i 1 and other passages, or even the different sections of the Pastoral Epistles? The false teachers and teaching denounced are rightly separated into present and future; and a persuasive picture is drawn of many Christian teachers, not yet under full control, who adopt the shallow and fashionable methods of the many lecturers who catered for the different tastes of the public, both Greek and Jewish, of the period; and of the more serious dangers threatening the Church from really erroneous teaching, false and dangerous in subject-matter as well as in method of presentation, which enjoined a rigid asceticism, grounded on the false doctrine of the evil of matter, and leading to real danger of apostasy. The subject might have been treated with greater advantage apart from the question of its bearing on the Pauline authorship of the letters.

In spite of Moffatt's footnote, future students of these Epistles will have to take Dr Parry's work seriously. His arguments in favour of traditional views are sound; and his criticism of other explanations is often convincing. Both are a weighty contribution to the subject, even if they do not cover the whole ground. Mr Hillard's work is of a different order and does not call for lengthy discussion in this JOURNAL. The newly ordained Deacon or Priest who wants to know what the Pastoral Epistles mean, and how he can use them for his own training and work, will find what he wants. Every page is clear and helpful. For the purpose he has set himself (see his Preface, p. v) Mr Hillard's edition is admirable. He has made his book what he intended it to be, 'a useful message to a young man in the early stages of his ministry'. And it will appeal to a far wider public. Some of the notes on the meaning and usage of special words are of permanent value, and the book is thoroughly to be commended to those for whom it was written. The author's general position is similar to that of Dr Parry, and raises no new points that call for notice here.

A. E. BROOKE.

The Gospel according to St Paul: an attempt to elucidate St Paul's Doctrine of Sin and Justification, by the Rev. HERBERT SHEARS, M.A. (Parker & Co., Oxford, 1920.)

THE author has made an independent study of St Paul's conception of Sin and Redemption. In his preface he states frankly that he has read 'nothing more modern than the commentaries of Ellicott and Lightfoot'. His book is important because he has genuinely attempted to let St Paul speak for himself, and has read the Epistles from the point of view neither of the modern school of the history of religion, nor of the translators of the Revised Version.

The basis of Mr Shears's interpretation of St Paul's Gospel is the clear distinction he draws between sin (*ἁμαρτία*), which is unconscious and therefore unintentional, and transgression (*παράβασις, παράπτωμα*), which is the conscious breaking of a known law. 'The difference between the Gentile and the Jew was for St Paul the concrete exhibition of that between sin and transgression.' The Gentiles suffer death, because death reigns over all who sin, but this does not involve the imputation of sin; whereas the Jew not only suffers death, but also the judgement of those who sin 'in the law'. Since then the primary fact for St Paul is a power reigning in death, rather than the sense of guilt or transgression, man's fundamental need is not forgiveness of transgressions, but the introduction of a power reigning in life, and such a Justification must be as universal in its range as the condemnation introduced by sin, and cannot be limited to the sphere of trespass in the law. The true cry of humanity is therefore a cry for life rather than for pardon. In the passage in which he deals with the justification of Abraham, St Paul lays down the principle that Justification can come only by faith. Abraham and Sarah were, as far as childbearing was concerned, already dead; but, by faith in the power of God, Sarah bore a child, and Abraham was proved to have been made alive; indeed, he became the father of many nations. This gift of life was effected through the faith of Abraham, who believed in God, as one in whom are summed up the things hoped for and the things not seen. Such faith was reckoned by God as in itself intrinsically righteous.

Justification is therefore only possible by faith, and faith is the root and principle of righteousness. But Justification by faith in God does not meet the deepest problems which the fact of sin presents; for though the faith of Abraham was the germ of righteousness, it did not as a matter of fact develope into perfect righteousness; and God's design can be nothing less than perfect righteousness among men. The importance of the Law lay in its clear recognition that human

righteousness was essentially limited, and, for this reason, both the Law and the Prophets bore witness to a 'Righteousness of God' to be revealed in the future. God's intention of shewing forth at some time His righteousness perfectly is the only possible explanation of His passing over of sins until the time when the perfect righteousness should be revealed. In the Resurrection of Jesus Christ the righteousness of God was perfectly revealed as a conquering power among men; and His risen life was a conquering power, because in His earthly life He had taken the flesh of sin, with the consequent liability to temptation, and only finally cast it off in the culminating act of His Death. The Risen Christ is therefore one who took sin and then at His death stripped it off, remaining afterwards eternally without sin—the perfect righteousness of God. His risen life is an eternal source of justification of life to men, it is perfected human righteousness. By the gift of His Spirit the righteousness He had thus won descends upon His brethren, and He stands revealed both as righteous and as making righteous. The propitiation He made remains eternally valid though all men refuse to appropriate it. But, since righteousness is only by faith, the perfect righteousness involved the perfect faith of the Son of God, and the propitiation He made is a propitiation through faith, and man finds his complete justification by grafting his imperfect faith on the perfect faith of the Son of God. The Gospel is primarily the proclamation of Justification in Christ Jesus through His faith, and not of Justification by faith in Christ Jesus.

This is the Gospel of St Paul as Mr Shears interprets it. In the latter part of his book the author works out his main points in considerable detail, and endeavours to shew that faith is a power working in Christ, not merely a human faculty exercised towards Christ.

The whole book is a most careful piece of work, and the writer seems in general to have proved his thesis. It needs, however, relating to other work which has been done on the same subject. The book tends to hang in the air because the author makes no reference to popular Christianity, which St Paul presumes, and which he is interpreting, and to some extent modifying. 'Faith in Christ' must have been a current Christian phrase, and this explains why St Paul makes use of words which do bear this meaning, though he interprets them in a different way. St Paul is not an isolated individual preaching a new Gospel, he is born from the Christian community, and his experience is a common Christian experience, though no doubt peculiarly intense. Mr Shears has not emphasized this at all. He also seems to have under-estimated the importance of the sense of guilt. The real problem is to explain why a sense of guilt should exist when the sin which causes it is, as a matter of fact, largely committed unconsciously, and has its origin in

a power 'reigning in death', rather than in conscious transgression. The idea of forgiveness can hardly be put so completely into the background as Mr Shears has done.

St Paul, his Life and Letters and Christian Doctrine, by A. H. McNEILE, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1920.)

In the first two parts of this volume Dr McNeile summarizes in text-book form the main results of historical and literary criticism of the Acts of the Apostles, in so far as it refers to St Paul's life, and of the Pauline Epistles. In the third part he outlines St Paul's theology, and in this section he claims originality for his work. It is to be hoped that those parts of the book which deal with the Life of St Paul, and with the situations which caused the writing of the various letters, will be widely read. The book is probably the most useful introduction in English to the study of St Paul's life and writings.

The author's conclusions on matters of controversy are always guarded, but he shews considerable confidence in identifying St Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, referred to in the Galatian Epistle, with the famine visit of the Acts, thus leaving open the possibility that Galatians is the earliest of the Epistles; and in explaining the difficulties of the Pastorals by assuming that they are 'general treatises for the guidance of the Church' written by some 'devoted disciple' of St Paul. He is, however, not 'entirely confident' in assigning 'Ephesians' to St Paul.

The section of the book which deals with the Doctrine of St Paul is much open to criticism. Dr McNeile says that St Paul 'contributed a system of thought, not constructed out of our Lord's words, but built upon the foundation of His risen and glorified Person'; and that his religious beliefs were determined by two main factors, (1) instruction by others, training, tradition, environment, (2) immediate personal experience. This means that St Paul's theology can be explained from his upbringing, his personal experience, and his conception of the Person of the Risen Christ. It would seem, however, that the foundation of his whole theology is the experience of Christians as a whole, and of his converts in particular; his own experience illustrating and to some extent typifying the experience of others. It is this experience as a whole which St Paul in all his writings is endeavouring to explain, and which drives him to his Christology. St Paul does not, in point of fact, work primarily from the Person of the Risen Christ to the power of the Spirit, but from the Spirit to the Risen Christ--that is, to his Christology, and ultimately to his theology. The experience of real

Justification and Sanctification is fundamental to St Paul, and his criticism of the Law, his quarrel with the orthodox Jews and with the judaizing Christians, his belief in Christian immortality and in the ultimate redemption of the world, in fact his whole Christology and Theology spring from Sanctification as an actual fact in Christian experience. The importance of St Paul's Epistles lies in his clear recognition of what is involved in such experience, and because of this he modifies and develops the popular Christian tradition of his time, and especially primitive Christology. It would seem impossible to explain St Paul's theology either merely from his personal experience, or from the beliefs about the Person of Christ which were current among Christians, and with which he at first seems to have been satisfied. The development in St Paul's theology is due to the active justifying and sanctifying work of the Spirit among his converts. Dr McNeile has not stated this clearly, and, though his whole method of treatment really presupposes it, he at times definitely denies it. Speaking of the translation of Christians from this old non-spiritual condition, he says, 'St Paul's thought at this point was influenced neither by Jewish nor Greek thought, but solely by his own spiritual experience'. The root of this misunderstanding, as it would appear, of the basis of St Paul's doctrine lies in the author's persistent qualification of Christian righteousness by the use of the word 'potential'. He says that the 'Christian is potentially, proleptically righteous'. From one point of view this is obviously true; but the power of St Paul's Gospel lay just in the fact that he could describe the righteousness of the Christians in unqualified terms. By the gift of the Spirit of Christ Christians were made actually righteous, though of course he had to add that such justification could be lost, and involved growth in sanctification. When Dr McNeile says 'If the consequence of the transference of the Christian into the new family in Christ is potential righteousness, the consequence of the birth of the human race in Adam is potential sin', he not only emasculates St Paul's Gospel by intruding the word 'potential', but undermines the foundation upon which St Paul's theology is built.

It is to be hoped that Dr McNeile will publish a fuller account of St Paul's theology than is contained in the present book. Even, however, as it stands in its present condensed form, the collection of the important doctrinal passages, and the headings under which the material collected is divided, is of great value to the student of St Paul's theology.

The Faith of the New Testament, by the Rev. ALEXANDER NAIRNE, D.D.
(Longmans, Green & Co., 1920.)

THE appearance of this volume is a sign of the refusal of the modern New Testament scholar to be confined within the limits of literary and historical criticism, and of the recognition that the true aim of New Testament scholarship, at any rate for the present, is to describe and, as far as possible to analyse, the religion of the early Christians. Dr Nairne characterizes this as 'a renaissance of the Spirit through the renewal of the letter', because the description which he gives of the 'Faith of the New Testament' has only been made possible by the renewal of accurate literary and philological scholarship. His sketch of the various stages in the development of primitive Christianity, from the Galilean Gospel of the Son of Man and the Kingdom of God, through the Gospel as interpreted by St Paul, and as vindicated by the authors of the First Epistle of St Peter, of the Hebrews, and of the Apocalypse, to the Gospel of St John, as the 'metaphysic of the Word', is based upon a masterly power of literary analysis, and an easy familiarity with critical problems. The chief value of the book lies in the author's clear grasp of his method, and for this reason it deserves to be widely read. The book contains a large number of foot-notes, from which a most valuable bibliography could be compiled.

And yet, on putting down the book, one wonders whether Dr Nairne has in fact described the 'Faith of the New Testament'. Has he described a Faith which did in fact redeem men from sin, and form them into a community which stood to the outside world as Light to Darkness, and which could lead to the history of the martyrs in the centuries which followed? Primitive Christianity would appear to have been cruder than Dr Nairne allows, both in its eschatology and in its sacramentalism; and it was just in its fearless crudeness that much of its missionary power lay. Dr Nairne seems to have been deeply influenced by modern as well as ancient idealist philosophy, and this may be a weakness rather than a source of strength when dealing with the beginnings of Christianity!

The Epistle to the Hebrews, edited by A. NAIRNE, D.D. 'Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges.' (Cambridge University Press, 1917.)

THE author is thoroughly at home in his subject, and his book is a model of scholarship and insight. The introduction to the book is divided into five sections: (i) Plan and analysis of the Epistle; (ii) History of the reception, criticism, and interpretation of the Epistle;

(iii) the theology of the Epistle ; (iv) the text of the Epistle : (v) the style of the Epistle. This is followed by the Greek text and notes. The notes contain a running paraphrase of the text.

Dr Nairne holds strongly that the Epistle is not a general homily for Christians, but that it was written to a definite group of educated Christians, who had in the near future to make an important decision ; he suggests that it may have been written at the time of the outbreak of the war between Rome and the Jews, and was addressed to a little group of Hellenistic-Jewish friends, calling upon them to be loyal to Jesus Christ whom they worship, but as yet imperfectly, and to break with Judaism.

In discussing the relation between the Epistle and the letter of Clement to the Christians, the author raises the interesting question as to how far the language of both are influenced by the 'Eucharistic service they know', this he thinks to be at present only a fancy, which, however, further examination might raise to a possibility. Here he touches upon what would seem to be the most important field of modern New Testament study—the relation between the New Testament writers and popular Christian belief and practice. Is not the suggestion worth consideration, that the Christians were making use of very crude sacrificial language, and that both St Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews are interpreting and correcting this language? In the Epistle to the Hebrews the author preserves the current terminology, but his conception of the work of the Ascended Christ can only with difficulty be thus confined.

E. C. HOSKYNs.

An Introduction to Old Testament Study for Teachers and Students, by
E. BASIL REDLICH, M.A. (Macmillan & Co., 1920.)

EVERY one who is interested in the religious education of children in our schools, and particularly those who come closely into contact with its difficulties and the brave, though often misguided, efforts that are made to meet them, will be grateful to Mr Redlich for this book. Short as it is, it is complete and clear. He gives the results of modern research in a form which any intelligent student will at once recognize as genuinely helpful. The whole treatment of the subject is sympathetic and judicious, and calculated to give a healthy tone to Bible study.

The simple construction of the book is a great asset. It brings out clearly the main idea of development in revelation. The examples for

detailed study, given alongside, are carefully and wisely selected, and even a choice from among them will serve to support the general statements, and give understanding to the reader.

A book such as this serves two purposes equally well. It meets the need of the teacher who has not a great deal of time at his disposal for study, and wants some logical basis on which to answer the very logical questions of the children. And again, for those who are to give more time to the detailed study of the Bible, it is a concise and yet suggestive presentation of the whole purpose of criticism, and should stimulate and promote a keen interest in further investigation.

As one who has been engaged for many years in attempting to teach those who are to be teachers to teach the Bible, I hope that this book will have a wide circulation, among teachers first perhaps, because of their immediate practical difficulty, but also among many others who do not always realize as they should their need of help in reading the Bible.

E. WATERHOUSE.

NOTE

The Hon. Secretary of the 'Anglo-American University Library for Central Europe' (Mr B. M. Headicar, London School of Economics, Clare Market, W.C. 2) writes that, among the periodicals for which he has received a pressing demand, the Journal of Theological Studies is frequently mentioned, and that any numbers of it published during the war, which their possessors feel they can dispense with, would be most gratefully welcomed by him for presentation to one of the University Libraries on the continent.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1920 (Vol. xci, No. 181: S.P.C.K.). BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER Conditional Ordination—J. F. WILKINSON Tithes and tithe-rent charges of a rural parish in Hertfordshire—F. J. BADCOCK The Trinity—M. DEANESLY Arguments against the use of Vernacular Bibles, 1400-1408—J. O. NASH South Africa and the natives—F. LE N. BOWER The Holy Sepulchre—A. C. HEADLAM The Lambeth Conference—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1920 (Vol. xix, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). S. H. MELLONE The price of progress—J. LAIRD Malthus's Devil—C. G. MONTEFIORE Has Judaism a future?—A. GRAY The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen—E. LYTTTELTON James Hinton's Message—D. GORDON My two pastors—J. A. HOBSON Dr Felix Adler's philosophy of life—C. F. THWING The Pilgrims' motive and contribution—H. H. SCULLARD The theology of John Robinson—J. M. CONNELL A plea for an extended lectionary—F. C. S. SCHILLER Science and life—A. R. OSBORN Protestantism in Australia—A. C. McGIFFERT A teaching Church—W. F. ADENEY Miracle and prophecy—C. C. H. WILLIAMSON The claims of Scholasticism on modern thought—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, October 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 118: Hodder & Stoughton). J. E. McFAYDEN History and homiletics: a study in 2 Sam. xxi 1-14—G. H. WHITAKER The philology of St Luke's preface—A. T. SWAINE Relativity and the Deity of Jesus Christ—J. G. JAMES Prayer and personality—B. W. BACON Why 'according to Matthew'?—J. H. MICHAEL St Mark iv 10-12: an interpretation.

November 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 119). A. S. PEAKE Dr Sanday—A. SOUTER William Sanday—J. STALKER A revolution in New Testament criticism—E. SHILLETO The beginning of the last action: a study of St Mark's Gospel, chapter xi—H. R. MACKINTOSH The vital interest of the Church in pure doctrine—G. H. WHITAKER Notes on the paper 'the philology of St Luke's preface'—C. F. BURNEY Our Lord's Old Testament reference in St John vii 37, 38—J. A. FINDLAY The Book of Testimonies and the structure of the Fourth Gospel.

December 1920 (Eighth Series, No. 120). R. HARRIS A primitive Onomasticon—V. BARTLET William Sanday, the Man and his Message—G. JACKSON The work of the Christian Ministry in a period

of theological decay and reconstruction—T. H. BINDLEY John vii 37, 38—J. R. CAMERON Some notes on the developement of Jesus.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1920 (Vol. xviii, No. 4: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD 'Miserable sinner Christianity' in the hands of the rationalists III—J. K. VAN BAALEN The Ritschlians and the preëxistence of Christ—J. D. DAVIS An interpretation of Isaiah xl 3—O. T. ALLIS The name Joseph—J. R. STEVENSON The churchmanship of William Henry Roberts—Reviews of recent literature—Survey of periodical literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, July 1914¹ (Vol. xv, No. 3: 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). G. KURTH À propos du Vita Genovefae: quelques mots de réponse à M. Bruno Krusch—A. DEBIL La première distinction du *De paenitentia* de Gratien—R.-M. MARTIN L'œuvre théologique de Robert de Melun—A. DE MEYER La relation officielle du Saint-Office sur la condamnation des cinq propositions de Jansénius—M. DUBRUEL Le pape Alexandre VIII et les affaires de France: le conclave de 1689—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana, October 1920 (Vol. xxxviii, Nos. 3 and 4: Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). A. WILMART Le souvenir d'Eusèbe d'Émèse: un discours en l'honneur des saintes d'Antioche Bernice, Prosdoce, et Domnine—P. PEETERS La légende de saint Jacques de Nisibe—H. DELEHAYE Les martyrs de Tavium—H. DELEHAYE Le typicon du monastère de Lips à Constantinople—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue Bénédictine, July–October 1920 (Vol. xxxii, Nos. 3–4: Abbaye de Maredsous). B. CAPELLE L'élément africain dans le Psalterium Casinense—C. CALLEWAERT Le Carême à Turin au v^e siècle d'après S. Maxime—U. BERLIÈRE Innocent III et la réorganisation des monastères bénédictins—A. WILMART Deux expositions d'un évêque Fortunat sur l'Évangile—B. CAPELLE Une nouvelle édition du Nouveau Testament Grec—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, September 1920 (Vol. vi, No. 3: E. Nourry, Paris). A. LOISY La littérature du christianisme primitif—P. ROUSSEL Un règlement du ii^e siècle après Jésus-Christ relatif à la police des cultes en Égypte—A. PIGANOL Consus, dieu du cirque—L. COULANGE Le symbole de Nicée—A. LOISY Les rites d'initiation chez les naturels australiens—A. DULAC Note sur deux textes d'Amalaire relatifs à la consécration de l'eucharistie—Chronique bibliographique.

¹ Published October 1920, an exact reproduction of the number for July 1914 which was destroyed in the burning of Louvain by the German army.

The Journal *of* *Theological Studies*

APRIL, 1921

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DR SANDAY.

[NOTE. I cannot hope that the following bibliography is complete. In particular, I have no doubt that there is a good deal of Dr Sanday's work in the pages of *The Guardian* and of *The Academy*, in the form of reviews, for which I have not searched. If the list is relatively complete, that is due in great part to the fact that in the process of the dispersion and distribution of Dr Sanday's library it was possible to collect copies of all his own writings. These are for the present in the custody of Professor C. H. Turner, and I was able to work through them in his house. After the list was made, it was verified, and one or two items (apart from the list of contributions to the *Classical Review*) were added, from the *Bibliography of the Fellows and Tutors of Exeter College in Recent Times*, compiled at the time of the Sescentary of Exeter College, 1914, by the present Rector, Dr Farnell. I offer the bibliography as a tribute to the memory of a dear master and friend.]

1872

1. *The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel, considered in reference to the Contents of the Gospel itself. A Critical Essay.* London: Macmillan & Co., cr. 8vo, pp. xx + 307.

1876

2. *The Gospels in the Second Century, An Examination of the Critical Part of a Work entitled 'Supernatural Religion'.* London: Macmillan & Co., cr. 8vo, pp. xvi + 384.

3. 'The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard. St Matthew xx 1-16', in *The Expositor* vo iii pp. 81-101.

1877

4. 'The New Bible', in *The Expositor* vol. v pp. 401-406.

1878

5, 6. 'The Epistle to the Romans' and 'The Epistle to the Galatians', in *A New Testament Commentary for English Readers* ... edited by Charles John Ellicott, D.D., vol. ii.

VOL. XXII.

O

7. 'The Language spoken in Palestine at the time of our Lord', in *The Expositor* vol. vii pp. 81-99.

8. 'Did Christ speak Greek?—A Rejoinder', in *The Expositor* vol. vii pp. 368-388.

9. 'Some Leading Ideas in the Theology of St Paul', in *The Expositor* vol. viii pp. 40-58.

1880-1889

10. *The Variorum Bible*: joint editor of.

1880

11. 'The Value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible.' 'I The Higher Criticism', in *The Expositor* vol. xi pp. 1-20, 85-100; 'II The Lower Criticism', *ibid.* pp. 161-178, 241-263; 'III Exegesis', *ibid.* pp. 352-372, 430-458, vol. xii pp. 123-143, 217-236, 304-324.

1881

12. *A Proposal for a Change in the Constitution of the Final Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical Cases, contained in a letter addressed to the Very Rev. the Dean of Durham.* London: Rivingtons, 8vo, pp. 14.

13. 'The Revised Version of the New Testament. An Introductory Paper', in *The Expositor*, Second Series, vol. ii pp. 11-18.

'The Revised Version of the New Testament. III The Text', *ibid.* pp. 241-278, 372-398, 401-418.

14. 'The Greek Text of the New Testament', in *The Contemporary Review* vol. xl pp. 985-1006.

1883

15. 'The Study of the New Testament: its present Position, and some of its Problems.' An inaugural Lecture delivered on Feb. 20th and 22nd, 1883. Oxford: Parker & Co., 8vo, pp. 63.

[n. d., privately printed.

Analysis of St Paul's Epistles for use in lectures. 4to, pp. 32. Also another set in fol. pp. 2.]

1885

16. 'A Commentary on the Gospels attributed to Theophilus of Antioch' (a paper read Oct. 29, 1883), in *Studia Biblica*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. 89-101.

17. 'The Text of the Codex Rossanensis (Σ)' (read Feb. 4, 1884), *ibid.* pp. 103-112.

18. 'Some further Remarks on the Corbey St James (\mathcal{J})' (read Feb. 9, 1885), *ibid.* pp. 233-263.

1886

19. *Portions of the Gospels according to St Mark and St Matthew*,

from the *Bobbio MS* (*k*) . . . by J. Wordsworth, W. Sanday, and H. J. White (*Old-Latin Biblical Texts*: no. II). Oxford: Clarendon Press, sm. 4to, pp. cclvi + 140 (Dr Sanday's contributions are pp. xlii-cclvi, 95-122).

20. *Oxford House Papers*. No. ix 'Free-thinking: a Brief Review of Mrs Besant on the Evidences of Christianity'. London: Rivingtons, 12mo, pp. 32. [Also in a cheap edition, at the same date.]

21. *Oxford House Papers*. No. xi 'What the First Christians thought about Christ: a Critical Inquiry'. London: Rivingtons, 12mo, pp. 21.

22. 'Survey of Recent English Literature on the New Testament', in *The Expositor*, Third Series, vol. iii pp. 239-240.

23. 'Bishop Lightfoot', in *The Expositor*, Third Series, vol. iv pp. 13-29.

1887

24. 'The Origin of the Christian Ministry. I Recent Theories', in *The Expositor*, Third Series, vol. v pp. 1-22; 'II Criticism of Recent Theories', *ibid.* pp. 97-114.

1888

24 *b*. 'A Step in Advance on the Question of Early Church Organization', in *The Expositor*, Third Series, vol. viii pp. 321-337.

25. 'The MSS of Irenaeus', in *The Journal of Philology* vol. xvii pp. 81-94.

1889

26. 'The Future of English Theology', in *The Contemporary Review* vol. lvi pp. 41-56.

27. *Appendices ad Novum Testamentum Stephanicum* . . . Oxonii: e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 16mo, pp. 199.

28. *The Example of a Christian Scholar* [Dr A. Edersheim], with some remarks on the state of Learning in Oxford. A Sermon preached in Exeter College Chapel on Sunday, May 12. [Printed by Request.] Oxford: Parker & Co., 8vo, pp. 13.

29. Preface to Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, New edition. London: Longmans, cr. 8vo, pp. 4.

1890

30. *The Oracles of God: Nine Lectures on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration and on the Special Significance of the Old Testament Scriptures at the Present Time*, with two Appendices. London: Longmans, cr. 8vo, pp. xvi + 156 (2nd ed. 1891, 5th ed. 1894).

31. 'On the Italian Origin of the Codex Amiatinus and the Localizing of Italian MSS' (read Nov. 29, 1889), in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* . . . vol. ii pp. 309-324: with two notes on other articles.

32. 'Bishop Lightfoot as Historian', in *The English Historical Review*, April 1890, vol. v pp. 209-220.

33. 'In Memoriam Dr Edwin Hatch', in *The Expositor*, Fourth Series, vol. i pp. 93-111.

34. Letter to Editor (dated Feb. 4), in *The Expository Times* vol. i p. 124.

'Modern Commentaries on Hebrews', *ibid.* p. 162 (from *The Academy*, March 1).

34 b. 'Reply on Dictionary of Commentators' Latin', *ibid.* p. 188.

35. 'The Seat of Authority in Religion by James Martineau; Longmans & Co.', *ibid.* pp. 283-284.

1891

36. 'The Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament and of the Writings of Cyprian', in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* vol. iii pp. 217-303.

37. 'Greek Influence on Christianity', in *The Contemporary Review* vol. lix pp. 678-690.

38. 'Dr Schürer on the Fourth Gospel', *ibid.* vol. lx pp. 529-544.

39. Review of J. Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezae*, in *The Guardian* vol. xlvii pt. 1 pp. 742 and 786.

40. 'Dean Church', in *The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* vol. i pp. 235-241.

41. ['New Problems in New Testament Criticism': a paper read at the Church Congress, reported in *The Guardian*, Oct. 14, 1891.]

42. 'On the Title "Son of Man"', in *The Expositor*, Fourth Series, vol. iii pp. 18-32.

43. 'A Survey of the Synoptic Question: I Recent Literature', in *The Expositor*, *ibid.* pp. 81-91. 'II Points Proved or Probable', *ibid.* pp. 179-194, 302-316. 'New Hypotheses', *ibid.* pp. 345-361, 411-426.

44. 'Professor Ramsay on the Geography of Asia Minor', *ibid.* pp. 232-240.

45. 'Brevia. Dr Dods on St John's Gospel', in *The Expositor*, Fourth Series, vol. iv pp. 237-240.

46. 'The Present Position of the Johannean Question: I The Tendency of Recent Criticism', *ibid.* pp. 321-339. 'II The External Evidence', *ibid.* pp. 401-420 [see 1892].

46 b. 'The Roman Reckoning of the Day', *ibid.* p. 397.

1892

46 c. 'The Present Position of the Johannean Question: III. Relation to the Synoptic Gospels', in *The Expositor*, Fourth Series, vol. v pp. 12-29. 'IV. The Author', *ibid.* pp. 161-183, 281-299. 'VI. Partition and Derivation Theories', pp. 372-391.

45*b*. 'Brevia. The Gospel of St John. By Marcus Dods, D.D., vol. ii . . .', *ibid.* vol. vi pp. 319-320.

47. 'The Date of St John's Gospel', in *The Expository Times* vol. iii p. 425.

48. *Two Present-Day Questions: I. Biblical Criticism. II. The Social Movement. Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge on Ascension Day and the Sunday after Ascension Day*, 1892. London: Longmans, cr. 8vo, pp. 72.

49. 'Professor Huxley as a Theologian', in *The Contemporary Review* vol. lxii pp. 336-352.

1893

50. *Inspiration: Eight Lectures on the early history and origin of the doctrine of Biblical Inspiration, being the Bampton Lectures for 1893*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 8vo, pp. xxiv + 464 (3rd ed. 1896).

51. 'Professor Ramsay's Church in the Roman Empire', in *The Expositor*, Fourth Series, vol. vii pp. 401-415.

52. Article 'Gospels' in the second edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. London: John Murray.

53. 'The Criticism of the Vulgate: I The History of the Text; II Bishop Wordsworth's edition—the MSS; III Principles of Vulgate Criticism': in *The Guardian*, Aug. 2-16.

1894

54. 'The newly-discovered Latin version of the Epistle of St Clement of Rome', in *The Guardian*, Mar. 21 and 28.

55. 'Christ and the Old Testament', in *The Expository Times* vol. v pp. 228-229.

56. *Biblical Criticism. The Fulness of Revelation in the New Testament*. A Paper read at the Church Congress, Exeter, October 1894. 8vo, pp. 7.

1895

57. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, by William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 8vo, pp. cxii + 450. [2nd edition 1896, 3rd edition 1898, 4th edition 1900, 5th edition with new preface 1902 (reprinted 1905, 1907, 1908, 1911).] [Dr Sanday was more especially responsible for the Commentary on the first half of the Epistle, Dr Headlam for that on the second half.]

1896

58. 'St Paul the Traveller', in *The Expositor*, Fifth Series, vol. iii pp. 81-94.

58*b*. 'The Early Visits of St Paul to Jerusalem', *ibid.* pp. 253-263.

58*c*. 'Paul's Attitude towards Peter and James', in *The Expositor*, Fifth Series, vol. iv pp. 56-64.

1897

59. *Methods of Theology: the Historical Method*. A Paper read at the Church Congress, Nottingham, September 1897. 8vo, pp. 5.

59 a. 'The Historical Method in Theology', in *The Expository Times* vol. ix pp. 84-87.

60. 'The Canon of the New Testament', by the Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D. [pp. 105-145]. *Oxford House Papers*. A Series of Papers written by Members of the University of Oxford: 'The Truth shall make you free'. Third Series. London: Longmans, cr. 8vo, pp. viii + 171.

61. *Two Lectures on the Sayings of Jesus, recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus*, delivered at Oxford in 1897, by W. Lock and W. Sanday. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. 50.

1898

62. *The Conception of Priesthood in the Early Church and in the Church of England*: Four Sermons. London: Longmans, cr. 8vo, pp. xvi + 176. [2nd edition 1899, with new preface and two appendices, the first by Dr Moberly, the second by Dr Sanday, reprinted from *The Guardian* of Jan. 16 and Mar. 29, 1899.]

1899

63. 'The Methods of Historical Study', in *The Expository Times* vol. x p. 432, xi p. 471.

64. London Diocesan Church Reading Union, ed. Preb. Blomfield Jackson, Occasional Paper on the Evidence Subject, 1899-1900: 'St Luke and the Early Life of our Lord'.

65. *The Catholic Movement and the Archbishops' Decision*. With a Note on certain Resolutions, Fifth edition, revised, 8vo, pp. 20.

66. *The Obedience of the Clergy and the Mission of the Church of England*. A Paper read at Sion College on Wednesday, Nov. 8, published by request. London: Longmans, 8vo, pp. 24.

67. Sermon on 2 Cor. xiii 14, preached at Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, May 28, in *Supplement to the Cambridge Review*, June 1, 1899 = vol. xx, no. 513.

68. 'Recent Research on the Origin of the Creed', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. i, pp. 3-22.

69, 69 a. 'God (in N. T.)' and 'Jesus Christ', in *A Dictionary of the Bible* . . . edited by James Hastings . . . vol. ii. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 4to [=pp. 205-215, 603-653]. See also 99: *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, 1905.

1900

70. *Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice: a Report of*

a Conference held at Oxford, December 13 and 14, 1899, edited by W. Sanday. London: Longmans, 8vo, pp. xx + 174.

71. 'A Plea for the Logia', in *The Expository Times* vol. xi pp. 471-473.

72. 'A New Work on the Parables' [review of Adolf Jülicher's *Die Gleichnissreden Jesu*], in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. i pp. 161-180.

73. 'St Paul's Equivalent for "The Kingdom of Heaven"', *ibid.* pp. 481-491.

1901

74. 'William Bright', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. ii pp. 393-400.

75. 'Further Research on the History of the Creed', *ibid.* vol. iii pp. 1-21.

76. 'Mr Moffatt on Apologetics in Criticism', in *The Expository Times* vol. xii pp. 372-374, 478.

77. 'Atonement and Personality', in *The Expositor*, Sixth Series, vol. iii pp. 321-343.

78. *The Special Work of the English Church Union: a Sermon preached at St Matthias', Earl's Court, at the Anniversary of the E.C.U. on Thursday, June 20th, 1901.* London: Office of the English Church Union, 8vo, pp. 16.

79. *An Examination of Harnack's 'What is Christianity?'* A Paper read before the Tutors' Association on October 24. Longmans, pp. 1-29 [out of print in 1905].

[Privately printed? about 1901?: *Minor Holy Days of the Church of England* pp. 15.]

1902

80. 'An Eirenicon from Culture' [Review of Percy Gardner's *A Historic View of the New Testament*], in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. iii pp. 212-232.

81. 'Contentio Veritatis', *ibid.* vol. iv pp. 1-16.

82. *Divisions in the Church: Two Sermons preached in Tewkesbury Abbey on Sunday, September 14, 1902.* London: Longmans, 8vo, pp. 27.

83. 'Miracles and the Supernatural Character of the Gospels', in *The Expository Times* vol. xiv pp. 62-66. A Paper read at the Church Congress, held at Northampton, 1902. 8vo, pp. 6.

84. *Criticism of the New Testament: St Margaret's Lectures, 1902*, by W. Sanday, D.D. . . . London: Murray, cr. 8vo. Introductory Lecture: 'The Criticism of the New Testament', by W. Sanday = pp. 1-30.

85. Review of James Drummond's 'Some Thoughts on Christology', in *The Hibbert Journal* vol. i pp. 144-147.

69 b. 'Son of God', in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* iv 570-579.

1903

86. 'The Obligation of the Creeds', in *The Independent Review* pp. 92-114. Also reprinted separately.

87. *Critical Questions: Being a Course of Sermons delivered in St Mark's Church, Marylebone Road, N.W.*, by ... Rev. W. Sanday, D.D. ... with a preface by Rev. James Adderley. London: S. C. Brown, Langham & Co., Ltd. [Dr Sanday's contribution is V 'The Virgin Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ' = pp. 121-158.] cr. 8vo.

88. 'The Virgin-Birth', in *The Expository Times* vol. xiv pp. 296-303.

89. 'In Memoriam: Robert Campbell Moberly', *ibid.* pp. 487-490.

90. 'Robert Campbell Moberly', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. iv pp. 481-499.

91. *Sacred Sites of the Gospels, with the assistance of Paul Waterhouse.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. viii + 156 (with illustrations, maps, and plans).

92. 'The Site of Capernaum', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. v pp. 42-48.

93. *The Interpretation of the Gospels as affected by the newer historical Methods.* A Paper read at the Church Congress, Bristol, 1903. 8vo, pp. 5. [Also reprinted as Appendix I in ed. 2 of *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, see 99 b below.]

93 b. *La critique actuelle et les Évangiles* [a French translation of the preceding] in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Toulouse, Nov. 1903.

94. Review of J. Estlin Carpenter's 'The Bible in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Hibbert Journal* vol. ii pp. 161-166.

1904

95. 'The Present Greek Testaments of the Clarendon Press, Oxford', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. v pp. 279-280.

96. Review of James Drummond's 'An Enquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel', in *The Hibbert Journal* vol. ii pp. 612-618.

97. *Justice in Education, a Word for Peace.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 8vo, pp. 32.

[Privately printed *In Memoriam M(arion) S(anday)*. *Obdormivit in Christo Iunii XIX^{mo}, MCMIV.* Cr. 8vo, pp. 10.]

98. 'The Injunctions of Silence in the Gospels', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. v pp. 321-329.

1905

99. *Outlines of the Life of Christ*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, cr. 8vo, pp. viii + 241.

100. *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel. Eight Lectures on the Morse Foundation* (delivered in New York). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. xvi + 268. Also New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [identical with preceding, save for title-page].

101. 'The Living God', in *The Expository Times* vol. xvi pp. 153-156.

101 b. 'Professor Dods' New Book' [= *The Bible; Its Origin and Nature*], *ibid.* pp. 344-345.

102. 'The Still Small Voice of the Scriptures', in *The Interpreter* vol. ii pp. 9-14.

103. 'Adam Storey Farrar', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. vi pp. 540-548.

99 b. Second edition of no. 99, 1906 (preface dated December 1905) to which is added Appendix I (see no. 93 *supra*) and Appendix II. 'The Position in 1905. A Paper read at the Diocesan Conferences at Chichester and Taunton, November, 1905.' Reprinted 1908.

1906

104. 'Theological Reconstruction at Cambridge' [review of *Cambridge Theological Essays*, ed. Dr Swete], in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. vii pp. 161-185.

105. 'The Spiritual Meaning of the Life of Christ', in *The Expositor*, Seventh Series, vol. i pp. 385-403.

106. 'Capernaum', in *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, edited by James Hastings, vol. i pp. 269-270.

1907

107. *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. viii + 328.

108. 'St Paul's Gospel: An Eirenicon', in *The Expositor*, Seventh Series, vol. iii pp. 385-409.

109. 'Professor Burkitt on the Gospel History', in *The Expository Times* vol. xviii pp. 249-255.

110. 'The Apocalypse', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. viii pp. 481-499.

111. *Records and Reminiscences of Repton* [edited by G. S. Messiter], pp. 64-72 (a letter from Dr Sanday on the subject of his school days at Repton, 1858-1861).

1908

112. *Christianity and Other Religions: Three Short Sermons*, by S. R. Driver, D.D. and W. Sanday, D.D., Canons of Christ Church. London: Longmans, cr. 8vo, pp. 47.

113. *The Christian Religion: An Address delivered at the opening of the Christian Section of the Third International Congress of the History of Religions.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. 20 [published also in vol. ii of the Transactions of the Congress].

114. 'God', in Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary* pp. 312 sqq.

115. 'The Apostolic Decree, Acts xv (20-29)', in *Theologische Studien, Theodor Zahn zum 10. Oktober 1908 dargebracht* (Leipzig: Deichert, 8vo), pp. 317-338. [Also separately.]

116. *The Eschatology of the New Testament.* A Paper read at the Church Congress, Manchester, October, 1908. 8vo, pp. 4.

117. *The Oxford Hymn Book.* [With Dr T. B. Strong, and others.] Various formats, e.g. cr. 8vo, pp. x + 370.

102 b. 'Paul', in Hastings's *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* vol. ii pp. 886-892.

1908 and 1909

118. 'The Bearing of Criticism upon the Gospel History', in *The Expository Times* vol. xx pp. 103-114, 152-162.

1909

119. 'Bible', in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by James Hastings, vol. ii pp. 562-579.

120. 'A Christian's Attitude towards Old and New', in *The Interpreter* vol. vi pp. 17-22.

121. *A New Marcion, being a Criticism of Mr F. C. Conybeare's 'Myth, Magic, and Morals'.* London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 8vo, pp. 18.

122. *Authority in Belief and Practice.* A Paper read at the Church Congress, Swansea, October 1909. 8vo, pp. 5.

123. *Thought and Discipleship*, being the Addresses given at the C.M.S. London Summer School, June 1909, with the programme of the School in an Appendix. London: Church Missionary Society, cr. 8vo. [II 'Modern Thought and Missions. The Essence of the Gospel that we preach', by the Rev. Dr Sanday = pp. 20-36.]

1910

124. 'The Cambridge Biblical Essays', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xi pp. 161-179.

125. *The Policy of the Christian Social Union.* 8vo, pp. 8.

126. *The Character of the English Nation.* A Sermon delivered in the Cathedral to the University Extension Students, and reported fully in *The Oxford Chronicle* at the time (August?).

127. *Christologies, Ancient and Modern.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. viii + 244.

1911

127*b*. *Personality in Christ and in Ourselves*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. 75. Published also along with the *Christologies* (see 1910) in one volume.

128. *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, by Members of the University of Oxford, edited by W. Sanday. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. xxviii + 456 (published Feb. 24).

129. 'The Primitive Church and the Problem of [Christian] Reunion', in *The Contemporary Review* vol. xcix pp. 395-414, 545-561, ci pp. 198-212, cii pp. 503-513. Also reprinted separately: see under 1913.

130. 'The Apocalyptic Element in the Gospels', in *The Hibbert Journal* vol. x pp. 83-109.

131. 'Miracles', Papers and Sermons contributed to *The Guardian* by W. Lock, D.D., W. Sanday, D.D. . . . London: Longmans, cr. 8vo, pp. viii + 136.

1912

132. *Report upon the New Testament Passages bearing on Marriage and Divorce*: contributed to the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, see its *Report* vol. iii pp. 237-252.

133. 'John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury (1885-1911), 1843-1911', in *The Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. v, 8vo, pp. 19.

134. Prefatory Note (= pp. 5*-12*) of 'The Ezra-Apocalypse . . .' by G. H. Box, M.A. London: Pitman, cr. 8vo.

135. 'The Ezra-Apocalypse', in *The International Journal of Apocrypha*, No. 31 (Series viii) pp. 43-46.

136. *The Historical Evidence for Miracles*. A Paper read before the Church Congress at Middlesbrough, October 3, 1912. 8vo, pp. 4.

137. 'Personality and Space. I. In Reply to the Bishop of Down', in *The Hibbert Journal* vol. x pp. 693-696.

125*b*. *Some Weak Points in Christian Socialism*. Longmans.

1913

129*b*. *The Primitive Church and Reunion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. 142.

138. 'The Value of the Subconscious: In Reply to Critics', in *The Expository Times* vol. xxiv pp. 438-444, vol. xxv p. 46.

139. 'The Text of the Apostolic Decree (Acts xv 29)', in *The Expositor*, Eighth Series, vol. vi pp. 289-305.

140. 'The Pacific and the Warlike Ideals', in *The Constructive Quarterly* vol. i pp. 143-162.

[Private and Confidential. *Theses on the Biblical Miracles*. 8vo pp. 26.]

1914

141. *The Life Work of Samuel Rolles Driver*. A Sermon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. 12.

142. 'Baron Hermann von Soden', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xv pp. 305-306.

143. *Bishop Gore's Challenge to Criticism: A Reply to the Bishop of Oxford's Open Letter on the Basis of Anglican Fellowship*. London: Longmans, 8vo, pp. 31.

144. 'The Constructive Quarterly from Within', in *The Constructive Quarterly* vol. ii pp. 1-19.

145. *The Deeper Causes of the War*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, cr. 8vo, pp. 11.

1915

146. *The Meaning of the War for Germany and Great Britain: An Attempt at Synthesis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. 124. [Published March.] Also in Danish translation by Dr J. P. Bang *Meningen med Krigen mellem Tyskland og England*: Copenhagen, 1916.

147. 'Inspiration and Revelation', in *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, edited by James Hastings, vol. i pp. 612-618. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 4to.

148. 'On Continuity of Thought and Relativity of Expression', in *The Modern Churchman* vol. v pp. 125-142.

149. 'Relative Truth: A Reply to the Rev. J. M. Thompson', *ibid.* pp. 430-440.

1916

150. 'The Doctrine of the Atonement, by J. K. Mozley, M.A. (Duckworth, 1915)', in *The Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xvii pp. 305-307.

151. 'The Poor in Spirit; Ancient and Modern', in *The Expositor*, Eighth Series, vol. xii pp. 458-472.

152. 'A Short Sermon on Shakespeare', in *The Expository Times* vol. xxvii pp. 441-443.

153. *Form and Content in the Christian Tradition: A Friendly Discussion between W. Sanday, D.D. and N. P. Williams, M.A.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., 8vo, pp. xvi + 167.

[Privately Printed.]

Spirit, Matter, and Miracle: A Friendly Discussion between T. B. Strong, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, and W. Sanday, D.D., Canon of Christ Church and Lady Margaret Professor. 8vo, pp. 88.]

154. *In View of the End: A Retrospect and a Prospect*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 8vo, pp. 96.

1917

155. *When should the War end?* (July 10, and postscript July 28, 1917). Evangelical Information Committee [published for the Govern-

ment]. Also in German 155 *b*. *Wie soll der Krieg endigen?* in *Wissen und Leben*, 1 Oct., Füssli, Zürich, pp. 9-16.

1918

156. *Tracts on Common Prayer*: No. 1. 'Ideals of Common Prayer. I and II. On Simplicity in Religion . . . Oxford': Clarendon Press, 12mo, pp. 1-30, 48-52. No. 2. 'The Use of the Psalter: . . . III. The Language of Vindictiveness in the Prayer Book, in the Bible, and in Modern Life.' Oxford: Clarendon Press, 12mo, pp. 42-69.

157. *The Psalms Explained, A Companion to the Prayer-Book Psalter*, by Dr Sanday and the Rev. C. W. Emmet, with contributions from Dr C. F. Burney. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 16mo, pp. 128.

1919

158. *Divine Overruling*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 8vo, pp. viii + 104 (dated 1920).

1920

159. *Dr Sanday's Nunc Dimittis: The Position of Liberal Theology: a friendly examination of the Bishop of Zanzibar's Open Letter entitled 'The Christ and His Critics'*. The Faith Press, 8vo, pp. 44.

160. 'Edwin Hatch' (an address delivered in Wadham College Chapel, to the members of the Churchmen's Union, on Wednesday, Aug. 25): in *The Modern Churchman*.

156 *b*. *Tracts on Common Prayer*, No. 4: The New Testament Background. The Gospels (W. Sanday).

161. *The New Lessons Explained: a Short Exposition of the Lessons from the New Lectionary for Sundays and Holy-Days*, by W. Sanday, C. F. Burney, and C. W. Emmet. Cr. 8vo . . . Part II. New Testament Lessons Explained, by Dr W. Sanday and the Rev. C. W. Emmet, pp. 144.

Dr Sanday died on Thursday, September 16, 1920.

A. SOUTER.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE SYNOD OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE SCHISM
AT ANTIOCH IN A.D. 362.

I. THE PRELIMINARY COUNCIL IN THE THEBAID.

ON February 9, 362, an order of the Emperor Julian reached Gerontius, the Prefect of Egypt at Alexandria, ordering all bishops, hitherto defeated by factions, and exiled, to return to their towns and provinces.¹ Gerontius caused it to be published on the following day, and we need have no doubt that, by the help of the mysteriously swift channels of communication which existed among the Egyptian Christians, the news reached the exiles in the Thebaid in the shortest possible time.

Whether in this policy Julian was influenced by a beneficent tolerance, or by a cynical desire to weaken the already distracted Church by fresh dissensions, it is difficult to decide. Probably both motives led to the decision: for while it was his affectation to pose as a benevolent autocrat, yet sometimes a petty maliciousness peeps out from beneath his cloak of dignity.

The manner in which this amnesty was used by the orthodox bishops for the complete restoration of their cause in a world which only two years before 'ingemuit et se Arianum esse miratus est', was so remarkable and so successful as to merit, despite the intricacy of the events and their interpretation, the closest investigation.

The plan of campaign was decided at a conference at Thebes between two leading spirits among the exiles, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Eusebius of Vercellae, assisted by Hilarius, Asterius, and other bishops.² Athanasius had meanwhile reached Alexandria so rapidly as to give rise to the legend that on the death of Julian he was suddenly found on his episcopal throne in one of the churches of Alexandria.³ The light which beats on the great patriarch in this the hour of his triumph has left the proceedings of Lucifer's preliminary council of the Thebaid in obscurity. Sozomen⁴ tells us that its object was 'the proper ordering of the affairs of the Church', and Theodoret 'the re-establishment of the churches and of the rule of Faith'; in other words, the proper use of the opportunity offered by Julian's edict for the overthrow of the Arians and the restoration of the Catholics to power. Their plan was

¹ *Hist. Aceph.* vii 10.² Theodoret, iii 4; Socr. iii 5; Soz. v 12.³ *Cave Life of Ath.* x 9.⁴ v 12.

well conceived. As theoretical basis for the movement, a reaffirmation of the Nicene position by a general synod was necessary. But for practical purposes it was equally important that a lead should be given to orthodox Christians by the immediate overthrow of the Arians in important centres. Lucifer and Eusebius knew, of course, that the personal influence of Athanasius would effect this end at once in Alexandria. If in addition Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, could be gained, the influence of two such cities, coupled with the authority of a synod of exiled bishops returning from the Thebaid, would give sufficient impetus to start an irresistible movement in favour of orthodoxy. Lucifer felt the importance of Antioch so strongly that he resisted the urgent requests of Eusebius¹ that he would first go with him to Alexandria to see Athanasius, and to be present at the proposed synod. He, however, sent two² legates, Herennius and Agapetus, to represent him there, and proceeded himself to Antioch. It is important to understand his intentions on this mission, and the nature of his arrangement with Eusebius; and for this a consideration of affairs at Antioch is necessary.³ Eustathius, its patriarch, a Nicene champion, had been deposed by the Eusebians in 331, and was succeeded by Arian bishops. Thereupon a small orthodox party, led by Eustathius, separated from communion with the main body, while, even within the majority, there remained many who secretly chafed at their present heretical associations. Affairs remained in this position for thirty years till, just before the death of Constantius, the Eusebian party nominated Meletius to fill the see vacated by the translation of Eudoxius to Constantinople. He was a man of lovable disposition. Gregory of Nyssa in pronouncing his funeral oration spoke of his 'sweet calm look, his radiant smile, the kind hand seconding the kind voice'. Even in his short stay at Antioch he seems to have captured the allegiance of a large section of Church people, and we shall see in the sequel with what loyalty it was preserved.⁴ He was brought up amongst the Eusebians, and promoted by them to the Bishopric of Sebaste in Armenia.⁵ Thence he went to Beroea, and thence in 361 to Antioch.

In the cathedral at Antioch, preaching by the emperor's request from the text 'the Lord hath possessed [created] me in the beginning of His way before His works of old',⁶ to the amazement of all he had confessed the orthodox Catholic faith. A decree of banishment followed rapidly, and he retired to his native country, probably Armenia. Euzoios, an Arian, was appointed in his place. The followers of Meletius refused

¹ Rufinus, x 27.

² Rufinus, Socr., Soz. say one *διάκονος*. *Tonius ad Antiochenos* gives two.

³ See Newman *Arians* v 1, 2.

⁴ Socr. iii 6.

⁵ Soz. iv 28; Theod. ii 31.

⁶ Prov. viii 22.

communion with him and withdrew to the old city. Euzoius, with a courtesy almost unknown in his day, permitted the Eustathian minority, led by a priest Paulinus, to meet in a small church within the city.¹ There were thus three parties at Antioch in the beginning of the year A. D. 362; the Arians under Euzoius, the Eustathians or ultra-orthodox under the presbyter Paulinus, and, in the old city, the Meletians or 'compromised-orthodox', whose bishop was still in exile. A difference of doctrine, or rather of the wording of doctrine, further divided the Eustathians and the Meletians. They agreed in asserting that in the Trinity there is one *οὐσία*, but, while the Meletians spoke of three hypostases in the Triune God, the Eustathians with Athanasius and the Western Church asserted only one 'hypostasis'. Athanasius naturally favoured the unsullied orthodoxy of the Eustathians, and had recognized them when he passed through Antioch on his return from his second exile (A. D. 348); and though his language in favour of the one hypostasis is not unvarying,² his bias was towards the Western use of hypostasis and *οὐσία* as practically synonymous. Lucifer and Eusebius were Western bishops: they were also, especially Lucifer, passionately orthodox. We may thus infer that for them there was only one party at Antioch, the Eustathians. The Meletians were ruled out of court by their theology, by their compromise with Arianism, and by the fact that their bishop himself had been ordained by heretics, the Eusebians.

From this review of the situation at Antioch, and in the light of subsequent events, we may deduce the plan of the Thebaid council, and the nature of the understanding between Eusebius and Lucifer. Eusebius was to join Athanasius at Alexandria and assist at a synod of bishops to be held there before their departure to their several sees. At this synod he was to use all his influence towards the following decisions: firstly, a reaffirmation of the Nicene position, and secondly, the acceptance of the 'Western' identification of *ὑπόστασις* with *οὐσία*; he was further to bring forward the question of the Antiochene schism, and to secure the formal recognition of the Eustathians under Paulinus. Thus, the Thebaid council hoped, a theological basis for the restored orthodoxy would be provided; and the ruling in favour of the ultra-orthodox minority at Antioch would, as deciding an important case which was representative of many others, be accepted as a general precedent. In other words, the policy with which Eusebius was charged was a party rather than an oecumenic affair; he was to help forward the recapture of the churches by the uncompromised orthodox, rather than to reunite all the more moderate parties by a statesmanlike

¹ Soz. v 13.

² 'In Illud *Omnia*' § 6, if this be a genuine work of Athanasius.

toleration. To Eusebius and Lucifer Julian's edict was an occasion for the recovery of the power of their party : to Athanasius, as will appear, it was rather a golden opportunity for reunion against Arianism and the restored paganism of the emperor.

Lucifer, on the other hand, was to hasten to Antioch, reconcile the Meletians to the Eustathians and ordain Paulinus as bishop of both. So confident was he that the decisions of the Synod would be as he and Eusebius wished that he anticipated them by his action, and gave his representatives powers of assent which embarrassed him afterwards. He was of an impetuous disposition and an ardent partisan, and his nature led him into grievous miscalculations from an inability to see any but his own point of view. He did not anticipate the wise statesmanship of Athanasius ; he assumed that the Meletians, in the absence of their own bishop, could easily be won over ; and he left Meletius himself, now an exile in Armenia,¹ entirely out of account.

I am, of course, aware that my belief that the consecration of Paulinus was agreed upon by Eusebius and Lucifer before the latter went to Antioch is not shared by others whose knowledge of the period is very great.² They hold that Lucifer acted entirely on his own authority in doing so, and that it came as a complete surprise to Eusebius on his arrival at Antioch after the Synod. As the decision as to which of the two views will best explain the course of events depends on the subsequent narrative, I must ask for a sceptical *ἐποχή* for the present.

Let us follow each of the principals during the eventful spring of A. D. 362.

II. THE DATE OF THE COUNCIL OF ALEXANDRIA.

There is general agreement among our authorities that Athanasius returned to Alexandria after the murder of George of Cappadocia, the Arian bishop. On the date of the latter event, however, there is a divergence of tradition. Ammianus says that it occurred after Artemius had been put to death by Julian's orders at Antioch. Artemius, an Arian in his sympathies,³ held the office of 'dux Aegypti' from about A. D. 359. As 'dux' he had the disposal of all troops in Egypt proper. He succeeded Sebastian who had assisted George in his cruel persecutions, and he seems to have carried out the same policy, though George had left Alexandria before his arrival. He continued the persecution of

¹ He was banished to 'his own country'. As he first comes into prominence at Sebaste he was probably an Armenian.

² e. g. in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, articles on 'Meletius' (J. M. Fuller), 'Lucifer' (J. Llewellyn Davies), 'Athanasius' (Dr Reynolds). Also A. Robertson 'Athanasius', *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* vol. iv, Prolegg. ch. ii § 9 ; J. H. Newman *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (1838) v 1.

³ As may be inferred from *Vit. Pach.* 88.

Athanasius¹ and was guilty of many crimes, including the torturing to death of Eudaemonis, a virgin.² Ammianus³ says that when Julian was at Antioch the Alexandrines accused Artemius before him of many disgraceful crimes, in consequence of which he was put to death. 'And when a short time had intervened', he continues, 'the Alexandrines, having learned of the death of Artemius, whose threatened return they feared, turned their anger against the Bishop George'.⁴ The date of the murder of George depends, therefore, according to Ammianus, on the date of the punishment of Artemius by Julian at Antioch. When did Julian arrive at Antioch?⁵ The chronology of his reign is extraordinarily confused,⁶ but may, I think, best be sketched as follows:

- 361 Nov. 3. Death of Constantius.
- 361 Dec. 11. Triumphal entry of Julian into Constantinople.
Several months spent at Constantinople.
- 362 May 12. Last trace of Julian at Constantinople.⁷
Journey through Nicomedia, Pessinus, Ancyra, to Antioch.
- 362 July 2. Arrival at Antioch.
- 362 July-363 March. At Antioch.
- 363 March 5. Sets out for Persian Campaign.
- 363 June 26. Julian mortally wounded.

The arrival at Antioch is dated from Ammianus's statement that when he came the Antiochenes were celebrating the annual rites of Adonis or Tammuz. Tammuz was mourned on June 2 according to some authorities. Ammianus (xix 1. 11. and xxii 9. 15.) supports this, connecting the festival with the harvest. Julian (*Or.* 4. 155) places the festival at the time of vintage, i. e. in July, and Macrobius (*Sat.* i 21. 2) supports the later date. Thus, the execution of Artemius would be placed about July, and the murder of George a few weeks later. The 'Motif' connecting the two events is sufficiently clear. A deputation from Alexandria prosecutes Artemius before the emperor: he condemns Artemius to death. The Alexandrines, thus officially encouraged by the punishment of the lesser offender, believe themselves safe in attacking the arch-criminal George. This appears to have been the connexion in the mind of Ammianus between the two events. But doubt is thrown on his chronology if we observe the consequence. The return of Athanasius, if the lynching of George took place in July, must be placed in August. That is, for six whole months he failed to take advantage of Julian's edict of amnesty—a proposition inconsistent alike with what we

¹ *Vit. Pach.* 88.

² Festal Index XXXII.

³ xxii 2. 1.

⁴ xxii 2. 3.

⁵ The late Professor Gwatkin *Studies of Arianism* (1882) pp. 226 and 227 has an interesting note on this question.

⁶ His most recent editor, Wright, in the Loeb Classics is a notable offender.

⁷ *C. Th.* 13. 3. 4.

know of the character of Athanasius and with the whole tenor of our authorities, which postulates a speedy return.

The second tradition which has now been generally accepted as correct,¹ is that of the *Historia Acephala*,² an excellent authority for Alexandrine affairs. Here we find that George returned to Alexandria on November 26, 361, and remained only three days unmolested. On the fourth, November 30, Gerontius, the prefect, announced the accession of Julian, and George was thrown into prison. There he remained till 28th Choiac (December 24) when 'the people of the city' dragged him out to his death. The edict of amnesty of Julian was published on February 9, 362, and on February 21 Athanasius was again at Alexandria. This account better explains the sequence of events: the murder of George is due to a popular outburst against his cruelties and misdeeds, which occurs immediately after the death of his protector Constantius is known. Julian, on hearing of it, sends a letter rebuking the Alexandrines, and pointing out to them that instead of the violence of mob-law, the legal remedies of the Imperial court are open to them.³ In consequence, probably, of this rebuke we find the Alexandrines prosecuting Artemius legally before Julian at Antioch in the summer, and receiving the redress which the emperor's letter had led them to expect. It has been further shewn by Robertson,⁴ that Ammianus is inconsistent with himself and in agreement with *Historia Acephala* in dating the arrest of George shortly after his return from court. As George could not have been at Julian's court, this implies that his arrest must have taken place shortly after the death of Constantius.

Further confirmation is provided by Festal Index XXXIV 361-362, which dates the return of Athanasius to Alexandria to the month Mechir which begins on January 26 and ends on February 24.

We may therefore assume that Athanasius returned to his see about February 21, A. D. 362, and remained there for eight months till October 23.⁵ Before the other bishops dispersed to their sees he summoned a synod which met probably at the end of April or the beginning of May.

III. PARTIES AT THE SYNOD.

The authority for the Synod of Alexandria is almost solely The Tome or Synodal letter addressed to the people of Antioch. This was a document drawn up by Athanasius and certain bishops who remained with him at Alexandria, after the others had departed to their sees, describing the decisions of the Synod with especial reference to the

¹ Gwatkin *Studies in Arianism* pp. 220, 221.

² vi 8 sqq.

³ Amm. xxii 11. 11.

⁴ *Op. cit.* Prolegg. v 3 g.

⁵ *Hist. Aceph.* vii 11.

situation at Antioch.¹ It is often wrongly referred to as a synod of twenty-one bishops.² Seventeen bishops are mentioned as the senders³ and sign the document with four deacons present as representing bishops. But these are only those who still remained in Alexandria with Athanasius when the letter was written. Their signatures are appended in token of greeting and as guaranteeing that the letter represents the views of the Synod, which, comprising as it did bishops from Italy, Arabia, Egypt, and Lybia, must have been considerably larger. At the beginning nineteen are mentioned by name 'and the rest'. 'The rest' could hardly have consisted of only two. If they had their names would certainly have been added. Besides we have not here an instance of a creed or similar document adopted by a synod and subscribed by all those present. It is a *Tomos* or concise statement, guaranteed as correct by representative signatures, and sent for the information of a Church much concerned in the decisions.

Rufinus, who mainly depends on the *Tome* for his information, tells us in addition that there was a rigorist party at the Synod who opposed all conciliatory measures.⁴ This statement is important, as it is exactly what one might expect if our interpretation of the plans of the Thebaid council is correct. Eusebius hastened to Alexandria from the Thebaid with Asterius to urge on the work of recapturing the churches for orthodoxy, and with unquestionably hostile feelings towards the weaker brethren who had come to terms with Arianism. Eusebius may have felt doubts as to his ability to carry Athanasius and the rest of the bishops with him. Lucifer's fiery vigour would have been invaluable, and he begged him to come first to Alexandria.⁵ But Lucifer refused: he wished by consecrating Paulinus to confront the Church with a *fait accompli* at Antioch: and he sent two deacons, Herennius and Agapetus, to represent him. We have therefore four names at least, Eusebius, Asterius, Herennius, and Agapetus, who must have opposed the conciliatory measures of Athanasius and the majority. There were two other deacons present, Maximus and Calemerus, 'sent from Paulinus',⁶ leader of the Eustathians, who would also of course be included in the rigorist party. Their presence at the Synod is a great crux, which, if it can be satisfactorily explained, will do more than any other single point to clear up the events of the spring of 362 at Alexandria and Antioch. Dr Bright⁷ in speaking of this Synod says

¹ *Tom. ad Ant.* 9.

² e.g. Bright *Orations of St. Athanasius against the Arians* (1873), Introd. p. lxxxii. Gwatkin *Arian Controversy* p. 112. Robertson 'Athanasius', *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* vol. iv p. 481, and many others.

³ *Tom. ad Ant.* 10.

⁴ Cf. also Hieron. *Adv. Lucif.* 20.

⁵ Rufinus, x 27.

⁶ *Tomus* 9 *sub fin.*

⁷ Bright *Orations of St. Athanasius against the Arians*, Introd. p. lxxxii.

'Some twenty bishops were present with deputies from Paulinus, pastor of the Eustathians, and from Apollinarius, now bishop of Syrian Laodicea'. Without exception, as far as I know, all modern writers on the period agree in the assumption that the consecration of Paulinus was not known to the Synod of Alexandria and came as a complete surprise to Eusebius when he afterwards went to Antioch. Some appear entirely to overlook the presence of Maximus and Calemerus; of those who do not Dr Bright appears to represent one solution, namely, that Paulinus, 'pastor' of the Eustathians, though only a presbyter, was represented by deacons as legates. This would be quite unexampled: deacons might act as legates of bishops at general councils, but no ordinary priest, however eminent, had the right to send such legates to represent him. A second solution, suggested by Valesius,¹ that Paulinus's legates were practically only a deputation heard by the assembled bishops with regard to affairs at Antioch, is not borne out by the tome, which places Maximus and Calemerus on a par with the legates of Lucifer and Apollinarius of Laodicea, who with them sign the document. If these had come as legates from Paulinus before his consecration, their object would have been to urge before the Synod his claim to be made Bishop of Antioch. No such claim was decided or discussed by the Synod. The only explicit direction to the Antiochenes was to allow the Meletians who, as the Synod was informed, wished to return, to be received into communion by Paulinus and his party. Why then, it might be argued, was the letter not addressed to Paulinus as well as the five other bishops, Eusebius, Lucifer, Asterius, Cymatius, and Anatolius? Because the latter were regarded as a special commission engaged in regulating affairs at Antioch and represented at the Synod by Eusebius and Asterius; and further, Paulinus was hardly the man to whom such a mission of reconciliation could be addressed, seeing that he was the leader of one of the two parties which were to be reconciled. If the Synod had decided that Paulinus was to be made bishop it surely would have said so: it did not, because it knew that he was already consecrated.

A period had elapsed since the departure of Lucifer from the Thebaid sufficient to admit of this. The news of the edict of Gerontius permitting the return of the exiles (February 10, 362) must have reached the Thebaid very quickly. Lucifer, Eusebius, and their friends held their 'council of war' immediately.

Lucifer could have been on his way to Antioch by about February 20. Of course if he went by sea (four to five days' sail) the time presents no difficulty. There was a certain amount of coastal traffic even at this season. If, as is more probable, he chose the land route, about 750

¹ On Socrates iii 6.

miles, at the ordinary rate of travel he would have reached Antioch just after the middle of March.

There can be little doubt that he consecrated Paulinus at once: and Paulinus's legates could have been at Alexandria by the middle of April. It is improbable that the Synod should have met before this time, and very unlikely that it could have concluded its session.

Athanasius only returned to Alexandria on February 21; all the returning bishops could not have arrived till some time later. Easter fell on March 31, and it is unlikely that the business of the Synod would have been begun until Easter was well over.

In the section entitled 'Julian and Athanasius' I have given some reasons to shew that the appeal of Gerontius was a deliberate attempt to gain time for Athanasius, possibly because he was actually engaged in, or preparing for, the Synod. If this be so the date of the appeal is important. The embassy of congratulation, as is evident from the *Misopogon* of Julian, reached the emperor very late. It certainly started after the return of Athanasius, and could not have arrived at Constantinople before the latter half of March. Julian's reply, in which he ordered Athanasius to depart, would then have reached Gerontius late in April: and the appeal, and the holding of the Synod would be dated to the end of April or the beginning of May.

IV. THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYNOD.

Perhaps from the comparatively small number of its members, and perhaps from the somewhat scanty records of its proceedings, the Synod of Alexandria in 362 has attracted less attention than its importance deserves. In reality the wisdom of its decisions and the breadth of its influence have been equalled by those of few Christian synods. Beneath the surface of our accounts of its proceedings, which almost entirely depend on one document, the so-called 'Tomus ad Antiochenos', a memorandum compiled afterwards by some of the members, of the Synod's attitude towards the Syrian disputes, may be traced an underlying unity of plan and a statesmanlike policy attributable only to a master mind. And, in fact, it was so directed. The Synod was the crown of the career of Athanasius. It formed the rallying point from which the Nicene Faith advanced to its final and decisive victory. As St Jerome¹ says 'By its judicious conciliation it snatched the whole world from the jaws of Satan'. 'A council of peace in the best sense',² it had the vision to see and the vigour to seize the great opportunity offered by Julian's edict of amnesty. The faith and insight of Athanasius grasped the fact that the Arianizing of the world at the Synods of

¹ *Adv. Lucif.* 20.

² Krüger *Lucifer*.

Ariminum and Seleucia was apparent only, and that many of the compromised would be only too glad of an opportunity to renounce their heretical associations. He therefore urged a policy of conciliation. But he saw that this practical statecraft would be unavailing without a theoretical basis for the settlement. The Nicene confession was, of course, fundamental, and once more he nailed its colours to the mast. But during the thirty-seven years since the first general council, the controversy had extended itself. Trinitarianism as a whole was now in question, and as at Nicaea the coequality of the Son, so at Alexandria the coequality of the Holy Spirit had to be defended. The fuller developement of Arianism was met by the fuller refutation of this council. 'This is in truth a complete renunciation of the abominable Heresy of the Arians to refuse to divide the Holy Trinity or to say that any part of It is a creature'.¹ Again, the Human Nature of our Lord had, on closer examination, given occasion for dispute. And thirdly, the usages of the Eastern and Western Churches were at variance as to the meaning to be attached to the vital term *ὑπόστασις*, and a schism on the question was brewing.

In two at least of these controversies the method adopted was an examination before the Synod of supporters of either view, followed by a discussion and resolution.² In the light of this review the Synod turned to the great practical questions, on what terms the Arianizers should be readmitted to the Church, and how was the Antiochene schism to be healed.

Its deliberations were, as Rufinus says, characterized by caution and moderation. The rigorist party in the absence of Lucifer had no real leader, and was easily overborne. Logically no doubt it was right. But in the practical conduct of affairs logical exactness must, while society remains imperfect, be tempered by a spirit of accommodation and knowledge of the world.

Theoretical Discussions. A. The Holy Spirit.

A full discussion of the nature and functions of the Holy Spirit was reserved for later controversy. At Alexandria, however, the bishops condemned in general terms the doctrine that He was a creature, and emphasized the unity and coequality of the Persons of the Holy Trinity. If the statements of Sozomen and Socrates, curiously neglected by most writers, are trustworthy, we have here a most important landmark in the history of dogma, the first express conciliar recognition of the Doctrine of the Trinity. Socrates iii 7 says *ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα θεολογήσαντες τῇ ὁμοουσίῳ Τριάδι συναναλαμβάνοντο*, and Sozomen v 12 *ὁμοουσίον τε τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Ὑῖῳ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ὡμολόγησαν καὶ*

¹ *Tomus* § 3.

² *Tomus* §§ 5, 6, 7.

Τριάδα ὀνόμασαν. Sozomen does not of course mean that the name Triad was first used here; it is found in as early an author as Theophilus of Antioch: but now for the first time it was formally and officially adopted. Further, Rufinianus, probably a Syrian bishop who had some correspondence with Athanasius as to the decisions of the Synod, writes signifying his assent to them in these words¹: 'Sound is the idea of perfection for the Divinity as for the economy of the manhood. Sound is the doctrine of the Divinity in a single essence. Pure and wholesome to the souls of the faithful is the confession of the Holy Triad. Perfect then is the Economy of the Manhood of the Saviour and Perfect His soul also. Nothing is lacking in Him.' Here we have clearly and concisely summed up the theoretical discussions of the Synod, as we now enumerate them (a) The Holy Spirit and the TRINITY, (b) Our Lord's Human Nature, (c) the μία οὐσία.

These important statements have been overlooked (a) mainly because the Tomus, on which Socrates and Sozomen largely depend, only states² that it was made a condition of the reception of the Arianizers that they should anathematize those who say that the Holy Spirit is a creature and separate from the essence of Christ. But this, being a qualification not hitherto insisted upon, implies an antecedent discussion. And, further, the Tomus was not a record of the acts of the Synod: it was a memorandum of its attitude towards Antiochene affairs compiled afterwards by some of those present. And the dispute as to the Holy Spirit's personality had not arisen in connexion with the Syrian schism. Therefore, if the Synod discussed the problem, the discussion would not have been included in the Tomus except by implication. (b) Because Rufinus omits to mention the fact. But Rufinus's mind was Western and practical and, unlike the Greek historians, his attention was concentrated on the measures taken to restore unity to Christendom.

The cause of the discussion was, of course, the rise of the heresy of Macedonius at Constantinople, which afterwards occupied the attention of the second general council. The refutation naturally became more explicit as the heresy developed, but the unceasing vigilance of Athanasius kept pace with every move of his theological adversaries, and here indicated to the orthodox the lines on which their defence was to proceed.

B. *The Human Nature of Our Lord.*

The Nicene Christology, which was maintained throughout as fundamental by the Synod, was mainly directed towards the establishment of the Divinity of our Lord. Later heretical opinions now shewed that it had not sufficiently provided against erroneous opinions as to His humanity. Its phrase σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα (as, to a greater

¹ Coptic *Acta* of Revillout p. 462.

² § 3.

degree, the phrase of the creed of Eusebius of Caesarea *ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον*) was intended to express¹ 'the permanent union of God with human nature', but as it afterwards proved it was not sufficiently technical to exclude heretical theories as to the mode of union, whether by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh (Apollinarianism) or by union with a human person (Nestorianism).

Apollinarius taught that in Christ the Divine Word took the place of the *νοῦς* or reasonable soul. His envoys were present at the Synod. They and their opponents were examined, and both professed to admit that the Incarnate Word, being perfect man, had both a body and a reasonable soul, and that the Incarnation was complete and not a mere indwelling, as the Word had dwelt in the prophets.² An attempt was thus made to nip in the bud three of the greatest heresies, Macedonianism, Apollinarianism, and Nestorianism. The attempt failed, but it is a signal merit in the Synod to have foreseen the danger and to have met it on the right lines.

C. *Hypostasis and Usia.*

The third of the theological problems considered by the Synod was one which threatened to cause a schism between the Eastern and Western Churches (the question which ultimately divided them was of no greater moment), one which was also of great practical importance in connexion with the schism at Antioch. There the Meletians applied the term *ὑπόστασις* to each of the persons of the Trinity. *Hypostasis* is a later and rarer philosophical term than *usia*. It is applied to substance, as underlying (*ὑφεστάναι*) attributes, and expresses a complete self-contained existence with more precision than the term *οὐσία*. At first, as e.g. in the Nicene Anathema, the two terms were used as alternatives, without distinction of meaning. The Latin equivalent of *ὑπόστασις*, *substantia*, was in more general use in the West than *essentia*, the equivalent of *οὐσία*, while in the East *οὐσία* was common and *ὑπόστασις* rare.

Origen was the first to discriminate between the words. He uses *ὑπόστασις* to express personal existence, and speaks of three hypostases (*in Ioan.* 2. 6), and the two hypostases of the Father and the Son (*c. Cels.* 8. 2). Later Eastern theology found the new sense of the term convenient, in particular against Sabellianism. If *hypostasis* means 'mode of subsistence of *οὐσία*' the phrase *τρεις ὑποστάσεις* is freed from the stigma of Tritheism.

Western theologians, partly owing to their common use of *substantia* as equivalent to *οὐσία*, were content with the earlier usage and followed

¹ Bindley.

² *Tomus* 7; *Socr.* iii 7; *Soz.* v 12.

Athanasius in identifying *hypostasis* with *usia*. Athanasius writes in his Synodal letter 'Ad Afros' 'Hypostasis is essence, οὐσία, and means nothing else than simple being'. St Jerome¹ follows him 'The whole school of secular learning understanding nothing else by hypostasis than *usia*, essence'. Therefore to the Westerns, especially Eusebius and Lucifer, and to the orthodox Eustathians at Antioch, to speak of τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις was practically Tritheism. The Meletians, on the other hand, regarded the Western use as tending to Sabellianism which, as they rightly saw, could only be combated by a term which would, while maintaining the unity of essence, emphasize the diversity of modes of subsistence. This the Latin *persona* did not do. The acute mind of Athanasius perceived that beneath the apparent opposition of those who asserted three hypostases and those who maintained one, there was a fundamental basis of unity. The Meletians on examination² proved that they did not mean by τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις three Gods or ἀρχαί. The opposing party shewed that for them *hypostasis* was equivalent to *usia*, and that they did not regard the Son as unsubstantial or the Holy Spirit as impersonal. Both agreed in asserting one *usia* and in anathematizing Sabellianism. The Synod therefore decided that each party should maintain its own use, recognizing the value of the Eastern meaning of ὑπόστασις as an ally against Sabellianism.³ The Meletians merely went rather more deeply into the mystery than the Eustathians. Both agreed in recognizing the οὐσία of the Trinity to be one, but the τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις implied further that the modes of subsistence of the οὐσία in the Persons were to be conceived as different.

Practical Matters. A. The Reception of the Arians.

This was the main problem before the Synod. The question how the Christians, who had compromised with Arianism, should be treated was of vital importance to the Church in general, and in particular to the Church at Antioch, the disputes of which largely determined the subjects now discussed at Alexandria. In this case again two parties appeared; to the Rigorists, or ultra-orthodox, it seemed, in the words of Rufinus 'fidei calore ferventibus nullum debere ultra in sacerdotium recipi qui se utcunque haereticae communionis contagione maculasset'. In other words, they would treat all the clergy who had compromised with Arianism, whether their apostasy was due to error or to necessity, in the same way as the Arian ringleaders. This would have been both unjust and impolitic. Unjust, because the degrees of guilt were

¹ Ep. 15.

² Tomus § 5.

³ Soz. v 12. Both Sozomen and Socrates are unsatisfactory on this point, especially the latter (iii 7), where the decision is quite misrepresented.

⁴ i 28.

unequal, varying from extremists like Aëtius to the almost orthodox Meletius; and impolitic because the golden opportunity for Christian reunion, which was now presented, would have been lost by allowing the self-righteousness of the uncompromised to prevail over Christian forgiveness. Rarely indeed has the parable of the Prodigal Son been applied with greater effect than by the Athanasians in the case of the compromised bishops.¹ When they returned in repentance to their Father they were to be received with joy, and even the ring and 'stola' were to be restored!

The terms agreed upon are best stated in a letter² which Athanasius wrote to Rufinianus, an Eastern bishop, about the Synod's decisions. It was agreed 'in the case of those who had fallen and been leaders of impiety, to pardon them upon their repentance, but not to give them any more the position of clergy: but in the case of men not deliberate in impiety, but drawn down by necessity and violence, that they should be pardoned and keep their rank as clergy, especially because they offered a plausible defence'. The minimum of belief demanded from them was to accept the Nicene symbol and to renounce Arian and Pneumatomachian heresies.

The fairness and generosity of these terms were due to the influence of Athanasius. In his hour of victory his quality of Christian charity was as eminent as his steadfast orthodoxy in defeat. Unlike those others who, having suffered for the Faith, could not, in triumph, forget their sufferings, who, having guarded the Faith so jealously in its eclipse, now guarded with equal jealousy the privileges of their faithfulness, Athanasius, in danger the most steadfast of them all, in victory shewed himself to be above those petty rancours and selfishnesses, a man filled with the spirit of his Master.

B. *The Schism at Antioch.*

The whole tenor of the discussion at the Synod depended on the practical difficulties which awaited solution at Antioch. We have seen (§ 1) that at the beginning of the year 362 there were three main parties in that city, the Arians, the most numerous, who held, under their Bishop Euzoius, the principal churches, the Meletians, who had seceded to the Palaea or old city, and the Eustathians, a small orthodox party who were permitted by the courtesy of the Arians to have the use of one church for their services. Valesius also states³ that Apollinarius had his own sect and a bishop of his faction there. This latter fact naturally gave rise to the discussion on the Human Nature of our Lord.

The varying uses of the Meletians and Eustathians made it essential to deal with the Hypostasis controversy. And of course the general

¹ Rufinus, i 28.

² lv.

³ *Ad Socr.* iii 6.

tendency towards reunion which was now manifest among the Arians everywhere, and especially at Antioch, called for the formulation of terms of peace.

We have seen¹ strong reasons for believing that the Synod was aware of the consecration of Paulinus by Lucifer. It is unquestionable that it decided in favour of reunion of the Eustathians and Meletians. Its decision was that the Meletians should rejoin the Eustathians under Paulinus, to whom unreserved support was given. The language of the Tomus on this point² is conclusive.

'As many then as desire peace with us [i. e. the Orthodox generally, and in particular the Eustathians] and specially those who are assembling in the Palaea . . . do ye call to yourselves and receive them as parents their sons, and welcome them as tutors and guardians, [this is addressed to the special commission for Antiochene affairs, Eusebius, Lucifer, Asterius, Cymatius, and Anatolius] and *unite them to our beloved Paulinus and his people*.' The terms of union were, as already indicated, Confession of the Nicene Faith, and anathematization of Arian and Pneumatomachian heresies. The Tomus continues (§ 4) 'We exhort you that concord be established with them on these terms, without namely any further demand upon yourselves on the part of those who assemble in the Palaea, or Paulinus and his party propounding anything else, or aught beyond the Nicene definition.'

Meletius, discredited by his heretical associations and still in exile, probably in Armenia, was thrown over. Athanasius was just as deeply committed to the support of the Eustathians as were the Rigorists. The difference between their policies on the matter lay in the fact that Athanasius desired to make the return of the Meletians as easy as possible, while Lucifer and Eusebius were more exclusive. But Meletius could not have been so neglected had the Synod realized the real state of feeling at Antioch, the comparative unimportance of the Eustathians, the numbers of the Meletians, and their deep esteem and loyalty for their bishop. It believed affairs to be as represented by the legates of Lucifer and Paulinus: namely, that the Meletians were willing and anxious to rejoin the orthodox party. Cf. *Tomus* § 4 'Since we rejoice in all those who desire reunion, and especially in those who are assembling in the Palaea'. Lucifer and Paulinus, in fact, in their eagerness for the triumph of their own party misled the Synod into thinking that an agreement was practically arranged. In the sequel we shall see how this conception prevented the decision of the Synod from becoming effective, and served only to perpetuate the schism.

It is impossible, therefore, to agree with Newman's view³ that the

¹ § 3.

² §§ 3 and 4.

³ *Studies in Arianism* v § 1 p. 353 sqq.

Synod recommended the Eustathians to recognize Meletius and to join in his communion 'whatever original intrusion there might be in the episcopal succession from which he received his orders, and whatever might have been his own previous errors of doctrine'; or with Robertson's¹ 'Clearly the right course was that they [the Eustathians] should reunite with the main body under Meletius, and this was what the Synod recommended, although, perhaps in deference to the more uncompromising spirits, the union *is treated as a return of the larger body to the smaller, instead of vice versa*'. The former would have been inconsistent with the previous commitments of Athanasius, and would have been an impossible rejection of the only Antiochene party which had stood firm; the latter would shew an insincerity unworthy of the Synod or its protagonist. The Synod did exactly what might have been expected from our study of the then prevailing conditions: it recognized the sect of Paulinus as the properly orthodox: it recommended the readmission of the Meletians on the easiest terms, thus by implication rejecting Meletius himself: and it welcomed to the orthodox Church repentant Arians.

C. B. ARMSTRONG.

¹ 'Athanasius', *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* vol. iv p. 481.

(*To be continued*)

PALLADIANA.

III

THE LAUSIAC HISTORY: QUESTIONS OF HISTORY.

THIS Note is concerned only with questions of the historical and literary criticism of the Lausiatic History. But Dr R. Reitzenstein's book *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca* has a much wider scope. His general subject of study is the History of Religions during the first Christian centuries, and for him the two books are only an incidental episode in the greater investigation. He possesses a knowledge, since the death of W. Bousset probably unique, of not only the highways, but even more the by-ways among the remains of the religious, philosophical, and literary movements and currents of the second, third, and fourth Christian centuries: gnosticism in its many ramifications; pagan cults and mystery-religions; late philosophies, as neo-platonism, neo-pythagorism, neo-stoicism; astrology, magic, medicine; and in particular the whole range of the literature of early monasticism—Reitzenstein moves about in it all with perfect freedom, and possesses it with a mastery that enables him to illustrate curiously and in unexpected ways, from all these other sources, the records of early Christian monachism. His theory is, that out of this welter of religious movements and strivings arose the Christian monastic system, and that its vocabulary, its ideas and ideals, and its inspiration were in large measure taken over from the systems out of which it originated.

Here we find ourselves in the region of the science called Comparative History of Religion, a region beyond my ken. I shall touch on these higher questions only incidentally, if at all, and shall confine myself primarily to what is for me *terra firma*, viz. the Lausiatic History itself, as it is affected by Reitzenstein's criticism.

As said already, his attitude towards the Lausiatic History is quite different from that of the radical criticism prevalent among the scholars of a generation ago, such as Weingarten and Lucius, as described in Part I of my *Lausiatic History of Palladius*. Reitzenstein holds that the Lausiatic History, as it stands, is manifestly the work of a single author, one of the circle of disciples of Evagrius. That he was Palladius of Helenopolis has, I trust, been established in the previous section. Though the book as we have it is, as a whole, by this author, Reitzenstein distinguishes in it two great sections, (a) roughly xxix to the end,

almost wholly the personal composition of the author, and (*b*) the first or Egyptian portion, made up out of earlier materials.

Reitzenstein's general thesis as to the genesis of all this literature was first formulated in the tract *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (1906). It may be summed up by saying that there existed a vast mass of little novelettes of the lives, mostly wondrous, and the sayings of famous men, of all sorts and conditions—philosophers, orators, generals, physicians; and in Christian circles, apostles, martyrs, monks—which constituted the popular literature of the time. These separate *βίοι* were soon brought together into collections according to subject-matter; and thus were formed various 'aretologia', or collections of anecdotes, wonders, and sayings of the various categories of heroes. Both types of remains of such early monastic literature are, according to Reitzenstein, to be found embedded in the Lausiatic History: the story of Sarapion Sindonita (xxxvii) is a good example of the separate novelette; the first, or Egyptian, half of the book had as its basis a collected 'aretologion' of the monks of the Nitrian and Scetic deserts.

Reitzenstein's method of investigation is as follows. His book ends with the dictum that on the history of the two words *γνωστικός* and *πνευματικός* depends in great measure the understanding of the evolution of Christianity in the earliest times (p. 241). Applying this test to the Lausiatic History he finds that the words *γνώσις*, *γνωστικός*, *πνεῦμα*, *πνευματικός* occur in the first four chapters, but not again until c. xxxii. This fact he looks on as representing such a difference in vocabulary and range of ideas as to prove an essential difference of origin. But in the later portion of the book the vocabulary and range of ideas are such as should be expected in a disciple of Evagrius; therefore the first portion is of a different nature, and is shewn to be earlier material utilized by the author.

In his very thorough study of the Lausiatic History, made in the light of Reitzenstein's speculations, the late W. Bousset accepts the main thesis as proven.¹ He goes carefully through the book with the object of determining what portions are the original composition of Palladius; and, in the parts considered to be made up out of earlier materials, what scraps are due to his editorial hand. Such an investigation is of its nature largely subjective; and while recognizing the acumen and possible validity of some part of Bousset's treatment, I have doubts as to the critical soundness of the method followed. Consequently, I propose to examine the problem from another standpoint.

There is a sort of borderland between the two portions of the book as delimited by Reitzenstein: he is uncertain about xxiv–xxviii, and begins the definitely Palladian¹ portion at xxix. But neither test word appears

¹ *Komposition und Character der Historia Lausiaca*, 'Göttinger Nachrichten', 1917.

until xxxii (on Pachomius), and concerning the three Pachomian chapters there are special considerations to be dealt with later on. Consequently, it is at xxxv (on John of Lycopolis, p. 100 of my edition), the most strongly personal chapter in the book, that what is confessedly and in the fullest sense the Palladian portion begins. I propose to institute a somewhat minute stylistic comparison between this portion of the book (xxxv to the end) and the earlier portion, with the object of discovering whether the thesis of different ultimate authorship is borne out by the evidence of general style. Palladius is an author to whom it is easy to apply this test, because he has very marked mannerisms and tricks of style.

One is the use of ἐλαύνειν with ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον or εἰς ἄκρον. I collect the cases that occur from p. 100 to the end of the book, prefixing one from the Prologue, which is undoubtedly the composition of Palladius :

12. 27 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν κουφοδοξίας
 128. 17 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀκτημοσύνης ἐλάσασα
 143. 8 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤλασεν ἀπαθείας
 153. 13 εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπαθείας ἤλασεν
 155. 9 εἰς τοσοῦτον μῖσος ἤλασεν
 162. 13 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐλπίδος ἤλασαν
 164. 26 εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλασε μετανοίας
 146. 14 εἰς ἄκρον παιδείας καὶ τρόπων ἤλασε
 150. 15 εἰς ἄκρον σεμνότητος ἐλάσασα
 157. 21 εἰς ἄκρον φιλοθείας ἐλάσαντες
 164. 24 εἰς ἄκρον μῖσος ἐλάσασα

εἰς ἄκρον occurs frequently without ἐλαύνειν

120. 13 καθαρεύσας εἰς ἄκρον τὸν νοῦν
 129. 2 σεμνοτάτῃ εἰς ἄκρον
 137. 2 γνωστικώτατος εἰς ἄκρον
 150. 24 ἐμψύχων εἰς ἄκρον ἀπέσχετο
 151. 11 εἰς ἄκρον ἀσκούμενοι

Similar expressions occur in the earlier portion of the book :

32. 17 εἰς ἄκρον φιλοθείας ἐλάσαντες
 35. 2 εἰς ἄκρον ἀσκήσας
 39. 14 εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλασε φόβον θεῶν
 67. 12 εἰς ἄκρον με χειμᾶζει
 77. 14 εἰς ἄκρον γενόμενος ἀσκητής
 79. 4 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤλασεν ὑπερηφανίας
 79. 23 εἰς ἄκρον ἐπέισθη τῇ πλάνῃ

Also :

28. 4 εἰς ἀπάθειαν ἐληλακότες
 52. 9 εἰς γῆρας ἤλασας

¹ I make no apology for thus assuming Palladius's authorship.

Another favourite word is *ὑπερβολή*. From p. 100 onwards it occurs :

123. 5 δι' ὑπερβολὴν ζήλου
 129. 17 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν κατατήξας τὸ σαρκίον
 130. 6 δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἐγκρατείας
 131. 4 ἀπλούστατος καθ' ὑπερβολὴν
 131. 16 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν γέγονεν ἄκακος καὶ ἀπλοῦς
 151. 17 ὑπερβολῇ ἀγαθώτατος
 153. 15 ὑπερβολῇ παρρησίας
 163. 19 ὑπερβολῇ εὐλαβείας

Before p. 100 it occurs :

17. 18 ὑπερβολῇ νυσταγμοῦ
 32. 20 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν φιλόλογος
 56. 9 πρᾶς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν
 58. 6 ὑπερβολῇ ἀσκήσεως
 69. 19 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄκακος καὶ ἀπλοῦς
 73. 9 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν δεινότητος
 78. 9 ὑπερβολῇ παρασκευῆς θεϊκῆς
 81. 12 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἦν λεπτὸς
 83. 15 ὑπερβολῇ ὑπερηφανίας

There is another frequently occurring expression.

From p. 100 onwards :

100. 15 κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος προρρήσεων
 120. 13 κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος γνώσεως
 124. 15 κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος ἰαμάτων
 126. 4 κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος γνώσεως φυσικῆς
 129. 19 κατηξιώθη τιμῆς χαρίσματος ἰαμάτων
 131. 17 χαρίσματος ἡξιώθη κατὰ δαιμόνων (al. κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος)
 143. 25 κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος κατὰ δαιμόνων

Before p. 100 :

35. 3 κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος ἰαμάτων
 35. 5 τοιούτου χαρίσματος καταξιωθεῖς (WTB; ἀξιωθεῖς P)
 39. 20 χαρίσματος ἡξιώθη (ὥς) καταπτύειν δαιμόνων
 62. 10 κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος κατὰ δαιμόνων
 73. 13 οὕτω ἡξιώθη χαρίσματος κατὰ κτλ.
 77. 14 κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος ὥστε κτλ.
 86. 12 κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος προρρήσεων

Not one of these expressions would be of significance by itself¹; but their constant repetition seems to mark them as quite definitely mannerisms or tricks of style characteristic of the author, and Bousset signalizes some of them as such (*op. cit.* p. 184, notes). It will be observed that they all run right through the book, there being no distinction in regard to their use in the earlier and later portions. This phenomenon, so far as it goes, is an argument against any difference of origin or nature of the first half as contrasted with the second. At the

¹ For instance, I notice in Sozomen vi 31, in a passage not based on *Hist. Laus.*, the phrase ὅσοι τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλύθασι.

least, it indicates that the first half, if made up out of earlier materials, was so completely rewritten by Palladius as to become in general style wholly indistinguishable from his own composition.

This impression is confirmed by a further examination of special points.

Reitzenstein pointed out the use of the word *δράμα*, somewhat like our colloquial 'show', as a sign of unity of authorship for the Dialogue and the Lausiatic History. I take it on his authority that it really is significant; but it must be equally significant of unity of authorship for the entire Lausiatic History, because it occurs in both parts, as follows:

23. 10; 42. 2 || 110. 8; 112. 9; 162. 6

The following turns of expression are noticeable in the second half:

112. 13 ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν ποτε εἰς πλοῖον

119. 8 βαλὼν πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ εἰς πλοῖον

134. 8 πάντα αὐτῆς ἐμβαλοῦσα εἰς πλοῖον

146. 20 ἐνέβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς πλοῖον

In the first half we find

65. 20 βαλὼν τὸν λελωβημένον εἰς πλοῖον (also 66. 4)

μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκώς

39. 14; 70. 6; 83. 9 (ὁμιλῶν) || 101. 10; 119. 13; 134. 5

The Evagrian term *ἀπάθεια*, *ἀπαθής*, runs through the whole book:

12. 3; 28. 4; 34. 12 || 116. 4; 117. 2; 143. 9; 153. 13

The formula

ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ

11. 7; 39. 9 || 133. 16; 156. 15

Certain more striking expressions occur once in the first half and once in the second: such are—

καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄκακος καὶ ἀπλοῦς

69. 19 || 131. 16

εἰς ἄκρον φιλοθείας ἐλάσαντες

32. 17 || 157. 21

κατατήξας αὐτοῦ τὸ σωματίον (σαρκίον)

60. 23 || 129. 17

κεκοσμημένος } ἔν τε ἦθει καὶ γνώσει
τετορνευμένος }

15. 8 || 114. 2

ὁ πόλεμος ὁ πορνικός 75. 14

ὁ τῆς πορνείας πόλεμος 133. 2

and in the same sense

ὁ πόλεμος 60. 14; 77. 9 || 167. 21

κυκλεύειν τὰ μοναστήρια 37. 4

κυκλεύειν ἀνὰ τὴν ἔρημον 134. 15

κυκλεύειν ἀνὰ τὰς κέλλας 145. 2

φιλόλογος ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ
 ἀνὴρ εὐλαβὴς καὶ φιλόλογος
 32. 20 || 148. 18

τρισμακαρία used as epithet of Melania, and of no one else

21. 10 || 134. 1

ὡς βλασφημοῦσα τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς

18. 19 || 161. 4

διαφοραὶ εἰσι δαιμόνων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ οὐσίας ἀλλὰ γνώμης 47. 7
 διαφοραὶ εἰσι φύσεων οὐκ οὐσιῶν 109. 9

ἐν συγγράμμασιν ἀνδρῶν ἐλλογίμων Ὀριγένους καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Πιερίου καὶ
 Στεφάνου διήλθε μυριάδας ἑξακοσίας 34. 6

πᾶν σύγγραμμα τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπονηματιστῶν διελθοῦσα· ἐν οἷς Ὀριγένους
 μυριάδας τριακοσίας, Γρηγορίου καὶ Στεφάνου καὶ Πιερίου καὶ Βασιλείου . . .
 μυριάδας εἰκοσιπέντε 149. 12

On these two passages it may be observed (1) that the omission of *στίχων* with *μυρίδες* is remarkable; (2) that the writer Stephanus is entirely unknown, being mentioned nowhere except in these places of Palladius. They are quite evidently the handiwork of one and the same writer.

The evidence just recited would, there is little doubt, in ordinary cases of literary criticism, be accepted as overwhelming proof of full unity of origin and authorship. We must now subject the first half of the work to an examination in respect to its contents, and in particular in respect to the personal notes that run through it.

Omitting the Proem (p. 3), which belongs to the B recension and so is almost certainly unauthentic, and the Dedicatory Letter (p. 6), probably authentic, we come to the lengthy Prologue (p. 9), which is certainly the composition of Palladius, and affords a means of studying his style and manner.

Of the History itself chapters i-iv are accepted by Reitzenstein and Bousset as being by Palladius, though with reserves. According to their theory, the earlier work or collection of Lives adopted by Palladius begins with v. They draw the line here, because the test word *γνώσις* occurs for the last time in iv, and not again until the second, or confessedly Palladian, part of the book. But to draw the line thus sharply at the spot where *γνώσις* ceases is too mechanical. For them the second part begins perhaps at xxiv (p. 77), certainly at xxix (p. 84). But there is no occurrence of *γνώσις* before p. 114. The next is on p. 120, then on p. 129; in the long chapter, xlvii (pp. 136-142), it occurs eight times; the last occurrence is on p. 152, and in the last eighteen pages it does not occur at all. Thus if xlvii be left out of count, the employment of *γνώσις* is slight and sporadic—much too slight to justify drawing a hard and fast line of division at p. 20.

If, now, we look at the chapters following iv, this is what we find: iv had been on Didymus the Blind, whom Palladius says he had seen, as no doubt had every one in Alexandria at the time, and it had concluded with two anecdotes which he says he had heard from him. v begins with another anecdote, similarly said to have been heard from Didymus. Further information follows, said to have been received from the elder Melania, certainly well known to Palladius, and in other places similarly mentioned as his informant concerning monks of the elder generation (pp. 29, 30, 57). It is noteworthy that she is called *ἡ τρισμακαρία Μελάνιον* here and also in the later portion of the book (134. 1), an epithet applied to no one else in the Lausiac History.¹

vi is an Alexandrian story which Palladius may have learned either by hearsay or by some writing. But there is an introductory paragraph of moralizing, altogether in Palladius's manner. Such passages should be compared: they are—

The Letter to Lausus;

The Prologue;

vi first paragraph (22. 3-23. 6);

xv last sentence (40. 8-11);

xxv last paragraph (80. 16-23);

xlvi (138. 2-142. 10);

lxxi concluding paragraph of book.

It will be found, I think, that there is a recognizable unity of thought and style and method in them all.

At the beginning of vi it is said that the story is told *εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἐγτυγχανόντων*. The same words occur in the piece just referred to from xxv (80. 17); cf. also 11. 22; 64. 16; 116. 8. The body of the story may very well have been reproduced from an apophthegma or written anecdote; but the first paragraph is surely stamped as Palladius's own. And in the story itself occur *δρᾶμα* and *χρόνον περιπεύσαντος*, both alleged by Reitzenstein as evidence of unity of authorship for the

¹ I take the opportunity of putting on record that I accept as certainly true Prof. Turner's contention, accepted also by Reitzenstein and Bousset, that the chapter hitherto entitled 'Silvania' or 'Silvia' (lv in my edition) in reality belongs to Melania the elder, and gives additional and highly interesting information about this very remarkable fourth-century figure (*J. T. S.*, 1905, April, p. 353). As to the date of the journey that Palladius and Melania made from Aelia to Pelusium, what Prof. Turner proposes is quite plausible. But, if it be not necessary to stress strongly the 'sixty years' (149. 6), and it were permissible to identify the journey with Palladius's first journey to Egypt, in 388, it would be a more satisfactory solution. On any showing Palladius wrote twenty years after the event; it is not to be supposed he had shorthand notes of what was said; so that he may easily have written 'sixty', instead of 'forty', especially under the influence of the 'sixty years' at 146. 20.

Dialogue and Lausiaca History, and therefore characteristic of the author; also the curious τῶν ποδῶν σου without ἐφάπτομαι, which occurs again in xiv (38. 18).

vii is a description of the monastic settlement of Nitria. Into it are interwoven some of the data that help to fix the chronology of Palladius's life, which we learned in the previous article to treat as worthy of respect. It opens: 'After spending three years in Alexandria I went to Nitria'; the journey is sketched, and the situation; then 'After a year there I went into the innermost desert (Cellia)'. He says he saw in Nitria certain monks who had been acquainted with Anthony and Pachomius, some of whom are known to have been there at the time. The description of the monks of Nitria is by far the most circumstantial and realistic that we possess, and is quite evidently the handiwork of an eyewitness. Why not allow that the eyewitness was Palladius, who, as is recognized on all hands, did live for a number of years in Nitria and its neighbourhood? I cannot imagine what reasons prompted Bousset to pronounce this to be an earlier document incorporated by Palladius. For me it is one of the most certainly Palladian pieces in the book. Consequently, if a dividing line has to be drawn to mark where Palladius began to use an earlier collection of Lives, it should not be at v, but at viii.

viii, on Amoun, the first monk of Nitria, who died before 350, claims to be based on information given to Palladius by one of the elder Nitrian monks; but it may very conceivably be based on some written record of the kind postulated by Reitzenstein. Variations of the story are to be found in *Historia Monachorum* and Socrates.

ix and the first half of x are part of the sections said to be derived from Melania, a claim to which no reasonable objection can be raised. The latter part of x is said to be derived from Ammonius the Tall, to whom is devoted xi. In this chapter Palladius does not say he had personally known him; but elsewhere he does. And why not? During the years he lived in Nitria and its neighbourhood Ammonius and the other Tall Brothers were among the most prominent monks of Nitria; it is certain that Palladius must have known them.

xii is told as a personal experience of Palladius, in company with Dioscorus, one of these Tall Brothers, and Evagrius, his master and friend.

xiii and xiv are stories of which the source is not indicated; they might be from earlier documents, or from hearsay. Palladius claims to have met the hero of xv, but not the hero of xvi, 'because he had died fifteen years before my coming'.

xvii and xviii are on the two famous Macarii. Palladius says: 'I did not meet Macarius of Egypt, for he died a year before my entry into the

desert; but Macarius of Alexandria I did meet, for he survived⁴ for three years of my nine years' sojourn in Cellia. And some things I saw, some I heard from him, and some I learned from others' (p. 47).

xix and xx have no indication of origin. xxi professes to be a story heard from one Kronios; also xxii, the well-known story of Paul the Simple, of which variations exist. The first half of xxiii is perhaps the most curiously personal passage in the book, and it is wellnigh impossible to imagine it as an invention inserted in other material at haphazard, just to impart an air of personal narrative. The rest, which seems extraordinary and even grotesque, purports to be Pachon's relation of his own experiences.

Concerning the section xxiv-xxviii Reitzenstein and Bousset are undecided whether it is to be assigned to Palladius as his own composition, or is made up of earlier materials worked over by him. There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt that it is his own composition. It covers pp. 77 to 83, and the foregoing tables shew that these pages supply their fair proportion of the turns of expression characteristic of Palladius.

The case for xxiv is peculiarly strong. It would be difficult to find a more characteristically Palladian sentence than the opening one: *οὗτος εἰς ἄκρον γινόμενος ἀσκητῆς καὶ διακριτικὸς κατηξιώθη χάρισματος ὥστε κτλ.* *Διακριτικός* occurs 34. 11, and *χάρισμα διακρίσεως πνευμάτων* 120. 14, both of Evagrius. This Stephen had known St Anthony and had survived until Palladius's time, but he had never met him 'owing to the distance of the place'; he heard, however, from Ammonius and Evagrius the report of a visit they paid to him. The chapter closes with the apology: *ταῦτα διηγῆσαμεν ἵνα μὴ ξενίζώμεθα ὅταν ἁγίους τινὰς ἴδωμεν τοιούτοις περιπεσόντας πάθειν.* An almost identical apology had occurred concerning the sufferings of Benjamine in xii: *ἀναγκαίως ἐξηγησάμην τὸ πάθος τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ξενίζώμεθα ὅταν τι περιστατικὸν ἀνδράσι δίκαιοις συμβαίῃ* (36. 7).

The next four chapters relate the stories of certain monks who had fallen away. Palladius vouches for three of these cases from personal knowledge, and introduces, as in many other places, his friends Macarius, Evagrius, and one Albanus, mentioned also at 137. 9, and perhaps at 101. 5, as one of the companions of Evagrius. These chapters all appear to me as truly Palladian as any in the book.

With xxix begins the portion recognized by Reitzenstein and Bousset as being certainly in the full sense the original composition of Palladius. I do not perceive the special reasons for this favourable verdict in behalf of xxix, xxx, xxxi (84-87). They are almost wholly void of the various expressions cited already as characteristic of Palladius, and neither *γνώσις* nor *πνευματικός* occurs in them: not that I desire to question the correctness of the judgement in their case.

The three chapters on Tabennisi and the Pachomian monks and nuns (xxxii-xxxiv), though passed as Palladian by Reitzenstein, will call for further treatment presently. And this brings us to chapter xxxv (p. 100), on John of Lycopolis, which has been taken above as the beginning of the portion of the book admitted by common consent as uncontrovertibly the original composition of Palladius.

I cannot but think that the series of personal notes just recited makes a favourable impression. They are simple, straightforward, natural: they suggest a genuine record. There does not seem to be any intrinsic ground for doubt when Palladius says he saw such and such monks, and did not see such and such others, but heard about them from such and such persons. Bousset's verdict that in this first part 'he polished up an earlier document with a varnish of personal reminiscences, and so made an interesting travel-novel' (*op. cit.* p. 190), is certainly not what is suggested by the book itself, but is imposed by a theory. Touches of personal reminiscence run through the second part of the book, just the same in kind and in number as in the first. This uniformity in the personal element constitutes an argument for homogeneity strongly confirmatory of that derived from general stylistic and linguistic considerations.

The theory of Reitzenstein and Bousset postulates, of course, that in the first portion, not only the definite personal notes, but also the allusions to Palladius's circle of friends, to Melania, Evagrius, Ammonius, Dioscorus, and, furthermore, the parallelisms between striking expressions in the two parts of the book, and the idioms characteristic of Palladius, have all been worked into the supposed earlier document by Palladius himself. Indeed Bousset formulates it as a definite critical canon, that 'where striking contacts are found in the different parts of the book, the hand of the Redactor has been busy' (*op. cit.* p. 176). But there are limits to the burden that a redaction-theory will bear; and an examination of the whole text shews, I believe, that these manifold traces of Palladius are so all-pervading, so woven into the very stuff of the narration, that the idea of their being but redactional additions must be set aside as beyond the limit of what is reasonable. Nor can I think that any one who reads the whole book through, will, on passing from the first portion to the second, be aware of any change in regard of matter, or of style and idiom, or of atmosphere.

Though it may seem that the case has been sufficiently laboured, still it is due to the authority and reputation of Drs Reitzenstein and Bousset, that the reasons be considered which led them to the opposite conclusion. These reasons may be quite simply stated:

(1) the words *γνώσις*, *γνωστικός*, after occurring half a dozen times up to p. 20, do not occur again until p. 114, and then sixteen times to the end of the book;

(2) πνευματικός occurs on p. 16, and not again till p. 91, and then seven times to the end;

(3) σωφροσύνη, σόφρων occur on pp. 56 and 84, but from p. 128 to the end eleven times.

These facts, reinforced by subsidiary points, are held to constitute a difference in vocabulary, and in mentality, enough to prove that the section of the book from p. 21 to p. 77 (or 84) is essentially different in origin from the rest, which is properly Palladius's composition.

We must test the facts.

I cannot think that the significance attached to πνευματικός is justified in the Lausiac History. πνευματικός (*spiritualis*) has been at all times a common word in Christian language, and need mean no more than 'spiritual'. Its employment is not frequent (only eight or nine times in all), and in few instances does it seem to bear the technical sense so strongly emphasized by Reitzenstein. Had he worked on one of the old editions, as Migne's, he would have found πνευματικός perpetually throughout; for it is part of the literary padding of B, the metaphrastic recension. Merely skimming through the text in Migne *P. G.* xxxiv, I noted the following occurrences of πνευματικός in places where it does not occur in my text: 1017 A, 1059 A D, 1091 A, 1092 B D, 1097 A in first half; and in second 1186 B, 1194 B, 1195 A, 1244 D, 1249 D. The Metaphrast who made B lived not more than half a century after Palladius; from the manner in which he inserted πνευματικός into Palladius's text it is clear that he did not attach any special significance to it, but regarded it as on a par with the other epithets, θαυμαστός, ἀθάνατος, μέγας, and the rest, that he interspersed so light-heartedly.

The argument based on γνώσις, γνωστικός has more weight. These words had a long history: one thinks of the New Testament, of Barnabas, Clement of Alexandria, and the Gnostic movement in its many phases. Reitzenstein seems to believe that, as used in the Lausiac History, it preserves traces of its gnostic sense. But a number of the instances may be ruled out, as certainly not bearing this sense, but meaning only 'knowledge' in general. Such are:

145. 16 γνώσις τῆς οἰκείας ἀσθενείας

149. 17 ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως ἐλευθερωθεῖσα

151. 9 γνώσιν εἵληφα τῶν ἐκεῖ μοναστηρίων

There are two such instances in the Letter (p. 7. 6 and 21).

Eighteen instances remain: of these five are in the first few pages and eight are in the single chapter xlvii. Thus, apart from this chapter, there are in the rest of the second part of the book (p. 100 to the end) only three possibly significant occurrences of γνώσις (114. 2, 120. 14, 129. 14) and two of γνωστικός (136. 3, 152. 1). Five occurrences

in sixty-three pages (100-136, xlvii 142-169) is a distribution too exiguous to afford foundation for Reitzenstein's theory of the dual origin of the Lausiatic History, or outweigh the strong body of evidence already adduced in favour of its unity.

It may be thought that this vindication of the unity of the Lausiatic History, as through and through the composition of Palladius, has been worked out with undue elaboration and insistence. But this has not been done without a purpose. Reitzenstein's dictum, that the words *γνωστικός* and *πνευματικός* supply in great measure the key to the understanding of the development of early Christianity (*op. cit.* p. 241) is original and striking, and his authority is great; and various German reviewers of his book have cited the words as pointing the way to new and fruitful methods of investigation. But the truth of the dictum can be appraised only by its being tested in single cases. When tested in the case of Lausiatic History it is found wanting, because it has led its author astray.

Needless to say there are numerous questions raised in Reitzenstein's volume which it would be of interest to pursue. In particular would I like to examine the section dealing with the first four chapters of the Lausiatic History, and offering reconstructions of an hypothetical earlier document lying behind them. Some of the certainties—the 'ohne weiteres klar', 'ganz sicher', 'kein Zweifel', 'Sicherheit'—of p. 157 challenge reconsideration, and it would, I believe, be instructive to arraign them before the bar of Cassian. But this could not be done within the space here available. I therefore pass on to a point of special interest in Bousset's article.

It is to be clearly understood that what has been controverted by me is the thesis that the section of the Lausiatic History v-xxiii (or xxviii) is an earlier document containing a collection of Lives of monks, just taken over by Palladius, and 'polished up with a varnish of personal notes', in order to give it the semblance of a story of the author's travels and experiences. It is not here questioned that individual chapters in this part of the work, or in the later part, may be based on earlier separate lives or apophthegmata. The chapters on Amoun of Nitria (viii) and on Paul the Simple (xxii) have been mentioned as very probably cases in point; and the same may be suspected in other cases of monks of the earlier generation, concerning whom Palladius says his knowledge was by hearsay: whether he learned these stories from an old monk or from a written apophthegma is quite immaterial.

Now if there be any part of the book that is likely to have an earlier document behind it, it is the Pachomian section, xxxii-xxxiv, containing as it does a full *résumé* of the Rule and an account of the system of Tabennesiot monasteries, and of the manner of life led in them. Such

a document Palladius might very well have found when visiting the Tabennesiot monastery at Panopolis, probably on the way back from his exile at Syene. Now Bousset points out that if in the account of the monasteries (p. 93. 7-96. 5) the personal passages of Palladius's own experiences be removed, what remains is better in grammar and construction, and is a more consistent description (*op. cit.* p. 191). It is therefore curious to observe that there exists an authority for the text in which precisely the passages cut out by Bousset do not stand, viz. the Syriac version found in Anan Isho's 'Paradise'.¹ The crucial portion of the Greek is here reproduced, the words omitted in the Syriac being enclosed in []:

"Εστιν οὖν [ταῦτα τὰ] μοναστήρια πλείονα κρατήσαντα τοῦτον τὸν τύπον, συντείνοντα εἰς ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας. ἔστι δὲ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μέγα μοναστήριον ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ Παχώμιος ᾤκει, [τὸ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀποκνήσαν μοναστήρια] ἔχον ἄνδρας χιλίους τριακοσίους. [ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ καλὸς Ἀφθόνιος ὁ φίλος μου γενόμενος γνήσιος, τὸ νῦν δευτερεύων ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ· ὃν ὡς ἀσκανδάλιστον ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ διαπωλῆσαι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα, συνωνήσασθαι δὲ τὰς χρεῖας.] ἔστι δὲ ἄλλα μοναστήρια ἀπὸ διακοσίων καὶ τριακοσίων· [ἐν οἷς καὶ εἰς Πανὸς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθὼν εὗρον ἄνδρας τριακοσίους. τὴν τοῦτῃ τῷ μοναστηρίῳ εὗρακα ῥάπτας δεκάπεντε, χαλκεῖς ἑπτὰ, τέκοντας τέσσερας, καμηλαρίους δώδεκα, κναφεῖς δεκάπεντε.] ἐργάζονται δὲ πᾶσαν τέχνην, καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιττευμάτων οἰκονομοῦντες καὶ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν μοναστήρια [καὶ φυλακάς.] [τρέφουσι δὲ καὶ χοίρους· ἐμοῦ δὲ ψέγοντος τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἔλεγον . . . παροικεῖ (95. 5).] ἀναστάντες δὲ οἱ ἐφημερευταὶ ὀρθριοὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ μαγειρεῖον οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς τραπέζας γίνονται [ἴστωσιν οὖν αὐτοὺς μέχρι τρίτης ὥρας ἀπαρτίσαντες] ἐπιθέντες κατὰ τράπεζαν ἄρτους . . . τυροὺς βοῶν [τὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἄκρα] κτλ.

The origin and character of the Pachomian section in Anan Isho's 'Paradise' is unknown. From what is said on pp. lxxix and 205 of my edition it will be seen that the redaction of the Lausiatic History in book i of Anan Isho is a conglomerate made up from various sources. The Syriac of the Pachomian section is not known to exist outside of its place in the 'Paradise', and there is no reason for assuming it to belong to either of the standard Syriac versions of the Lausiatic History. It may very well have been a separate fragment, Syriac or Greek, picked up by Anan Isho, and so may preserve an earlier Pachomian document utilized by Palladius.

What is more curious still is that a Greek text of this section exists closely, though not completely, akin to that represented by the Syriac. Any one who follows the text of this section through my apparatus will find that the sigla s^{an} and 33-47 go very consistently together. s^{an} is Anan Isho's Syriac; and 33 and 47 are two Greek MSS, not giving the

¹ In Syriac it is in Bedjan's ed., p. 112; in English it is in Budge's *Paradise of the Fathers*, i. 144.

Lausiatic History as a whole, but collections of oddments of pieces, of most miscellaneous textual character, from *Historia Lausiaca*, *Historia Monachorum*, and *Apophthegmata* (see description of 47 at p. xxi, and of 33 at p. lxxiv of my Introduction). The nature of these two collections makes it here again quite possible that the Pachomian section may have been, not an excerpt from the Lausiatic History, but an actual Greek text utilized by Palladius.

The pieces marked in the above extract as omitted in *s^{an}* are omitted also in 33-47, except that at the point marked with a + they have ἐν τούτοις ἑώρακα ῥάπτας τέκτονας καμηλαρίους κναφεῖς.¹ We are here in the presence of a difficult textual problem. These words are one of the series of definite personal touches—ἑώρακα—which are all absent from *s^{an}*. How are we to account for the presence of this one alone in 33-47? Our perplexity is increased by an examination of the whole series of readings of *s^{an}* and 33-47.² It seems impossible to propose any theory that will account at once for their agreements and their divergences. There is no doubt that the agreements are the dominant fact, and they shew a close relationship between the Greek that underlay *s^{an}* and 33-47, however the coincidences of the latter with the text of the Lausiatic History may be accounted for.³

Let it be assumed that this Greek represents an earlier Pachomian document: What are its bearings on the discussion of the theory of Reitzenstein and Bousset? Have we not here its verification—an earlier document into which Palladius introduced personal reminiscences, the very thing they say he did throughout the first half of the book?

But what he does in this case, where, *ex hypothesi*, his method of dealing with earlier documents may be tested, is something quite different from what Reitzenstein and Bousset suppose him to have done. The personal touches are not fictitious but genuine experiences. In regard to Aphthonius, the passage from the *Vita Pachonii* given under my text shews that specially trustworthy monks of Tabennisi used to be sent to Alexandria for the purposes named by Palladius; Bousset does not doubt that Palladius had met Aphthonius at Alexandria on such occasions. Nor is there reason for doubting that Palladius did

¹ 33-47 also have the sentence beginning ἴστωσιν.

² It is to be remembered that though the full collation of 33 and 47 is given in xxxii, only select more important variants are recorded in xxxiii, xxxiv.

³ If we have here really an earlier Greek document used by Palladius as the groundwork of his narrative, it becomes certain that the three pieces on pp. 94, 95 of my edition placed in [] are genuine personal reminiscences, and belong to the text of the Lausiatic History. Their absence from PT and other authorities for the text of the Lausiatic History is to be attributed to the fact that the keeping of swine and the eating of their flesh, even by the old and the infirm, became offensive to later Greek ideas of monastic propriety.

visit the Tabennesiot monastery known from the *Vita* to have been at Panopolis; he would have passed it on the way to or from Syene.

Moreover it is seen that, if we here have an earlier document of the kind postulated, Palladius by no means rewrote it freely. On the contrary, he reproduced it practically as it stood. Apart from the personal additions bracketed in the extract above, the differences between his text and that of 33-47 are infrequent and trivial.¹ Of the turns of expression we have learned to recognize as his pet idioms, not one is to be found in xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv.²

Thus, even if we are in the presence of an earlier document, it affords, not confirmation, but yet another refutation of the theory devised by Reitzenstein and Bousset.

In conclusion, a word must be said on the *Historia Monachorum*. This work, kindred to the Lausiac History, exists in Latin and Greek (and Syriac, but this is a translation of the Greek). The Latin is confessed on all hands to be the work of Rufinus. The question has been debated, as between the Latin and the Greek, which is the original and which the translation. By Dr Preuschen the priority of the Latin was defended, by myself that of the Greek; and this latter view has come to be commonly accepted. Reitzenstein now intervenes with a new theory: that Rufinus's Latin is a translation indeed from Greek, not, however, from our extant Greek, but from an earlier (lost) collection of Greek Lives, an 'aretologion', such as he postulates in the case of the first half of Palladius: this work is the one named by Sozomen (vi 29) as his source and as being by Timotheus, bishop of Alexandria (d. 385): and the extant Greek work is a translation of Rufinus's Latin.

For the first two-thirds of the book, after the first chapter, the two texts run closely parallel, and it is a mere case of translation on the one side or the other. But the closing portion is greatly different, being longer in the Latin than in the Greek; and here Sozomen's affinity is clearly with the Latin. Various hypotheses have been devised to account for the textual phenomena, none of them wholly satisfactory. Reitzenstein's is in some respects a new hypothesis. It involves the position that the Greek, edited by Preuschen in his work *Palladius und Rufinus*, was translated from Rufinus's Latin. As has been said, I had maintained the contrary view; and Reitzenstein's treatment of the subject in his second chapter is necessarily in large measure a criticism of my proofs and method of investigation. Our methods are, indeed,

¹ The piece ll. 13-16 p. 97, entered in the apparatus as wanting in s^{ab}, is in Budge; his copy is a better text than Bedjan's.

² At the very beginning we notice *ὡς καταξιωθῆναι προρρήσεων καὶ ὁπτασιῶν* (omitted in s^{ab}, but in 33-47) and *εἰς ἄγαν ἐγένετο φιλόανθρωπος*, instead of *εἰς ἄκρον*.

diametrically opposite. He selects from the later portion of the book a piece, the story of Paul the Simple, wherein the difference between the Latin and the Greek is at its maximum, so great that there is hardly question of translation at all: and he argues for, and shews, the literary and general superiority of the Latin over the Greek—which I would say is in great measure due to Rufinus's literary sense and free ideas in regard to translation and reproduction. I, on the other hand, selected a long chapter, that on Apollos or Apollonius, wherein the two texts are most closely parallel, so that it is indubitably a case of translation throughout; and I instituted a minute comparison, signaling some thirty indications, of very varying cogency, all pointing in the direction of the priority of the Greek. I should have thought that my method would appeal to a philologist. I will here repeat only one of the passages adduced:

Πολλάκις καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς
τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι

Δει ἐρχομένους
τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς προσκυνεῖν.
οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεὸν προσε-
κύνησας. εἶδες γάρ, φησί, τὸν
ἀδελφόν σου, εἶδες κύριον τὸν Θεόν
σου.
καὶ τοῦτο, φησί, παρὰ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ
παρειλήφαιεν.

Multa de hospitalitatis studio
disserebat, et praecepiebat attentius
ut adventantes fratres quasi Domini
suscipiamus adventum. nam et
adorari fratres adventantes pro-
pterea, inquit, traditio habetur, ut
certum sit in adventu eorum ad-
ventum Domini Iesu haberi, qui
dicit: 'Hospes fui et suscepistis
me.' sic enim et Abraham suscepit
eos qui homines quidem vide-
bantur, Dominus autem in eis
intelligebatur.

On this I commented: It will be seen at a glance that the beauty of the Greek is wholly gone in the Latin. The Greek owes its superiority very much to the striking quotation εἶδες γάρ κτλ.; this is an Agraphon cited twice by Clement of Alexandria in the same words, and also by Tertullian (Resch, *Agrapha*, 296). Rufinus did not recognize the citation, and so paraphrased it, substituting a biblical text for the apocryphal saying. It will hardly be suggested that a Greek translator or copyist inserted the Agraphon—indeed, although it has disappeared, its echo is still plainly discernible in the Latin.

This instance has been commonly accepted (and I am able to say, was accepted by my friend Dr Preuschen himself) as being in itself practically decisive in favour of the priority of the Greek. And so, when I found Reitzenstein discussing this chapter on Apollos, I began to feel excited as to how he would deal with this piece of evidence. Great was my disappointment on finding that he passed it over without mention.

Here I will ask the historians of Greek or Latin literature not to take

Reitzenstein's verdict unexamined, but to withhold their judgement until they have studied my presentation of the case in *Lausiac History* Part I, §§ 3 and 8, and Appendices I and II ; and also that of Dr Carl Schmidt in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1899. In this article, which is an important contribution to the study of Egyptian monachism, he made an independent study of the question, and concluded that, where the texts run parallel, the Greek edited by Dr Preuschen is the original and the Latin the translation.¹

This article is entitled 'Questions of History'. My readers may be disposed to think its title ought rather to have been 'Questions of Literary Criticism'. But in truth it is a question of history that is at issue, viz. the character of Palladius as an historian, and the place his book should hold among the sources for the history of Monachism. Dr Reitzenstein's treatment of the problems involved has brought it about that the determination of this question is mainly a matter of literary criticism.

I trust I do not unduly flatter myself in hoping that the outcome of this series of 'Palladiana' will be to satisfy scholars and historians that there is no reason for revising or reversing the favourable estimate of Palladius and his work formed by the common consent of critics sixteen or twenty years ago, in their notices of Dr Preuschen's *Palladius und Rufinus* and my own *Lausiac History of Palladius*. Of these it will suffice to cite, as a sample, the verdict expressed by Dr Carl Schmidt in the aforesaid article: 'The high historical value of both sources is proved beyond all doubt.'

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

¹ At p. 13, l. 15, of this article there is an unfortunate misprint, which is calculated to throw the whole passage into confusion. The words 'erste' and 'zweite' should be transposed. As they stand, Preuschen's position and mine are inverted.

THE DIDACHE RECONSIDERED.

In the Preface to his *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache*,¹ the Dean of Wells writes that 'The ultimate aim of these Lectures is to reach a point of view from which the literary character and the historical value of the Didache, or Teaching of the Apostles, can be justly estimated'. He had already essayed the same task in this JOURNAL for April 1912. But inasmuch as he then held the theory of an original Jewish 'Two Ways', he did not attempt to apply the principle which is now 'the master light of all his seeing' to the whole of our *Didache*, but only to its second part, that dealing with the ordering of Church life. Here, however, he is quite thoroughgoing in his theory of literary fiction, according to which 'the Didachist'—to use his own artificial title for so artificial a person as he imagines—'was endeavouring to present a picture of the way in which the Gentile Churches were ordered by their Apostolic founders', and to that end 'sought to confine himself, so far as he could, to such precepts and regulations as could be authenticated, directly or indirectly, by writings of the Apostolic age'.

The Didache, then, is an antiquarian mosaic, most elaborately and artificially constructed, with a deliberate purpose of fictitious verisimilitude or *camouflage*, yet in such a way as to convey an impression of primitive simplicity, in spirit as well as in content, which has led astray modern scholars of all schools, as it did those among whom the forgery was first launched. 'His object may have been to recall the Church of his own day [which Dr Robinson now rather inclines to bring down later than Origen, instead of c. A. D. 160, as when he wrote in 1912] to a greater simplicity by presenting this picture of the primitive Christian Society' (p. 83).

In pursuance of his newly reached conviction that there never was 'a Jewish manual' setting forth the 'Two Ways', as Dr C. Taylor had induced him and others to believe, Dr Robinson proceeds to adduce proofs that 'the moral instruction', like the ecclesiastical ordinances, was not what had come to the compiler of the Didache as actual Apostolic tradition, either orally preserved or in a written 'Two Ways' such as he incorporates in his work. It was simply what 'the Apostles might reasonably be supposed to have sanctioned for their Gentile converts' (p. v). The sources from which he derived his materials for such an ideal representation were 'the "Two Ways" of the Epistle of Barnabas'—their original form, albeit 'an incongruous medley' (p. 72),

¹ *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache* being the Donnellan Lectures delivered before the University of Dublin in 1920 by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D. S.P.C.K., 1920.

to which the Didachist imparted 'an improved arrangement'—along with 'matter taken from the Sermon on the Mount, from Hermas, and from other writers' (p. 80). Such is the thesis which the present lectures are meant to prove, with the support of the analogy as to the Didachist's characteristic method which an earlier essay on the second part of the Didache (here reprinted as an Appendix) is claimed to furnish. The results of the two investigations are summarized in the Epilogue to the present work.

Before dealing with the fresh argument, we must take some space to challenge the cogency of those parts of the Appendix which most concern the thesis as a whole, a thesis which places the composition of the Didache completely outside the first century and denies to it all real relevance to historical conditions in the Apostolic and early sub-Apostolic ages. First, then, it is alleged that the Didachist 'betrays himself here and there . . . by attributing to the Apostolic age practices which undoubtedly belong to a later period'. If the Dean includes in these the use in Did. vii of the three-fold Name, found at the end of Matthew, as an actual baptismal formula, the present reviewer is not concerned to deny that such was a post-Apostolic practice; yet it may well have arisen, in circles where Matthew's Gospel was current, as early as c. 80-100, the date to which Lightfoot was content to refer our Didache. But as regards the casuistry of the forms of baptism which follow in vii 2-4, with the probable exception of the reference to fasting on the part of the baptizand and others (which leads on to the next section), the secondary character of this section is manifest even in the wording, addressed as it is to a single minister, whereas Church actions elsewhere have a plural address to the community as a body. And this is only one clear case of a tendency to supplemental addition to which such bodies of rules are most liable, and of which there are probably other instances not only in Part ii but also in Part i of our Didache, notably i 3^b-ii 1.¹ Further, there is no reason why the end of Matthew's Gospel may not have contributed, as Dr Robinson argues, to the title of our Didache, 'Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations' (not necessarily to the original form of vii 1, which probably read 'into the name of the Lord', as in ix 5), and even to

¹ Probably also vi 2 f and the last sentence in v, 'May ye be delivered, children, from these one and all' (*ἀπάντων*), where the plural address, not elsewhere in the 'Two Ways' (iv 11 being no real exception), comes badly just before the 'See thou lest any one cause thee to stray from this way of (the) Teaching'. As regards Part ii, 'through Jesus Christ' (absent from the Ps-Athanasian *De Virginitate* xiii and *Ap. Const.* vii), and probably also 'and the power' (not in *Ap. Const.*, and reversing the order of the *δύναμις* and *δόξα* in viii 2), may be cited as an insertion in ix 4. Those which may be suspected (like i 3^b-ii 1 in Part i) of being parts of an early revision or fresh edition are referred to below.

some sections in Part ii as it now stands. But it is another matter to say that when the Didache refers to 'the Gospel' as the sanction for this or that precept (viii 2, xi 3, xv 3 f), it refers to any written Gospel at all. Still more doubtful, in spite of the Dean's ingenious combinations—the very ingenuity of which tells somewhat against their probability as *verae causae*—is the use of the Fourth Gospel inferred from the Eucharistic sections (ix–x). There the use of κλάσμα is perfectly natural as arising directly from κλῆν ἄρτον (xiv 1, cf. Acts ii 46, and κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου, Acts ii 42); while few of those familiar with Jewish modes of thought will feel it needful to resort to that Gospel because verbal parallels can be found in it to the Eucharistic prayers. The shades of meaning in the use of words are what really count most, and they are always *more Hebraic* in the Didache than in the Johannine Gospel (e. g. in 'the holy Vine of David' = the Messianic Kingdom, as compared with 'I am the true Vine', John xv 1)—a fact which tells against the Didache being the later in date, as alleged by Dr Robinson. In fact one may apply to his theory of artificial compilation¹ here the phrase which he himself applies to one of the prayers in question: it is 'a literary *tour de force*'. They are far too natural and religiously impressive to have had the origin suggested, rather than have grown up in the same atmosphere as that of Acts ii–iv, in connexion with the semi-domestic sort of Eucharistic meals² described in Acts ii 42, 46. Finally, to suggest that the 'remarkable group of ejaculations' in Did. x 6, including even the Ἀμήν at the end of the whole Eucharistic series, is made up eclectically out of scattered expressions in 1 Cor. and a phrase in Matt. xxi 9, modified in the light of xxii 45 (though, even so, we hardly get τῷ θεῷ Δαβίδ), seems only to shew the dangers of 'vigour and rigour' in the carrying out of a line of thought, uncontrolled by sufficient use of the historic imagination.

Much the same 'over-subtle' adducing of verbal parallels without explaining the element of diversity, or other independent features associated with them in the Didache, marks the attempt to explain

¹ Here, as elsewhere, we have in fact to recognize cases of that over-subtlety which our critic himself anticipates (p. 103) as likely to be found in some of his points. Such are the denial of any historical significance to the type of Eucharist depicted so vividly in chh. ix–x, on the score of the parallelism of μετὰ τὸ ἐμπληθῆναι with the ἐνεπλήσθησαν (instead of ἐχορτάσθησαν) of the Johannine story of the Feeding of the Multitude; and again of the order, Cup *before* Bread, in the Didache and in Paul's allusion to the Eucharist in 1 Cor. x 16 f, although in the latter's *more explicit* account in the next chapter he has the usual order! Further, the sense of τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου is by no means clearly the same as that of the phrase in 1 John iv 18.

² So to depict the primitive Eucharist after A.D. 150 would only shock sentiment and frustrate the Didachist's assumed aim.

away, as tags from Pauline Epistles, the Didache's witness to the charismatic ministries of Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers. 'But *suffer* the *Prophets* to give thanks *as much as they will*' has nothing that is characteristic in common with 'Else if thou (any Christian) bless in Spirit, how shall he that filleth the place of the ordinary person (*ιδιώτου*) say the Amen at thy thanksgiving?' And so on, through most of the series of supposed borrowings, up to what is perhaps the climax of the incredibilities created by a too verbal method, viz. the explanation of the maxim 'for they (the prophets) are your high-priests' by reference to John xi 51: 'being high-priest that year, he (Caiaaphas) prophesied (in the sense of 'predicted') that Jesus should die for the nation'.

Having thus eliminated the Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers of the Didache from serious consideration as historical entities (though they seem implied in *Hermas* at an earlier date than is here assigned to the Didache, and in much the same sense), Dr Robinson has still to 'ask what notable features remain unexplained, and incapable of explanation, on the principle of deduction from Apostolic writings'. Under this head he allows that 'the recognition of the professional Prophet may be regarded as' a positive feature 'characteristic of the writer's situation'. But surely the concrete references to such prophets in Did. xi 9, 11. 12 at least, must be taken as also from the life; and this seems to carry us half-way back towards taking the whole section at its face value, and as primitive in date as well as in conditions. To many the very *naïveté* of the tests of the genuineness of such 'apostles' as the Didache contemplates will appear to be a mark of historical truth rather than the opposite, as also the absence of 'reference to Christian theology or soteriology in connexion with the preparation for Baptism', not to speak of the theological simplicity of the work generally. These and other matters make the question of 'the writer's object in composing the book' a greater problem, on the Dean's theory, than he seems to realize.

Thus far we have found no real proof that Part ii of the Didache demands the hypothesis of historical fiction, made by literary camouflage to look like primitive fact. What, then, of Part i, that dealing with the 'Two Ways?' Here, again, on sound critical principles, one must at first rule out a portion of our Didache in this connexion, as not belonging to the original work, though in the end we may find that it too is really first-century matter. For both external evidence of other documents, prior to the Apostolic Constitutions late in the fourth century, and internal evidence derived from the lack of homogeneity with its context, shew that i 3^b-ii 1 is a secondary section. In particular it follows badly on 'All things whatsoever thou wouldest not should be done to thee, do thou also not do to another'. This negative form,

which the Didache adds to the positive form of this Golden Rule, leads naturally to ii 2 ff with its 'shalt nots', but most awkwardly to 'Bless them that curse you and pray for your enemies', &c.

Leaving, then, i 3^b-ii 1 out of account for the present, we come now to the Dean's main thesis, that the Epistle of Barnabas was the one true original of the 'Two Ways', and that our Didache depends directly on 'Barnabas' for the matter common to both. The present writer has long held, as Dr Robinson holds, that there never was a Jewish manual for instruction of proselytes in the 'Two Ways'. But to deny that there ever was a body of such Jewish instruction current orally, which passed over with some modification into Christian catechesis for Gentile converts, is a very different thing. In fact such a theory seems needed to explain the highly Jewish character of the 'Two Ways', including its largely negative form, even as found in Barnabas—with the more positive and evangelical genius of which it seems but ill to accord. Thus it does in very truth involve 'transition' to 'another sort of knowledge (*gnosis*) and instruction' (*didache*), when 'Barnabas' passes from his allegorizing but Evangelic *gnosis* to his exposition of the 'Two Ways'. Indeed, perhaps the most serious and radical defect in the Dean's whole treatment is the degree to which he fails to recognize the fundamentally Jewish point of view and quality of the 'Two Ways' so far as common to Barn. and Did., and the significance of the fact that the former's distinctive touches are of a more positively Christian kind, while the latter (in its original sections) contains much extra matter of the Jewish type,¹ and so cannot be a much later Christian compilation based mainly on Barnabas. This applies particularly to the very Jewish series (iii 1-6) of negative precepts introduced by 'My son', each backed with appeal to the fruits of the vice in question, the whole being followed by four precepts continuous in thought with the last of that series. But whereas the latter series appears in Barn. in various contexts, there is no sign of the former one—owing surely to its unacceptable Jewish style of thought.

The case is similar with the opening of the next section in the Did. (iv 1 f), which offers a point of comparison between it and Barn. of which the Dean makes a good deal, but in a way which seems to reverse the true relations of the matter. For it, too, begins with 'My son', followed by 'him that speaketh unto thee the Word of God thou shalt remember night and day, and shalt honour him as the Lord; for in the quarter whence the Lordship is spoken of, there is the Lord. And thou shalt seek out daily the persons of the saints, that thou mayest find rest in their words.' This seems thoroughly Jewish in conception (though as

¹ c. g. ii 5 οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει, which is supported even by Barn., where the Evil Way is κατὰρας μεστή.

adapted to Christian conditions), and is continuous with the foregoing not only in virtue of the address 'My son', but also as taking up the words in iii 8, 'trembling continually at the words which thou hast heard.' In Barn., however, its equivalent (adjusted to its new context by needful omission of 'My son') reads as follows: 'Thou shalt *love as (the) apple of thine eye everyone* that speaketh unto thee the word of the Lord. Thou shalt remember *the day of Judgement* night and day, and shalt seek out each day the persons of the saints, *either labouring by word and going on thy way to exhort and studying to save a soul by (the) word, or with thy hands shalt thou work* for a ransom of thy sins.' Here the differences may most easily and naturally be viewed as enhancements, after Barnabas's characteristic manner, for his purpose of urgent exhortation, with the Judgement Day ever in view. Most notable is the change from the attitude of a convert towards his regular teacher in the things of God and towards 'the saints' who have words of experience to impart to him, to that of a full member of the Church towards his peers. Such a one is indeed to love all who can remind him of 'the word of the Lord' that is their common rule of life: but he is also and especially to seek out 'the saints' *in order to do them good*, whether by word or by the alms which avail as ransom for one's own sins. It is easy to understand how the more rudimentary exhortation found in the Didache might be developed in the hands of such a teacher as 'Barnabas' (the Dean's characterization of whom is perhaps the best part of his lectures), into meat fit for more advanced Christians, as he conceived things; but it is hard to imagine the reverse process, especially as the *motif* of the last clause in Barn. was a most popular one in the second and third centuries. This does not necessarily mean that Barnabas used our Didache; but at least it means that both used the 'Two Ways', in a form like that in our Didache, and that the Didache preserves more faithfully its original contents and order, while Barnabas handles it in both respects more freely. This would be quite in keeping with his strongly subjective genius and the fresh use he is making of the 'Two Ways', as applied to more mature Christian readers than those originally contemplated by such instruction.

As to the order of the 'Two Ways' in Barnabas, the Dean seems to agree with Bryennius in thinking it 'inconceivable that if Barnabas had the more systematic form in front of him he could have deliberately thrown it into such confusion' (p. 72). To me, on the contrary, it is psychologically inconceivable that 'the Didachist' should have succeeded so well in putting together the 'incongruous medley in Barnabas' into so coherently ordered a whole, and that *relative to a Jewish* rather than later Christian point of view—such as Dr Robinson has to postulate for him. Barnabas's disordering procedure, however, would be quite natural

if he saw Christian life and duty in a different perspective, while he did not care for a good deal of the original contents of the 'Two Ways', those, namely, most Jewish in style of thought. As he glossed some of the precepts he cites and adds others (which our Didache would have no similar motive for omitting), so he might instinctively alter the order *to suit his own emphasis in the description of the Christian ideal*.¹

So, too, with the opening of the 'Two Ways' in each. It is almost inconceivable that the fuller and more vivid form in Barnabas should be the source of the simple and more colourless form of the common conception in the Didache. As to the negative form of the Golden Rule, added in the Didache as a paraphrase of the positive form found in Lev. xix 18 (not first in Matt. xxii), it was probably, from the first, part of the oral 'Two Ways', so as to adapt the Second Table (like the definition of God as 'Him who made thee' does the First) to the use of Gentiles, already familiar with this form of the principle (see Hastings *D.B.* v 444 note). Here, then, Barn. seems to amplify the less distinctively Christian language of the 'Two Ways'—its First Table by 'thou shalt glorify Him who rescued thee from death', and, later on, the Second, by 'thou shalt love thy neighbour *beyond thy soul!*' instead of 'as thyself'. He also relapses at times from his own special categories, e. g. 'the Way of Light, and the Way of Darkness', to those of his more Jewish basis, as in the phrase 'from death' just cited, and still more in his section on the Way of Death (where we get several ideas which occur in both 'Ways' in the Did. but are lacking in Barnabas's 'Way of Light'). Thus we read, 'The Way of the Black One is crooked *and full of cursing* (so Didache, cf. 'filled full with deed', ii 5). For the Way is (one) *of Death* eternal, along with penalty'—a characteristic blend of the original and of Barnabas's own glosses.

Space does not allow further testing in detail. But the net result is that everything points, if not to the use of the Didache by Barnabas, then at least to common use, as basis, of a Jewish-Christian catechism on the

¹ Further, I do not agree that Barn.'s order is such a medley as is assumed. I seem to discern in it a certain progressive movement of thought in two main stages, the first (xix 2-5 a) developing the First Table in precepts expressive of a right Godward attitude, the second the manward, introduced by 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour above thy soul'. This is the second half of Did. i 2, with the substitution for 'as thyself' (followed by the minimizing Negative Golden Rule) of 'above thy soul,' a more Evangelic clause, from ii 7. This phrase appealed to him, as we see from his use of it elsewhere (i 4, iv 6). Similarly for 'the Evil (πονηρά) Way', which stands in Did. v 1, Barn. has substituted 'crooked' along with his characteristic phrase 'the Black One'. But the phrase is found at an earlier point (iv 10), where Barn. has special affinity with the Did.; in the words 'Let us hate completely (τελείως) the works of the Evil Way' (see next note, on Barn. iv 9 f and Did. xvi 2).

Two Ways, possibly entitled 'Teaching (Διδαχή) of the Lord'. This was probably known to the author of our Didache in its original form, and also to Barnabas (possibly in a rather different shape). If there are any traces of Barnabas in the present text of our Didache, these can best be explained as secondary glosses, like those from Barnabas (and once at least from Hermas, see iv 8) in the text of the Latin *Doctrina Apostolorum*. For our Didache certainly underwent modification: witness the considerable interpolation (in a more Christian interest) i 3^b-ii 1, and possibly also vi 2-3 ('thou shalt be perfect', as a motive for bearing the full demands of 'the yoke of the Lord', i. e. Christ's Gospel ideal, being common to both). Even at this stage, however, it was probably prior to, not based on, Hermas. For certain central ideas of Mand. iv do not appear at all in Did. i 5: for instance, that God's gifts (δωρήματα, as James i 16, while Didache has the more distinctive χαρίσματα), from which He (ὁ θεός, whereas Didache has ὁ πατήρ) would have alms given without reserve (ἀπλῶς) to those who ask, are what one obtains by one's labours (ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου). On the other hand Did. i 5 and especially i 6, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ (? δὴ) εἴρηται, Ἰδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς (perhaps a current form of an idea in Ecclus. xii 1 εἰ ἐὰν εἴ ποτὴς γνῶθι τίνι ποιεῖς), would explain Hermas's emphasis on the opposite view, with his μὴ διατάζων τίνι δῶς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῶς. Further, Mand. xi, with its maxim 'By his life test the man who hath the Divine Spirit', suggests knowledge of Did. xi 8, 'By their ways (τρόπων), then, shall the false prophet and the prophet be recognized.'

To the same completed edition, rather than the original Didache, might even belong the one passage where any substantive use of Barnabas has any real plausibility. This is Did. xvi 2, compared with Barn. iv 9. But Barn. iv 9 is remote from chh. xix-xx, which contain the Two Ways in 'Barnabas'. Thus it is antecedently more probable that Barnabas took the common matter from the eschatological close of the Didache (Part ii of which was otherwise not to his purpose) than that 'the Didachist' adopted it from its distant context in Barnabas, omitting, too, some of the most striking features in that context, whereas Barnabas has there several touches which look like echoes of phrases in Did. xvi 2 and its context.¹ Be this as it may, it would be possible to

¹ The thick type in the following citation of Barn. iv 9-11 will suggest how the case stands. Explaining that he was writing 'not as a Teacher (διδάσκαλος, in the special or quasi-prophetic sense of Did. xiii 2, xv 1 f, cf. xi 10, which the Dean tends to call in question), but as it befits one who loves not to omit (anything) from the resources at his disposal (ἀφ' ὧν ἔχομεν)', Barn. goes on: Διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις (so Did. xvi 3, and ἐσχάτω in 2). Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς (cf. ζωῆς in Did. xvi 1) ἡμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ (ἐσχάτω Did. xvi 2, but cf. ἀξιοσημείωτης τῆς ἀνομίας, below) καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλους (Did. goes on to specify such), ὡς πρέπει νιόεις θεοῦ, ἀντιστῶμεν . . . Μισήσωμεν τελείως

admit dependence of Did. xvi 2 on Barn. iv 9 f rather than *vice versa*—especially if Did. xvi belonged to a second edition of the Didache, like i 3^b–ii 1, where similar phenomena of dependence on our Matthew and Luke also appear—without any presumption that the ‘Two Ways’ of the Didache came from Barnabas xix–xx.

Nor does the hypothesis just hinted at, that the original Didache did not include all our text of it (apart even from the clearly late interpolations in the section on Baptism in ch. vii), apply only to the manifest insertion in ch. i, and its probable fellow, vi 2–3. Once it is established in the first and chief of these cases, it is natural to ask whether it does not apply also to instances of marked dependence on our Gospel of Matthew elsewhere. That this is so in ix 5^b, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ Κύριος. Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί, is rendered the more probable by the similarity of its introduction to that in i 6, Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δέ (δῆ, Bryennius) εἴρηται κτλ., which, if not integral to the section of Evangelic matter i 3^b–5, at least pre-supposes it. But the most important case calling for consideration is the section (ch. viii) dealing with Fasting and Prayer, and citing the Lord’s Prayer with the introduction, ‘Nor yet pray ye as the hypocrites; but as the Lord enjoined in His Gospel so pray ye, Our Father, &c.’ It is not that this Prayer itself is quoted from the Gospel of Matthew,¹ for the wording differs somewhat and was probably the local form in current use (with the local doxology, found also in the Eucharistic prayer which follows). But the way in which Christian fasting and prayer in the whole section are contrasted with those of ‘the hypocrites’ points to a context like that in Matt. vi 5, ‘And whosoever ye pray, ye shall not be as the hypocrites’; and also in vi 16 as regards fasting. It is natural, then, to suppose that Matthew’s Gospel was known to the writer, though the point in which he contrasts Christian fasting in particular with that of ‘the hypocrites’ (in Matthew the Lord’s Prayer is in immediate contrast to that of ‘the Gentiles’) is its seasons, Wednesday and Friday instead of Monday and Thursday (as among the Jews), not its manner and spirit, as in Christ’s teaching. The strong anti-Judaism of this section, too, contrasts with the tone of the rest of the Didache, even vi 3 (which we saw reason to regard as part of the revision to which i 3^b–ii 1 belongs), where the Jewish food rules (probably as regards use of ‘blood’, as in Acts xv,

(cf. Did. ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἑσχατῷ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε, in the sense of Heb. xii 23 πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων) τὰ ἔργα τῆς πονηρᾶς ὁδοῦ (cf. Did. v 1, Barn. xx 1)· μὴ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδύνοντες μονάζετε ὡς ἡδὴ δεικναιόμενοι (in sense of τετελειωμένοι in Hebrews above), ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος (Did. τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν) . . . Γενώμεθα πνευματικοί, γενώμεθα ναὺς τέλειος τῷ θεῷ.

¹ ‘The Gospel’ here, as in xi 13, xv 3 f. means the substance of the Gospel, however known.

where also 'food offered to idols' is referred to, as is the case here) are half relaxed in the case of Gentiles. Again, in this section the expression 'the hypocrites' seems even to be applied no longer to certain formalists among the Jews, presumably Pharisees, but to devout Jews generally, very much as 'the Jews' is used in a sweeping way in the Fourth Gospel for those opposed in spirit to Christ and His Gospel.

It looks, then, as though ch. viii, where fasting precedes prayer—as we should not expect of one ordering his matter freely—were attached, as an after-thought, to the peg afforded by the reference to fasting before baptism, which may quite well in some form (without the address to the minister in baptism) have stood originally at the end of section vii. If this be so, one would be inclined to assign this interpolation, suggested in part at least by Matthew's Gospel, to the same hand that probably glossed the reference to baptism¹ 'in the name of the Lord' in terms of Matt. xxviii *fin.*; turned the title of the Didache, in keeping with the same, into 'Teaching of the Lord *through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations*'; and possibly even added certain other touches² which we have not the means of identifying. Whether it was responsible for the Evangelic additions to ch. i seems an open question.³ The like may be said touching identity of authorship between the Gospel echoes in i 3^b–ii 1 and in xvi 1, in both of which Lucan matter is found alongside Matthean.

But these literary phenomena, as well as the historical data,⁴ are quite

¹ The second reference to the baptismal formula, without definite articles, in vii 3, points to vii 2, 3, and part of 4, as coming from another and later hand.

² Possibly the pseudo-apostolic apostrophizing of the readers as 'children' (τέκνα), at the end of ch. v, may be one of these; and xi 7^b, with its artificial application to the testing of Prophets of the saying in Matt. xii 31 about the Unforgivable Sin, may be another.

³ The answer may depend partly on whether those additions themselves are from one hand. As to this I am most uncertain. For it is noteworthy that, while the plurals of § 3 are no doubt due to the fact that its precepts stood in that form in the Gospels, there was no such external reason why § 4, 'Abstain from fleshly and bodily passions', should be couched in the singular; and the less so, that the plural address occurs in 1 Pet. ii 11, if indeed this was in mind at all, as becomes the more doubtful in view of this very contrast in form, as well as of σαρκικῶν, to which σαρικῶν καὶ may have been added later. The fact is that the contents, as well as the form, of § 4 follow far more naturally on the negative form of the Golden Rule, which immediately precedes the insertion and determines the true sequel in ii 2; while § 3, with its references to Love, goes back rather to the positive form of that rule, which was first quoted and then narrowed down by the other. It would be easier for a second interpolator to overlook this when a beginning of more positive precepts (those of non-resentment), enjoining restraint of 'bodily' or natural passions, had already been made by an earlier hand.

⁴ Dr Robinson strangely overlooks the support here supplied to the Didache by the picture of the sub-apostolic age as given in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, a work generally unknown to scholars until after the first discussions on the Didache.

consistent with a date for this fuller Didache before or about A. D. 100, the lower limit which Lightfoot inclined to assign to the whole work. And so—apart from the later insertions in vii 2-4 (possibly also in ix 5^b and 4^c, 'and the power, *through Jesus Christ*')—we are free to re-affirm that dating, after giving due weight to all that Dr Robinson has proved or made probable, as distinct from what he has failed to prove or render probable. The 'method' which he attributes to 'the Didachist' breaks down in nearly every instance when applied to the genuine Didache, though it holds good in a large part of 'Barnabas' and Hermas, as he expounds them. In particular he fails to enable us to conceive the motives for a fiction such as he imagines, unless its main features had more relevance to the actual conditions amid which it was put forth than would be the case at the date he assigns to it.

Yet, after all, Dr Robinson only pleads 'for a reconsideration of the problem'. It may indeed be doubted if 'even half' of what he has put forward will 'be admitted by serious students'; also whether these lectures 'will suffice to clear away' as many 'serious misconceptions' as they tend to create—let alone 'open a new path for the criticism and interpretation' of the Didache for those who had already given it careful attention. But it may at least be admitted that he has directed attention afresh to some problems connected with it which have not bulked sufficiently in general estimation, nor met with solutions commonly accepted among special students of this most important monument of the sub-apostolic age. In a similar spirit of enquiry the above contribution to its reconsideration is submitted to the Dean or other students of the subject, for testing and criticism.

VERNON BARTLET.

THE HOMILIES OF ST PETER CHRYSOLOGUS.

As far as yet appears no edition of the works of this Saint (a contemporary of St. Maximus of Turin, known to readers of the JOURNAL from the labours of Dr C. H. Turner and the late Dr Spagnolo) has been projected for the Vienna *Corpus*, so it is still necessary to rely upon Migne or earlier editions, supplemented by the *Spicilegium* of Liverani (Florence, 1863), where variant readings are given for certain of the Homilies, along with nine new pieces. It is certain that in the body of sermons printed under Chrysologus's name¹ are some *spuria*, and that others current under other names must be assigned to him. There have been various attempts to sort these out into spurious and genuine, but in most cases the criticism inclines to be subjective and might well be supported, if not superseded, by a line of enquiry such as is here begun, the main thesis of which is that by utilizing as criteria some of the more distinctive features of Chrysologus's style it will be possible to attribute or deny to him with some degree of confidence any homily which may be suspect. This objective line of criticism has not, as far as I can find, been hitherto employed, though the most recent literature on the subject unfortunately has been inaccessible to me²; if it has been anticipated, the present study may at least be suggestive to other students of the period as well as useful to any future editor of these Homilies. The text of Migne (*P. L.* lii) has been employed throughout and the references are to it.

First we may take as a striking and constantly recurring feature of Chrysologus's style a curious grouping of words round a nucleus of two verbs, which are in the overwhelming majority of cases connected by *et*, not *atque* (*ac*) or *-que*.³ The most regular type, and the one which first aroused the present writer's interest, presents a noun with its adjective and a dependent genitive, arranged thus:—

adj. + gen. + vb. + vb. + noun.

In many cases, as will be shewn in the sequel, the type is much less

¹ The existing collection was made by one of his successors in the see of Ravenna, Felix (707-717), who very probably found his material among the archives of his church.

² e.g. Lanzoni *I sermoni di S. Pier Crisologo*, Pavia, 1910, and Peters *Petrus Chrysologus als Homilet*, Köln, 1919.

³ I have found but three exceptions: once *ac* (*intelligat ac sentiat* 396 B), twice *atque* (568 A, 628 B).

regular, but from the examples collected it will be found that the regular type, denoted above, is preponderant in the earlier sermons, while the later shew great variety, though to the last the 'double-shotted' predicate persists. Allowing for the grouping together of homilies on the same or similar topics, it may perhaps be conjectured from this fact that there is some kind of chronological order preserved; the earlier homilies would then be much more formal and rhetorical than the later—a conclusion supported not only by a greater earnestness and liveliness of style, but also by the increasing richness and freedom of vocabulary, as will be shewn to some small extent by the short list of rare words in *per-* given below, most of which, it will be noticed, occur far on in the body of sermons.

As examples of this regular type, the following will serve:—

tetras inuidiae pellamus et excludamus insidias 195 A

arduas operum subleuant et solantur angustias 214 C

uetustas diaboli prodidit et patefecit insidias 225 B

tumidi haereticorum irruunt et desauiunt fluctus 258 C.

Other examples in 202 B, 215 A, 227 A, 292 B, 302 A, 336 A, 355 A, 366 B, 385 A, 390 C, 412 B, 417 B. The two verbs are in many cases practically synonymous.

The comparative smallness of this list may perhaps suggest that this usage is hardly frequent enough to be employed as a test of authenticity, but be it remembered that only regular cases are recorded in it, and that, according to the suggestion made above, it was a formal arrangement, due perhaps to early training,¹ which Chrysologus gradually outgrew. But if this list of regular examples is small, that of the less regular compensates by its great fullness. A few specimens of these now follow:—

diaboli fraudulentas et occultas deprimat et declinet insidias 223 C

Synagogae prolabitur et proruit principatus 292 C

(ut) dignationem tui praedices et proferas creatoris 339 A

(qui) de apparitoris turbatur et contremiscit aduentu 447 A

quod tibi diuina dedit et concessit auctoritas 500 C

morem transeat et supergrediatur humanum, quam diuinum spiret et redoleat sensum 642 B.

The frequency of these less regular types will be sufficiently illustrated if we take, say, any thirty columns of Migne and note occurrences; thus from col. 390: 390 C, 393 C, 394 A, B, C, 395 A, B, 396 B, D, 397 A, D, 398 A (two exx.), B, 399 A, 402 A, B (two exx.), D, 404 C (two), 405 B (two), 406 A (two), B, 407 B, 408 A, 411 B, C, 412 A, B, 413 D, 415 B, C, 416 B (two), C, 417 B (two), C, 420 B.

¹ In solving this and other points, other students of this period might help by recording such examples of this feature as their own reading provides.

Occasionally one verb is a compound form of the other :—

quae sunt omnia suae data et subdita seruituti 323 C

mentis currat et incurrat incessus 460 C

ad caelestem tulit et pertulit mansionem 641 B.

At other times there is a jingle :—

tremendos mortis lacessat et incessat accessus 385 A

quales regni sui cupit et praecipit esse consortes 390 C

hoc tantum deduxit et addixit ad debitum 417 B.

Before we leave this point there are two things further to notice: the position of the personal pronoun and that of the preposition. To take the pronoun first, it is of interest to note that Chrysologus has two characteristic positions for it; either (a) it follows the noun, or (b) it precedes, and is divided from it, sometimes by several words. E. g. :—

(a) tibi poenis tuis, labore suo doctor supplicat 482 C

(b) ad suum proripuit¹ et irrepsit auctorem 301 B

quidquid suae fuerat et erat substantiae 302 D

uigorem sui sensit et degustavit auctoris 305 B.

So elsewhere: sui soluit uincula sermonis 334 B; ipse sui factor et resuscitator est corporis 503 C, &c.

The preposition may either (a) accompany a qualifying word and precede the noun, or (b) accompany the noun :—

(a) ad Dei, qui unus et uerus est, peruenire non meruit seruitutem 502 D

de nostro non sinit tristes esse silentio 442 B

de suorum desperet homo magnitudine peccatorum 435 B

(b) ad fidelium suorum pia transiet² et migrabit obsequia; ad te de misericordiae patre seuerissimum transibit² in iudicem 269 A (illustrating both positions).

Besides this double verb arrangement, we find from time to time three verbs together; in this case *et* is as a rule omitted. E. g. :—

(quem) tuum probas, sentis, intelligis esse genitorem 399 B, cf. 671 B

quod humanum [*leg. -am*] confundit, grauatur, onerat conscientiam 457 A

dies qui terrenorum iungit, sociat, exaequat caelestibus uoluntates 395 B.

An interesting example is 644 C: ut te uernaculis, familiaribus, domesticis alat, enutriat, instituat nutrimentis; so, with chiasmus, 522 C: mente, ore, oculis, spectet, cantet, cogitet.

¹ Perhaps *proripuit*; these two words are often confused; see Index to *Ps.-Aug. Quaest.* in Vienna *Corpus* (ed. Souter).

² So the Migne text.

Here are one or two fourfold :—

utraque tamen inuenit, purgat, distinguit, elimat opifex disciplina
561 A

(Deus) tanto ardet, calet, exaestuat, anhelat affectu 632 A.

Both the twofold and threefold arrangements are found with other parts of verbs than finite, e.g. cum potuerint tantam capere, loqui, aestimare pietatem 264 C; continuas ingerere et generare blasphemias 269 A; exterior lauare et mundare sufficiat aqua 647 C.

Somewhat akin to this is another feature which is also of very frequent occurrence and has, I think, a very definite *raison d'être*. At the end of sentences, when two nouns are syntactically connected with a single verb, they are usually separated from each other, in this fashion :—

in debitum parentis deducebatur et poenam 509 B

tanti medici peritia curaretur et gratia 509 C

(sermo) festinationi deseruit et tempori 508 A

inde praeium sumerent et coronam 564 A.

Opened at any page, these homilies will provide abundant examples of this arrangement—one which is found too in Pelagius, as will appear when we receive Professor Souter's long-expected edition (really an *editio princeps*) of this much contaminated author; and there, as here, the reason is not far to seek. The practised ear will recognize at once, in the four examples given above,¹ cadences that are characteristic of 'numerous prose' (*prosa numerosa*). The first *clausula* contains five syllables—the *Cursus Planus*; the second and third, six—the *Cursus Tardus*; the fourth, seven—the *Cursus Velox*. Such rhythmical prose was written by Leo I² (Pope A.D. 450 and actually contemporary with our author), not to mention St Augustine and St Jerome of the previous generation, so from the evidences given we may be fairly certain that Chrysologus too employed rhythm in his prose. This point can easily be worked out more fully.

These mannerisms we have exemplified above may be sufficient perhaps to prove with some degree of probability the hand of Chrysologus, but possibly the double- or triple-verb arrangement may be in greater use elsewhere than the present writer knows; a chance example (and the only one known to me outside these Homilies) has been found

¹ These were chosen practically at random; read aloud the examples on p. 251 of the twofold and threefold verb arrangement and the same cadences will be found.

² See Prof. A. C. Clark's *The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin* (Oxford, 1910) pp. 11–12. The short passage there quoted from St Jerome *Ep.* 23 can, by comparison with the Vienna text, be altered in eight places, but this does not affect the point. Also cf. H. A. Wilson in the *JOURNAL* v (1904) 386 ff and vi (1905) 381 ff.

in Fulgentius of Ruspe, *de Incarn. Filii Dei* 32 (*P. L.* lxxv 591 D) 'ne Manichaeorum mortifera fallatur et decipiatur astutia'. Hence it will make assurance doubly sure if we can employ any further tests, and fortunately there are marked predilections for certain phrases and particles, which, from being extremely common, may be considered 'thumb-marks' of our author and so may be utilized for our purpose.¹ In setting forth these as criteria to be used in case of doubt or suspicion, I make no claim to statistical completeness—this is not an arithmetical record, but an attempt to set forth some distinctive and characteristic features of our author's latinity, which the intelligent reader and critic (the intelligent reader is *ipso facto* a critic, though unfortunately the converse is not always true) will endeavour to understand perfectly before he make or accept even an emendation, far less discuss the genuineness of a given homily.

HINC EST QVOD . . . This phrase is extremely common, as the list given will shew; *inde est quod* . . . and *unde est quod* do occur, but very seldom; *hinc est unde* ² . . . seems to be absent.

HINC EST QVOD . . . OCCURS 193 A, 198 B, C, 202 C (*bis*), 204 A, 206 A, 235 B, 236 B, 240 B, 248 B, C, 251 B, 254 A, 256 A, 259 C, 265 A, 266 B, 267 A, 273 A, 275 C, 276 C, 277 A, 279 B (*bis*), 282 A, 287 A, 297 B, 298 C, 299 B, 300 A (*bis*), 306 C, 307 A, 308 B, 319 B, 322 C, 324 D, 325 A, 331 A, 335 A, 341 B, 343 C, 346 C, 350 A, 355 A, 357 B, 364 A, 366 A, 370 B, C, 373 C, 374 D, 375 A, 377 B, 379 C, 380 A (*bis*), 381 A . . . , &c., &c.

VNDE EST QVOD . . . 204 A (in a question), 293 C.

INDE EST QVOD . . . 323 D.

Hoc est, *hoc est dicere*, and *id est* are all found, in explanations or amplifications. A rough distinction is that *hoc est* is used after Scriptural statements, to explain their real or allegorical meaning (thus in expounding the Parable of the Prodigal Son, he says (190 A, B) ' . . . omnibus consumptis famem spei grauissimam perferamus et sic nos primario regionis illius, hoc est, desperationis auctori diabolo iam tradamur; et ille nos mittat in uillam suam, hoc est, ad huius saeculi illecebrosas conualles')³; *hoc est dicere* is used after Scriptural commands and exhortations (as *Domine, ne in ira tua arguas me*. *Hoc est dicere*,

¹ Cf. Weyman in *Archiv f. lat. Lexik. u. Gramm.* xi p. 577: ' . . . aus diesen sogen. unschuldigen und sich massenhaft wiederholenden Wörtlein die Identität eines Autors zu beweisen gewohnt ist'.

² Found e.g. Ambrosiaster (Souter's *Study* p. 64); Ruf. *Clem. Recog.* 10. 41, &c.

³ An exception very interesting philologically is the comment on the *Ave Maria*: *Ave*, he says, *hoc est, accipe*. *Habe* and (*h*)*ave* are after all practically homonyms, but is his misunderstanding real or assumed? The next sentence is printed wrongly in Migne: *Quid? Virtutes munerum non pudoris*. Read *uirtutis munera* . . . Cf. 585 c *uirtutis conscientia est, non pudoris*.

argue me, sed non in ira . . . 326 A); *id est* in explaining phrases other than Scriptural (e.g. passus est [Laurentius] in ipso capite gentium, id est, in ipsa urbe Romana 565 B). But this distinction is not always observed.

HOC EST 198 A, 199 B, 205 B, 212 B, 234 A, 238 A (*quater*), 243 C, 248 B, 276 A, 282 C, 285 A, 303 A, 327 A, 329 A, 332 A, B (*bis*), 338 C, 342 B, 344 C, 350 C, 357 B, 361 B (*bis*), 377 C, 381 B, 389 B, 392 A, 400 C, 403 A, 406 B, 413 B, 414 A (*bis*), 418 C, 425 B, 443 B, 468 B, 469 A, D, 471 A, 474 B, 476 A (*bis*) . . .

HOC EST DICERE 196 B, 210 A, 238 A, 241 A, 252 B, 260 C, 298 B, 326 A, 343 B, 347 A, B, 425 B, 429 D, 434 B, 449 B, 469 A, 504 A, 544 C, 614 A, 627 C.

ID EST 314 B, 354 A, B, 363 C, 364 B, 400 A, B, 412 A, B, 416 A, 420 C, 432 C, 435 C, 468 A (*bis*), B, C, 471 A, 472 B, 475 B, 476 A . . . 619 A, 620 A (*ter*) . . .

Much of the charm of these Homilies lies in their liveliness and vivacity; they must have held the close attention of the congregation from beginning to end. Leaving aside their matter, with which we are not for the present concerned, we can see to some extent by what rhetorical devices this lively effect is obtained. The constant stopping to ask an apt question and supply an answer, the constant apostrophizing of the figures in the Scripture which he is expounding, or of the heretic or unbeliever, the constant and literal *argumentum ad hominem*, when it is almost possible to see the preacher leaning forward over his audience and catching the eye of some wayward or anxious member—these rhetorical devices we can appreciate and examine.

Apostrophe is very frequent. A good example is found in *Serm.* 122, on the Rich Man and Lazarus: 'diues, quos oculos leuas, ipsi sunt accusatores tui . . . Quid clamas adhuc, diues? Quo respicis, diues? . . .' etc. (533 C). The Jew and the heretic are very often addressed: 'erras, Iudaeae', or 'erras, haeretice'. Examples of apostrophe will be found in 205 C, 222 A, B, 225 C, 306 A, 335 A (*bis*), B, 342 A, 366 C, D, 382 A, C, 388 B, 416 C, 417 A, 431 B, 449 B, 454 B, 464 B, 512 C, 533 A, 535 B, 542 B, 550 A, B, 559 C, D, 581 A, 587 C, 618 B . . .

Akin to this is the employment of 'homo' (vocative), which, besides the customary 'fratres', is used frequently, especially when the point of the sermon, or some solemn truth, is being driven home: Homo, offer Deo animam tuam 322 A; homo, ergo, ne seruando perdas, collige prorogando; homo, dando pauperi, da tibi 322 B. So in 212 B, C, 213 C, 214 A, B, C, 221 A, 264 C, 267 B, 270 A, 271 C, 272 B, 306 C, 314 B, 317 A, 318 C, 319 C, 320 C, D, 328 C, 334 A, 335 A, 351 A, 356 B, C, 359 D, 365 A, 373 A, C (*bis*) . . .

A characteristic phrase is (*et*) *quid plura (fratres)?* This occurs in

263 A, 266 B, 267 B, 282 B, 298 A, 305 A, 310 A, 329 B, 371 C, 397 C, 419 B, 427 C, 471 A, 474 A, 476 A, 481 B, 484 B, 503 C, 513 A, 520 B, 531 C, 547 C, 554 B, 561 B, 565 B, 569 A, 577 A, 595 A, C, 619 A, 649 A. *Et quid plura dicere?* occurs in 598 C.

After a sentence from Scripture, *quare?* is not uncommon, e.g. *et gaudeo propter uos*. *Quare* 'propter uos'? 377 A; *ne timeas, Maria*. *Quare?* 585 C. So in 199 B, 262 B, 271 C, 326 A, B, 327 C, 377 A, 413 D, 418 B, 419 A, 428 D, 432 C (*bis*), 470 A, 471 C, 485 C, 544 C, 569 A, 581 C, 591 B, 603 D...

Rogo and *putasne?* are also frequent, more or less as interjections, without affecting the syntactical structure of the sentence, e.g.: *putasne caelestes taliter appellat iste uirtutes?* 215 B; *putasne ista mulier communis est...*? 642 A. So (*rogo*) 192 B, 205 C, 308 A, 311 A, 436 C, 483 C, 495 B, 514 A, 546 C, 550 A, 556 C... (*putasne?*) 321 C, 380 B, 396 B, 425 A, 447 B, 465 A, 527 A, 612 A... (*Putas?* alone in 465 A, 491 A.)

Et ne multis is also characteristic ('to be brief'): 215 A, 308 B, 319 A, 336 A, 376 A, 380 A, 573 A... *Ac ne plurimis* occurs in 541 A; *ac ne multis immorer* in 209 B; *ne per singula uos morer* in 625 A.

Possible objections are met by *sed dicit aliquis* (213 A, 280 A, 285 A, 314 A, 611 A, 615 C, 626 A, &c.), *sed dicit (haereticus etc.)* as 366 B; or *sed dicis* (or occasionally *dicis* alone) as 449 B, 483 B, C, 505 B, 506 B, 568 C, 585 A, 628 C. *Sed dicas* occurs in 603 C.

Sometimes a verse of Scripture is introduced with (*et*) *ubi est illud...*? E.g. *Et ubi est illud Sic luceat lux uestra coram hominibus...*? 212 A. So in 216 A, 392 B, 402 B, 421 B, 456 A, 603 A, 627 B, 630 D (*bis*), 637 C, 667 B...

The interrogative particle, and pronouns interrogative or relative, are very frequently deferred to a late and unusual position in the sentence. E.g. *si uult, quare tristis*; *si non uult, ieiunus quare?* (207 A); *abiit, abiit a se, a Deo impius cum recessit*; *nec stat in consilio, impiis cogitationibus qui uagatur* (323 C); *in uita laetitia quem tenebit...*? (324 A). So

qui (quis?) 239 A, 241 B, 250 A, 252 B (three exx.), 261 B, 262 A, B, 270 A, 271 B, 285 A, 323 C, 324 A, 337 B, 401 B, 411 A, 424 B, 448 B, 451 C, 452 A, 544 B, 547 A, 588 D, 592 A (two exx.)...

cur? 250 B, 260 C, 271 B, 280 B, 323 C, 324 A, 441 A, 472 C...

quare? 231 C, 281 A, 311 A, 326 A, 495 C, 547 B, 606 A, 607 B...

quomodo? 272 B, 311 B, 581 B, 585 B, 595 B...

quando? 378 A, 469 A, 592 A, 617 C, 618 A...

Cf. *audire nec poterat nec fari* 346 A; *matrem et aemulam pertulit et nouercam* 633 A; *si intra nos est (regnum Dei), ueniat ut quid oramus?* 399 C.

Not uncommon are sentences of this type: *tu quod uis, unde uis, quando uis, habes* (473 A); *sic quomodo uis, quantum uis, quam cito uis misericordiam tibi fieri . . .* (320 C). So in 338 A, 373 C, 473 A, 482 B, 484 A, 519 C, 524 C, and elsewhere.

It may also be worth while to notice here the great use made of *est* with the genitive: 'it is a mark of', 'characteristic of', &c. This occurs with a very unusual frequency; e. g. *mori nolle est timoris humani, diuinae uirtutis est surrexisse de morte . . . Hominis est quod moritur, Trinitatis est quod resurgit* (370 C); *uitia non nosse felicitatis est, nosse periculi, uicisse uirtutis est* (518 B). The following list gives only a few out of very many: 282 A, 318 A, 326 A, 334 C, 346 A, 383 B, 384 B, C, 390 A, 398 A, 399 A, . . . 583 B, 591 C, 592 B, C, 595 B, 603 B, 608 A, 610 A . . .

The earnestness of the preacher finds expression in the repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of a sentence, with or without 'fratres'. Thus (321 C) *non est nostrum, fratres, non est nostrum . . .*; (300 C) *ista est, fratres, ista est Ecclesia . . .*; (264 C) *ueniant, ueniant huc . . .*; so in 309 A, 320 C, 378 B, 472 B, 528 A, 533 B, 539 A, and very frequently. Sometimes a strengthening adverb is added to the repeated word: *tu dormis, immo tu dormis . . .* (310 C); *beata ergo, et uere beata . . .* (580 B).

Besides these somewhat fragmentary firstfruits of a study of Chrysologus's style, we ought certainly to study his vocabulary carefully before considering ourselves armed at all points for the task of criticism, but here it is impossible to do more than point out favourite words like *utique* (very frequent); *lassesco* (221 B, 225 B, 258 B, 268 A, 401 D, 488 C, 503 C, 624 A, 645 C); *genero* (blasphemias 269 A; tenebras 423 A; prudentiam 543 B; fastidium 529 B, 533 B; quaestionem 280 A, 556 A; dominationem 515 A; &c.); *indefessus* (227 B, 262 B, 274 B, 279 B, 292 B, 396 C, 473 C, 504 C, 614 A, 618 A, 624 A, C, 644 A); *peruigil* (237 B, 259 A, 260 A, 261 B, 266 B, 274 B, 312 A, 469 C, 556 B, 650 C); &c. For the lexicographer there is abundant material; take, for example, one small list of gleanings—some notable words in *per*-¹:

peramitto 635 C (in BG.; not in LS. or G.)

peraperio 313 C (in none)

perdecipio 282 C (in LS.; not in BG. or G.)

perdefessus 509 D (in LS., BG.; not in G.)

perdefleo 634 C (" " " " ")

perdiectus 420 D (none)

perdeleo 302 D (G. two exx.; see Roensch *It. u. Vulg.* p. 195 f)

¹ The references are: BG. = Benoist-Goelzer *Dict. lat.-français*; LS. = Lewis and Short; G. = Georges' *Lat.-deutsch. Wörterb.*, 8th ed., or (what comes to the same thing) 7th.

perdemonstro 245 B (none)

perdiuido 502 A, 581 B, 632 C (G. and BG. one ex. = Joel iii 2 *Old Lat.*; Roensch, p. 196; LS. once—from our author)

perfecundus 651 A (G., BG., LS. once—Mela).

perfucatus 516 A (none)

permaturus 577 B (G. two exx.; so LS., BG.)

permirandus 300 B („ „ „ „)

pernoctatio 266 B (G. gives Hier. *Ep.* 108. 9 and the unsatisfactory 'Eccl.'; LS. have Ambr. *Serm.* 90 (?); BG. have best list, including this ex.)

peropto 607 C (only *peroptatus* and *peroptato* cited)

perpateo 578 B (not in LS.; G. has 'Aug. *Serm.* 100. 1 [Mai]'; BG. give false ref. by omitting 'Mai')

perprobo 564 A (none)

perprocliuis 338 A (none)

perpusillus 620 A (LS. and G. once—Cic.; BG. add this ex.)

perscelestus 353 C (none)

persentio 272 A, 617 A (all have Virg. twice, Apul. once)

persepelio 397 A (none)

persimilis 459 C, 520 B

pertingo 416 A

pertumescio 582 B (not in BG. or G.; LS. quote *Not. Tir.*).

Lewis-Short come out of this review surprisingly well, though one feels puzzled to explain how they came by the references to Chrysologus.

In a later paper I hope to use these results in an examination of certain disputed Homilies, and also to append some corrections of the Migne text. My best thanks are due meanwhile to Professor Souter for generous encouragement and advice.

J. H. BAXTER.

THE HOMILIES OF MACARIUS.

1. *La date et l'origine des Homélies spirituelles attribuées à Macaire*, par R. P. L. Villecourt, O.S.B.; being a communication read before L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Séance du 6 Août 1920.

2. *L'origine véritable des Homélies pneumatiques*, par Dom A. Wilmart; extrait de la *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* Octobre 1920 pp. 361-377.

1. In his communication¹ to L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres Dom Villecourt promulgates a discovery which involves the solution of the problem concerning the Homilies of Macarius in its essential aspects. He draws attention to a literary argument which has hitherto escaped the attention of critics. A series of propositions bearing on the heresy of the Messalians or Euchites and entitled κεφάλαια τοῦ τῶν Μεσσαλιανῶν δυσσεβοῦς δόγματος ἀναληφθέντα ἐκ βιβλίου αὐτῶν has been preserved in the *De Haeresibus* of St John Damascene.² The second and the eighteenth are taken verbally and directly from the Homilies.³ Of the remaining sixteen Dom Villecourt says 'deux . . . , la quatrième et la quinzième, ne s'y retrouvent pas'. In regard to the remaining fourteen propositions he gives close parallels to be found in the Fifty Homilies.⁴ It is, however, perhaps not unfair to point out that in some cases even closer parallels occur in the Seven.⁵ Thus as the source of proposition 16 ὅτι δύο δεῖ κτήσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ψυχάς, φασί: μίαν τὴν κοινὴν ἀνθρώποις καὶ μίαν τὴν ἐπουράνιον he aptly quotes Hom. xxxii 6. A still more apt quotation, however, might be taken from Hom. lii 5 οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ Χριστιανὸν εἶναι δεῖ: ὁ γὰρ κύριος εὐδόκησεν αὐτὸν ἔχειν δύο ψυχάς, μίαν τὴν κτισθεῖσαν καὶ μίαν τὴν ἐπουράνιον. Here (especially with the occurrence of the words δύο ψυχάς) the parallel is pretty well verbal, while only general parallels in sense occur in the Fifty Homilies. This criticism, however, does not in any way tend to invalidate the main contention, the conclusion of which Dom Villecourt

¹ To be published in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1920*. The present review has been made possible by Dom Villecourt's kind loan of his manuscript.

² Migne *P. G.* t. xciv col. 729-732.

³ Cf. St John Damascene prop. 2 with Macarius *Hom.* xxvii 19, and St John Damascene prop. 18 with Macarius *Hom.* viii 3.

⁴ Migne *P. G.* t. xxxiv col. 449-821.

⁵ *Macarii Anecdota*, Harvard Theological Studies v 1918.

enunciates as follows : ' Les dix-huit propositions étant données comme extraites d'un livre des Messaliens, ce livre ne peut être que les Homélies spirituelles.' Moreover the limitation of the field to the Fifty Homilies has the advantage of dispensing with a preliminary investigation into the authenticity of the Seven, on which doubt is cast by the fact that one of them (liv) is borrowed from Palladius,¹ while another (lvi) has two notable interpolations from the *Scala* of Iohannes Climacus.²

The Messalian heresy of the Homilies may be detected in their faulty exposition of the doctrine of sin and grace. The spiritual life is represented as a drama in three acts : first, domination by the Devil, veritable possession, consisting in a personal and sensible union of the Evil Spirit with the soul ; then the struggle in the soul between sin and grace, darkness and light, the Evil Spirit and the Holy Spirit, each of these forces in person pretending to dominion ; finally, thanks to the sovereign method of perseverance in prayer, the complete triumph of the Holy Spirit, a renewed Pentecost, a baptism of fire, destroying and consuming sin and producing blessed impassibility (*ἀπάθεια*), while the Divine Spirit becomes master of the soul, man is deified (*ἀποθεοῦνται*), and his great work is to pray always. This doctrine of the concurrence of the two spirits of grace and wickedness in the soul was attacked as unorthodox by Diadochus of Photice³ circa 450, and in all probability Diadochus had the Homilies in mind.

Having thus proved the Messalian authorship of the Homilies of 'Macarius', Dom Villecourt turns to the question of date and thinks they belong to a time when ecclesiastical authority had not yet pronounced against the nascent sect. The attitude of the author is that of a spirit at peace with itself and with the Church. Consequently the Homilies must be anterior to 390, the date at which Amphilochius of Iconium presided at Side over the first council which condemned the Messalians. The author lived in the second half of the fourth century, probably in Mesopotamia. The only evidence which Dom Villecourt affords for placing the author's habitat in Mesopotamia is the fact that the Euphrates is the only river mentioned in the Homilies. Further evidence tending in the same direction might perhaps be found in the connexion of thought which exists between the writer of the Homilies and Aphraates. To take but one example, the doctrine of the Homilies concerning

¹ This relation between Macarius *Hom.* liv and the *Lausiac History* of Palladius was pointed out in *Macarii Anecdota*, Harvard Theological Studies v 1918 pp. 7 *ad fin.*-9.

² This relation of Macarius *Hom.* lvi to the *Scala* of St John Climacus *gradus* 27 was first observed by Dom Villecourt, and made public by Dom Wilmart in *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* October 1920 p. 361 n. 2.

³ See his *De Perfectione Spirituali* Migne *P. G.* t. lxx col. 1196 cap. 80.

a Christian possessing two souls is drawn from Aphraates,¹ in whom it first occurs.

It may not be out of place to notice here how Dom Villecourt's previous work on the Homilies ascribed to Macarius has paved the way for his discovery communicated to the Académie. In the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* for 1918-1919 in an article entitled *Homélies spirituelles de Macaire en arabe sous le nom de Siméon Stylite* he pointed out a fact hitherto unobserved, that in the Arabic manuscript 80 of the Vatican twenty-one of the Homilies of Macarius as printed in Migne t. xxxiv are preserved under the name of St Symeon Stylites, and that Hom. li,² which in the Greek is represented as a letter sent by Macarius to Symeon, is found in Arabic as a sermon belonging to St Symeon Stylites himself. Again, in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* for 1920 in an article entitled *La Grande Lettre de Macaire, ses formes textuelles et son milieu littéraire* he shewed that large portions of the Homilies were translated into Syriac as early as the beginning of the sixth century. In the list, which he furnishes at the end of his communication, of external authorities for the existence of the Homilies prior to the tenth century it might perhaps be noticed that Isaac of Nineveh,³ a writer belonging to the latter part of the seventh century quotes two pieces from a Syriac Letter⁴ compiled out of the Homilies of Macarius.

2. Dom Wilmart's article is an exposition of Dom Villecourt's discovery. The latter in his communication was limited to the space of eight small pages. Dom Wilmart on the other hand is able to expatiate at large, and in the course of seventeen pages of the *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* sets forth in full the evidence collected by his colleague. He institutes a careful comparison between the Homilies and the Messalian propositions furnished by St John Damascene. He quotes⁵ from the Homilies⁶ an account of a mystical experience, in which the visionary has presented to him a luminous garment the like of which does not exist on earth and which could not be made with hands. This particular form of ecstatic vision is expressly condemned in proposition 6 of St John Damascene. He concludes his examination of the eighteen propositions as follows: ⁷ 'A part deux ou trois, ces textes se trouvent tous plus ou moins nettement dans le recueil des Homélies.' He is, however, a little more guarded than Dom Villecourt: 'Il ne

¹ See *Patrologia Syriaca* i p. 294.

² *Macarii Anecdota*, Harvard Theological Studies v 1918 pp. 19-23.

³ See Greek edition of Isaac of Nineveh by Gregory Theotokos 1770 Leipzig Logos μθ p. 296 Μακάριε . . . τὸ πῦχος καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν καύσων κτλ.

⁴ i. e. Letter 12 in the Syriac MS B.M. Add. 18814, also contained in a sixth-century MS B.M. Add. 17166.

⁵ See *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* (*R. A. M.*) October 1920 p. 364.

⁶ i. e. *Hom.* viii 3

⁷ *R. A. M.*, p. 366.

faudrait pas se hâter d'identifier celles-ci (sc. les Homélies) avec le "livre" messalien dont on nous assure que les propositions sont tirées; la coïncidence de ce livre et des Homélies, certaine pour une part, peut n'avoir pas été complète, et diverses hypothèses sont loïsibles pour expliquer leurs positions respectives.¹ He inclines to think that the Messalian book was a mystical *florilegium*² extracted from the Homilies and dating back to the beginning of the fifth century. The theology of the Homilies may be called indifferently 'Messalian' or 'Macarian'. It is thoroughly unorthodox. How it succeeded in passing muster as genuine patristic teaching is explained by Dom Wilmart as follows: 'On voit assez ses points de départ orthodoxes, et comment par une interprétation bénigne elle peut encore passer pour orthodoxe; mais, néanmoins, comment . . . un système captieux et ruineux fut construit, comparable au manichéisme, auquel les ressources d'un talent très souple jointes à une ardente conviction réussirent à prêter une sorte de grâce séduisante.'³

Dom Wilmart dates the Homilies anterior to the Synods of Side and Antioch A. D. 390, and finds support for this date in the anti-Messalian evidence furnished by Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Timothy of Constantinople.⁴ He adds another argument for the Mesopotamian origin of the Homilies in the references which they contain to wars between Romans and Persians.⁵ He rightly observes that we now possess information about the Messalians drawn not from their enemies, but from their own *liber asceticus*, and that consequently 'c'est toute l'histoire des débuts du mouvement messalien qui devra être réécrite de ce point de vue'.⁶ Finally Dom Wilmart pronounces against the work which he had previously described as 'un des écrits les plus attachants de l'antiquité chrétienne',⁷ though he is obviously very sorry to have to condemn an author characterized by 'un mysticisme élevé' and 'un charme singulier'.⁸ 'On continuera de lire et d'admirer "Macaire"; on ne mettra pas en doute sa sincérité. On pourra même profiter de ses conseils spirituels et de ses expériences mystiques. Mais, dès lors qu'il est reconnu pour ce qu'il était et ce qu'il doit rester, à savoir un docteur messalien . . . il ne saurait plus passer, quelque regret qu'on ait, pour un docteur de l'Église catholique.'⁹

G. L. MARRIOTT.

¹ *R. A. M.* p. 367.

² *ib.* n. 1.

³ *R. A. M.* p. 369.

⁴ *R. A. M.* p. 373.

⁵ *R. A. M.* p. 374 n. 6.

⁶ *R. A. M.* p. 363.

⁷ *R. A. M.* p. 361.

⁸ *La date et l'origine des Homélies spirituelles attribuées à Macaire*, par Dom L. Villecourt *init.*

⁹ *R. A. M.* p. 377.

'BREAKS IN THE MIDST OF VERSES'

OR

פסקה באמצע פסוק

I

ALL the help one is able to derive from G. K.¹ is that a פסקה באמצע פסוק is to be rendered in English by 'a space within a verse'. It does not give the number of such 'spaces' in the Bible nor does it supply any information regarding the purpose or object of these 'spaces within verses'.

A long and interesting article on this subject appeared in 1887 in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (p. 481 ff.). The article is unsigned, but from the index to the yearly volume one gathers that it is the work of Professor Graetz. One is tempted to follow Graetz a long way both in his arguments and suggestions. The fact, however, remains that many of his suggested emendations of M T. where *Piska* occurs are forced and that he himself had to give up at least six 'spaces within verses' as unexplainable. It is true that he is inclined to say that these six 'spaces' were erroneously marked. But no careful scholar, I venture to think, would be prepared to affirm that any 'space' was wrongly marked before he could be sure that all the objects, purposes, and functions of the 'spaces' had been finally and definitely ascertained.

An investigator of the subject has, therefore, first to determine the number of 'spaces within verses' or rather 'breaks in verses' (as I would prefer to call them) in the whole Bible, and the chapter and verse in which they occur, and then to decide what was the function each 'Break' served. Only then can he view the whole field, determine the functions, classify the 'Breaks', and formulate a concise statement as to number, place, and function.

II

Now, as to number, one is met by no less than five different figures. Buxtorf gives 23, Fürst (concordance) 31, Ginsburg (Massoreth Hamasoreth) 25, Baer 28, Graetz 34 *minus* 6 which also = 28, while the

¹ Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, p. 67.

Rabbinic Bible of Jacob b. Chayim gives 28 in Gen. iv 8 and 25 in Gen. xxxv 22.

Even in the Pentateuch itself where most scholars agree that there are only four 'breaks in verses', Fürst counts only three (omitting Gen. iv 8), while Baer counts six. Ginsburg in his Introduction¹ tells us that the lists of these 'breaks in the midst of verses' are of extreme rarity. He found them only in one MS. The printed Massorah of Jacob b. Chayim, he mentions, gives only the list of five passages in the Pentateuch, while a MS of 1286 c. E. marks the *Piskas* in four out of the five instances, and among these is Gen. iv 8, the very verse Fürst omitted.

The present writer neither proposes to decide which of the authorities quoted gives the correct number nor thinks that we have as yet sufficient data on which to base our decisions. He is able, however, to record the results, obtained so far, from a study of, and comparison between, the authorities mentioned.

III

The functions of the 'Breaks' are not the same. While most 'Breaks' seem to indicate, according to Graetz, that a word, phrase, or sentence is missing from the text, a good number of 'Breaks' cannot be explained thus, and must, therefore, be assumed to serve other purposes.

Gen. iv 8 is an example of a 'Break' which indicates the omission of a sentence. In the place of the gap in M.T. the LXX has

Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον
= נִצְאָה הַשָּׂדֶה

(Let us go out into the plain, or field). 1 Sam. x 22 is another interesting example. The reply of the oracle in the text 'he hath hid himself among the stuff' does not well suit the question whether a man had come. The suggestion, therefore, is that the 'Break' indicates the omission of

אָנָּה הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה

(Where is this man?) to which the oracle rightly replies 'He hath hid himself', &c.

In Joshua iv 1 we have a 'Break' which seems to indicate that the verse which contains many difficulties (cf. Kimḥi and other commentaries) can best be explained, as Kimḥi does, by a syntactical reconstruction. Such rectification of the construction would remove many difficulties from the chapter, and the 'Break' warns us that a rectification of the syntactical construction is required.

¹ C. D. Ginsburg, *Int. to the Heb. Bible*, p. 547 (1877).

A third of the functions of the 'Breaks' may be found in Gen. xxxv 22. All MSS note¹ that the Sedrah *Wayishlach* (Gen. xxxii 4–xxxvi 43) contains 154 verses. This is confirmed by the different mnemonic signs. Five Yemen MSS give קל"ט"ה = 154 and the Madrid Codex לעד"ן also = 154. But when the verses are actually counted their number is found to be only 153. This difference is explained by Ginsburg² by the following fact. The *מרחא* had a system of versification different from that which obtained in our ordinary Bibles. Gen. xxxv 22 is two verses according to the Eastern recension. 'Hence the number given at the end of the Parsha is according to the Eastern recension, whereas the number of the verses in the text is according to the Western recension.'³

This fact naturally leads us to the conclusion that the 'Break' in Gen. xxxv 22 indicates the end of the verse according to the Eastern recension, and that, therefore, other 'Breaks' may also serve a similar purpose.

Graetz inserts in this last mentioned 'Break'

וַיֵּרֶע בְּעֵינָיו

thus holding that here also the 'Break' indicates the omission of words. For the subject of our enquiry, however, enough has been said to come to the following conclusions.

IV

(a) The number of 'Breaks' in M.T. is not less than 23 nor more than 34.

(b) The functions of the 'Breaks' are :

- (a) To shew that one or more words are missing from the text ;
- (β) To indicate that a rectification of the syntactical construction is required ;
- (γ) To mark the conclusion of a verse according to the Eastern recension.

Most of the 'Breaks' seem to be explained best by (a). A good number of them could be explained by either (a) or (γ). Two of them are explained, according to Graetz, by (β).

ISRAEL W. SLOTKI.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

² *Ibid.*, p. 74.

³ *Ibid.*

JOEL IV 17-21.

THE verses shew an interesting dependence upon Ezekiel, not only in language but in ideas. Ezekiel believed that it was only when Yahweh departed from Jerusalem that the Chaldeans could violate the otherwise inviolate city. He describes how Yahweh forsook His sanctuary and left it a prey to the spoiler. But he also foretold how, when Judah learned the meaning of its discipline, Yahweh would return to Zion and make it His permanent sanctuary. 'This return, says the writer in *v.* 17, will again make Zion inviolate, 'then shall Jerusalem be holy and there shall no strangers pass through her any more'. But *vv.* 20, 21 'Judah shall be inhabited for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation, for the Lord dwelleth in Zion'. Yahweh's return to Zion guarantees the city's immunity.

In that day the land shall not only be secure, but blessed with a new fertility. The promise given in Amos ix 13 of mountains dripping with must, and the other promise of the healing waters from the temple, Ezek. xlvii 1-12, shall find their fulfilment. The presence of Yahweh in the restored land shall make its barrenness cease and make valleys where only acacias could grow blossom.

The dependence here has been generally acknowledged. What I wish to suggest is that the puzzling selection of Egypt and Edom, *v.* 19, as places on which the vengeance of Yahweh shall light may find its interpretation by the same means. Why should these two, and these two alone, be singled out for doom? Here, again, Ezekiel may offer the key. There are two prophecies in the book of Ezekiel which denounce Egypt, chaps. xxix and xxxii. The former confines itself to a detailed threat against the land, and from it the writer of Joel seems to borrow his language, cf. Ezek. xxix 9, 12, as to Egypt. But in chap. xxxii Egypt is associated with a list of other nations, which may be selected as having wantonly oppressed Israel and which are, equally with the Nile valley, threatened with ruin. Now it is possible that the later student of the prophecy observed how in that latter list the only two which have escaped their doom are Egypt and Edom. Asshur, *v.* 22, Elam, *v.* 24, Meshech and Tubal, *v.* 26, the Zidonians, *v.* 30, have already suffered and received their reward: but Egypt, *v.* 18, and Edom, *v.* 29, have as yet escaped. In the day of consummation these also shall be overwhelmed.

Marti has already, on general grounds and without reference to the passages in Ezekiel, stated that Egypt is here selected as the only one of Israel's oppressors which has hitherto failed to receive its chastisement from Yahweh. The weakness of his explanation is that it fails to account for the combination of the two nations, Egypt and Edom, in the one prophecy.

That this combination drew the attention of earlier students and seemed to them to require an explanation, we may conclude from the interpolated sentences in *vv.* 19, 21 'because they have shed innocent blood in their land and I will avenge their blood that I have not avenged' (reading נקם נקם for נקה). I need not give the reasons for holding these clauses to be an addition: I am content to offer a reason for their being added. Egypt and Edom share a common guilt.

This suggestion as to the origin of the verses raises the further question as to whether the section is original in Joel: but that is another matter.

ADAM C. WELCH.

THE HITTITE NAME ARAUNAH.

SOME years ago I suggested in the *Expository Times* that the name of Araunah (2 Sam. xxiv) was Hittite. It is written in various ways—Awarnah (*v.* 16), Arawnah (*vv.* 20 sqq.), and Aranyah (*v.* 18), a sure sign of its foreign origin, while Araunah himself is called a Jebusite, that is to say, one of the Hittite inhabitants of Jerusalem. We now know from the trilingual (Hittite—Assyrian—Sumerian) vocabularies of Boghaz Keui that my suggestion was correct. We learn from them that *arauanis* was the Hittite word for 'nobleman' (Ass. *ellum*) and that the Biblical Araunah was consequently a title rather than a personal name. This explains the gloss in 2 Sam. xxiv 23, where Araunah is interpreted *hammelech*, 'the king'.

Jerusalem, as the Tel el-Amarna tablets first informed us, was of Babylonian foundation and accordingly bore the Babylonian name of Uru-Salim, 'City of Salem'. Its Amurrû or Amorite inhabitants were governed in later times by a Hittite military aristocracy whose 'king' or commander in the Tel el-Amarna age had the name of 'Servant of Kheba', Kheba or Khebe being the supreme goddess of Kizzuwadna who was known throughout the Hittite world as 'the queen of heaven'. In 'Amorite' the 'Servant of Kheba' would have been Ebed-Kheba.

No light has as yet been thrown upon the name Yebus, beyond the fact that -s is the suffix of the Hittite nominative. Cf. the city-names Ganis, Burus (Borissos), &c.

Aranyah for Araunah is an attempt to Hebraize the foreign name. It is therefore possible that the name of Uriyah 'the Hittite' has been similarly Hebraized, perhaps from some personal or gentile name like the Hittite Ura; but it is more probable that it is a second (Semitic) name like that of Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxvi 6). Similar double names, Karian and Egyptian, are found in the Karian inscriptions of Egypt. On the other hand, Bath-Sheba may be a corruption of Bath-Kheba, since שבע for שבעה is philologically difficult to defend, and שבע 'seven'

would give no sense. In the Hittite texts the name of the goddess is written Khebe which would be כְּבֵה in Hebrew. The Chronicler's Ornan for Araunah is instructive in this respect.

A. H. SAYCE.

Ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ιδιώτου. 1 Cor. xiv 16.

Ἀναπληροῦν = 'to fill up', e.g. τὰ διαστήματα (Plut. ii 1020 A), τὴν βουλὴν ὀλιγανδροῦσαν (i 102 F), τὰς τάξεις ('ranks' i 394 C), τὴν [τοῦ τεθνηκότος] τάξιν (ii 242 A), or 'to supplement', e.g. μουσικὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασιν (ii 1142 D).

Τόπος is of course often used of a 'place', or 'part', or 'section' of a book, e.g. εἰς τὸν περὶ εὐδαιμονίας τόπον (Plut. ii 1070 D), ἅπερ ἐμπέπηται τὸ παραλειφθὲν εἰς τόπον προσήκοντα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ (ii 855 E :? 'into a series of occurrences within the scope of the history').

In Plutarch's 'Crassus' (554 C) we are told that owing to his immense painstaking he was never unprepared to speak for an accused person, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πομπηίου πολλάκις ὀκνοῦντος καὶ Καίσαρος ἐξαναστήναι καὶ Κικέρωνος ἐκείνος ἀνεπλήρου τὴν συνηγορίαν—i.e. had it not been for Crassus the defence would have been lacking, but when those other great men hesitated he filled up the threatened gap, lit. 'filled up the pleading'.

In 1 Cor. xiv 16 instead of τὴν συνηγορίαν we have τὸν τόπον τοῦ ιδιώτου, 'the part (of the Service) assigned to the layman', and ἀναπληροῦν is used in very much the same way: the Service is maimed and incomplete if the layman's part is left empty instead of being 'filled up'.

G. H. WHITAKER.

ORIGEN'S EXHORTATION TO MARTYRDOM AND 4 MACCABEES.

IN Origen's Exhortation to Martyrdom (22-27) there is a long account of the Maccabean martyrs which Origen (p. 23, 25 Koetschau) professes to be a condensation of 2 Macc. vi 18-vii 42. Closer examination shews several unacknowledged reminiscences of the long and rhetorical version of the same subject in 4 Macc.

(1) Exh. 5, with its contrast between those who died for the Virtues and the martyrs for Religion, should be compared with the opening chapters of 4 Macc. Eleazar and the seven brethren are emphatically martyrs for Religion ('our philosophy', 4 Macc. v 22, v 18, xv 12, xvi 13, 17, &c.).

(2) Exh. 31 *ad init.* compare 4 Macc. vii 1-3. Compare also Exh. 47, p. 43, 10 Koe. and 4 Macc. vii 5, xiii 6, Vita Plotini p. 30, 19 Volkmann.

(3) Exh. 27, p. 23, 23 Koe. τὸ μητρικὸν πῦρ is not derived from 2 Macc., but from 4 Macc. xvi 3, 4.

(4) Exh. 27, p. 23, 27 Koe. τὸ πρὸς θεὸν φίλτρον suggests 4 Macc. xiii 19, xiii 27, xv 13. The word is uncommon in Origen.

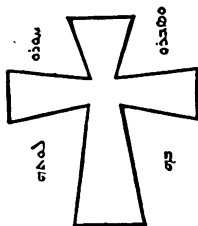
(5) Exh. 26, p. 23, 1 Koe. πεισθεῖς καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀδελφόν may have been suggested by 2 Macc. vii 29; but see 4 Macc. x 2, 12, 15.

These coincidences suggest that 'Maccabees' in the Origenist list of books of the Bible included Fourth Maccabees.

WILLIAM METCALFE.

A NEW NESTORIAN MONUMENT IN CHINA.

SOME months ago my friend the Rev. A. C. Moule, Vicar of Trumpington, called my attention to the diagram of a Cross accompanied by a written inscription, published in the *New China Review*, August, 1920, p. 421. The Cross was cut on a block of carved stone, once apparently part of a larger construction, and now forming part of a balustrade in a Chinese convent at Ch'ai-ch'ang, a village some 25 miles WSW. of Peking. The letters were supposed to be 'Mongol', but as engraved were impossible to decipher. Now a rubbing has arrived, and the inscription turns out to be Syriac, a quotation from the Psalms. The lettering I should judge to be not later than the thirteenth century, and might be a good deal earlier, but it is hard to judge from a short inscription in which the characters may be intentionally archaistic.



This is ܐܡܝܢ ܡܝܬܪܐ ܕܡܝܬܪܐ 'Look unto Him and hope in Him', i.e. the Peshitta rendering of Ps. xxxiv 6.

The Cross is more ornamental than in the diagram, and rises out of an ornamental base something like a conventional Lotus.

Actual monuments of the later stages of Nestorian Christianity in China are so rare, that a special notice of this stone seems not inappropriate. Further information about it will be found in an article by Mr Moule in a forthcoming number of the *New China Review*.

F. C. BURKITT.

REVIEWS

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY.

The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, vol. i, Prolegomena: edited by F. J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D., and KIRSOPP LAKE, D.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1920.) pp. 480.

Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity, by KIRSOPP LAKE, D.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1920.) pp. 147.

THE former of these two volumes is the first instalment of a work on the Beginnings of Christianity, which has been planned on a very large scale. The first section alone appears to be intended to occupy three or four volumes to be grouped round the book of Acts. The Prolegomena now before us deal with the Backgrounds, Jewish, Gentile, and Christian, against which the history and the thought of the Acts are to be set. A further instalment of Prolegomena will deal with 'criticism', and that will be followed by the commentary proper. The 'Editors' have called in to their assistance in this volume three specialists, but make themselves responsible for the whole, as they 'have not scrupled to rearrange, abbreviate, or expand the chapters submitted to them'. Their own work represents about two-thirds of the book. Only one of these Editors is responsible for the second of these works, which consists of a series of lectures delivered at Oberlin by Dr Kirsopp Lake. It is a sketch of the development of Christianity through a succession of stages which are indicated by the lecture-titles, Galilee, Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Rome. Its scope is accordingly much wider than that of the larger volume, and it is necessarily only a sketch: but it is of importance for the clear way in which it shews the conclusions to which the former volume leads, the point of view from which in fact the larger work is written.

It is certainly high time that we had from English scholarship a commentary on the Acts in Greek which would bring to bear on its many problems of literary and historical criticism all the new evidence which has been accumulating for many years. And the earlier work of the Editors, especially of Dr Lake, prepares us to find them fully competent for the task.

In the meantime, we have the Prolegomena. In the first two sections, dealing with the Jewish and Gentile backgrounds, I should single out as of special value the chapters on The Spirit of Judaism by Mr C. G. Montefiore, on The Dispersion by the Editors, and on Life in the Roman Empire by Mr C. H. Moore. Mr Montefiore has already

worked over this ground for us more than once, and he gives us here again a picture of Judaism which must command our respect and sympathy. Much of it is, however, hardly relevant to the immediate purpose in hand: for much of it refers to the Judaism of the second and third centuries: and the methods of criticism which are subsequently applied to the Gospels would preclude us from using such material for information as to the first century. Other contributions to these sections are good, but their subjects are not so vitally related to the main purpose of the volume that we could not have spared them in favour of a fuller treatment of what follows.

For in the third section, where we come to what is really vital for the understanding of the Beginnings of Christianity, we leave solid ground, and plunge into discussions or meet presuppositions to the expansion or defence of which much more space might have been usefully devoted. Within this section there come up for discussion or for summary judgement practically all the central questions of Gospel criticism, such as are covered by the titles, Sources, Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God, Suffering Servant, Kingdom of God, Teaching of Jesus. 'Mark is far more a primary authority for the thought of the Apostolic Age than for the life of Jesus.' This represents a view which has not hitherto met with such support from English scholarship that it should be put here as the foundation of what follows without argument and without references. When it is added that for some reason unexplained little or no use is made of Q except in so far as it supports Mark, we see how slender are the Gospel foundations on which this section is built.

Nothing much short of a treatise on New Testament Theology would suffice to deal with the arguments and implications of this third section of the work. All that can be done here is to state the general conclusion and then enquire how it is arrived at. That conclusion is stated most clearly in the phrase: 'Christianity became, partly indeed, the recognition of the Jewish God as supreme, but chiefly the recognition of Jesus as the divine Lord who had instituted saving mysteries for those who accepted him' (*Landmarks* p. 8; cf. pp. 74, 107). Apparently this took place already within the area and the period covered by the New Testament. And the method by which this thesis is to be proved is first by reducing the significance and influence of Jesus of Nazareth almost to vanishing point, and then by magnifying the importance of Baptism in the primitive community (little is said concerning the other sacrament), and by so interpreting its significance that it becomes the main feature in a mystery-cult. The method in the first case is comparatively simple, almost mechanical at the outset. The first step is to reduce the space allotted to the specifically Christian factor in the Prolegomena until it just balances the non-Christian factors, the Jewish

and the Gentile. The second is to limit the space in which the impulse, ideas, and inspiration communicated by Jesus are described to some thirty-five pages. The third is to consider therein only His 'public' teaching, and to dismiss that with very scant sympathy. There is a discussion of the meaning of 'the Kingdom of God', in which, as it seems to me, the distinction between the Age of the Messiah and the Age to come is hardly worth all the emphasis it gets, seeing that it is admitted to be in practice a vanishing one; and the definition of the Kingdom as 'the sovereignty of God' is too abstract and therefore too modern to be a satisfactory equivalent for the phrase on Jewish lips. Its attraction for the writers proves later to lie in this, that it enables them to see in references to the Kingdom as a sphere, realm, or society, allusions to the Christian Church, which are of course interpolated into the teaching of Jesus. It is, however, satisfactory to find that the extreme views of Schweitzer and his followers are rejected, and it is recognized that there is a group of passages in which the Kingdom is regarded as present. But when we come to the direct teaching of Jesus it proves to be something incredibly meagre. 'In what way did the teaching of Jesus differ from that of his contemporaries? Not by teaching anything about God essentially new to Jewish ears' (*Beginnings* p. 288). This may be technically correct, if we confine our attention to categorical teaching: but it shews a singular insensitivity to the fact that the disciples learnt a great deal from Jesus over and above what was so communicated, or has been so recorded. And the result was a new attitude to God, a new relation to Him, which in later days came to be construed into a deeper knowledge. 'The differences which are important concern three subjects of vital and controversial interest—resistance to the oppressors of Israel, the fate of the People of the Land, and the right observance of the Law' (*ibid.* p. 289). In a word the positive teaching of Jesus (apart from the proclamation of the Kingdom and the summons to repent) resolves itself into a kind of political pacifism (which recent history has proved to be an 'impossible policy': *Landmarks* p. 33), a lenient attitude towards the People of the Land, and an interpretation of some portions of the Law based on an appeal to their original meaning and relation to human life.

The arguments by which this theory of the non-resistance teaching is supported are worth studying: they are characteristic of much else in the book. 'This patriotic party is not mentioned by name in the Gospels.' 'It is true that we do not hear anything directly of the opposition of Jesus to this party.' But 'much of the teaching of Jesus becomes intelligible only when placed against the background which it supplies'. As though it were not immediately intelligible when

placed against the background of social life in Palestine. 'An enemy hath done this' is what at once occurs to the man who finds tares in his corn.

Since, as it is almost needless to remark, Jesus did nothing except teach, and since only His 'public' teaching is taken into account, and since this is all that it amounts to, the effect is to bring Jesus of Nazareth down to the position of a Rabbi like many others who 'were inspired by the vision of the Age to Come and awed by the difficulty of attaining it' (p. 289).

In the chapters which follow, the writers seem to be quite unconscious of the dilemma which they have thus created for themselves. It is just the old question before which similar theories have recoiled before: How then do you account for the Christians and the Church? If Jesus had been thus little more than a lay-figure, how came it that the men who had seen Him die a felon's death are found so soon after believing in Him as alive, preaching Him as Messiah and Lord, behaving to Him as men behave to God? This problem is all the greater for the Editors if we take it, as we fairly may, that they would explain the Resurrection as is done in a well-known book by one of them. The emergence of the 'Easter-faith' becomes simply incredible if there was neither miracle nor such a person as could call out, and had called out, 'faith' in a very deep sense of the word. Why, for example, did the new movement crystallize round Jesus, and not round John the Baptist? There was really more reason why it should do so, than crystallize round the person of Jesus as it is presented to us here. This crucial question is passed over in silence: so that the book on the Beginnings of Christianity leaves the actual beginning not only unaccounted for, but inexplicable.

The same dilemma appears in various minor forms when we reach the chapter on Christology. Whether Jesus thought of Himself as 'Messiah' or not, hardly matters. For 'Messiah' is essentially an adjective meaning consecrated or approved by God, and was not the prerogative title of any single person until later than the time of Christ'. If the title had thus no specific meaning, if it connoted no kind of function in the coming Kingdom, why did it at once take its place at the centre of apostolic preaching? Why was even the Gospel of Mark 'composed partly to shew that the deeds of Jesus during His ministry prove that He was the Messiah'—to prove it to 'Greeks' although 'the word "Christ" was unintelligible to Greek ears'? (*Landmarks* p. 68). So with the 'Son of Man'. 'Jesus did not openly identify Himself with the Son of Man' (p. 283, cf. 374). Then why did the compilers of the Gospel, again writing for Greeks, to whom this phrase also was 'unintelligible' (*ibid.*), make it the commonest self-description of Jesus?

So too with the Suffering Servant. 'It is tempting to suggest that the interpretation of Isaiah liii as a prophecy of Jesus was first introduced by Hellenistic Christians' (p. 391). What was there to induce Hellenistic Christians to make such an identification? One can see how the conviction that there was an effective connexion between the death of Jesus and forgiveness of sins might either grow out of or lead up to the identification between Him and the Suffering Servant: but what was there that could possibly lead to either, if we are to exclude the consciousness of Jesus as a source? Of course, both the passages in which 'Son' is used absolutely have to go, though the process of eliminating them (especially Mk. xiii 32, one of Schmiedal's 'foundation pillars') shews the Editors hard put to it for proof. Luke omitted the passage. No doubt he found it hard to reconcile with his conception of Jesus. It is cancelled here for a similar reason.

'Christianity became a Graeco-Oriental cult offering salvation just as did the other mystery-religions' (*Landmarks* p. 74). For that judgement we have been prepared by Dr Lake's previous work. It does not, however, appear to find here any further or stronger support than before. And the crucial question 'when?' remains very obscure. That at some period and in some quarters of the Church a magical efficacy came to be attached to sacraments is of course undeniable. But at what point of time did the change begin, when was it complete, what were the causes at work, and especially, what was the Christianity which thus 'became' something else? The Editors would like us to think that it began with Paul if not before him, and that it resulted from a capitulation to Hellenism. That is to say, they ignore the whole orientation of Paul's mind towards Judaism and the Old Testament; they ignore the nerve of his Gospel as 'consisting first and last in experiences generated in the believer by the Cross'; they ignore the marked rarity of his references to either sacrament, and his passionate emphasis on something other than 'works' as the secret of salvation, whereas nothing could be nearer to his idea of a 'work' than a quasi-magical rite. They ignore in fact all that for St Paul was vital in Christianity, except the 'mystical union' which they account for in a way which he would have repudiated. The discussion turns almost wholly on Baptism, of whose origin a very careful and interesting account is given, though the conclusion to which it leads is curiously lame. 'Probably there was no direct connexion between the baptism of John and Christian baptism, which *came in naturally* (my italics) as soon as Gentiles began to be converted.' This is hardly more satisfactory than the answer given to the very important question, Wherein lay the superiority of this (Christian) cult which gave it the victory over the other mystery-religions? 'The true answer is that Catholic

Christianity conquered because it was popular' (*Landmarks* p. 80). There must have been a point, a period at which Christianity appealed to 'Greeks' as a non-mystery religion. Those who responded to its appeal turned their backs on long-established cults. They chose it as something different. What we want to know is what was the content of the religion which made this appeal? The Editors have shut out the true answer to this question by evacuating the person of Jesus of all permanent significance. If Paul had thought of Baptism as 'the source of the gift of the Spirit' (*Landmarks* p. 87), he could never have written Gal. iii 2: 'Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?' If he had thought of Baptism as the efficient cause of the new birth, he could never have written 1 Cor. iv 15.

The question of Christianity and the mystery-religions is, however, too large to discuss here. But it may be worth while to consider what may be the general reasons which lie at the back of this exposition of the Christian origins. There is first an obvious under-estimate of the Old Testament and the religion of the prophets as making by far the largest contribution to the forms in which the specific Christian experience was interpreted and expressed. It is strange how this under-estimate seems to accompany a certain obsequiousness to 'Judaism'. Is it due to the subtle working of the old antinomy between the letter of the Law and the spirit of the prophet?

A careful reader will notice further a certain differential treatment of the two types of phenomena. In connexion with such as may be described as belonging to the religious type, the evidence is treated with a ruthless rigour which leaves little behind; whereas phenomena of a ritual or external type are exposed to much gentler cross-examination. For the latter it is allowed and even claimed at times that evidence confessedly late affords presumption of much earlier appearance, a presumption which would be roundly denied in the case of the former.

It is difficult to say whether this is the cause or the effect of a general failure to appreciate religious and ethical values, alike in the Old Testament, the Gospels, and in the Epistles. It is something more than 'the denial of the miraculous'. One moves in an atmosphere of mere secularity. It is God that is missing. I cannot conceal my opinion that the Editors have done a disservice to the cause of liberal theology in the English-speaking world. There are many who will say, Behold the *reductio ad absurdum* of your literary and historical criticism. The time has come to say that no one is rightly qualified to deal successfully with the problem of Christian origins who has not his mind open to the world's need of God and to the possibility that that need has been met as it purports to have been in the Gospels.

ANDERSON SCOTT.

TWO BOOKS ON PRAYER.

- (1) *The Realm of Prayer*, by R. H. COATS, M.A., B.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1920.)
 (2) *The Power of Prayer*, Walker Trust Essays. (Macmillan & Co., 1920.)

THAT the war with its stress and anxiety was favourable to the developement of prayer, or at least to the creation of an atmosphere in which prayer flourishes, has been generally recognized. The reason is not far to seek, for

almost every one when age,
 Disease, or sorrows strike him

cries out to God for the help man cannot give.

The two books before us add notable evidence of what we already know, and both are worthy of attention.

Mr Coats's volume of 330 pages may be described as a practical guide to prayer, founded upon theory, and illustrated from history. The theory is eminently sound. The right note is struck in the opening phrase, 'Man's noblest art is the art of holding fellowship with God', and half way through, in the section on prayers of the Old Testament, a fact is well brought out which is sometimes missed by Bible readers. 'They (the prayers) are never a mere soliloquy, but always a real colloquy between two persons. . . . There is a genuine consciousness of spiritual reciprocity, and prayer is as natural as ordinary conversation. . . . We marvel at the crispness, urgency, definiteness, directness, and naive simplicity of the *vis-à-vis* discourse, the straightforward encounter of spiritual give and take on both sides' (p. 165). A writer who gets so close to the root of the matter deserves to be heard. He might have developed the theme a little further and shewn that the touchstone of friendship is not the winning this or that benefit, but the heart of the friend. Mr Coats would not deny this, but his passing statement that 'all prayer is primarily egoistic in its character' would be stoutly resisted by a whole class of men of prayer.

The history is traced with a sure hand, and the illustrations give evidence of wide reading and culture. One singular omission is the *De Oratione* of Origen, to which, I think, no reference is made. The words *βίος μία προσευχή συνεχομένη* would have fitly served to clinch the whole argument.

The practical advice offered by Mr Coats is useful. Much of it is doubtless familiar from other sources. Some of it might have been spared without hurt; the hints on pulpit prayers are useful to only a minority of readers. But the book is of real value, pleasantly written,

devout and reverent, and it is as good a general presentation of the case for prayer as any outside the *Real-Encyclopädie* of Hauck, the masterly article in which by W. Herrmann ('Gebet', vol. vi) seems to have escaped the notice of Mr Coats.

Let me add an Augustinian blossom to the posy of quotations at the end of the volume.

'Immundum quippe illud animal in Lege positum est, eo quod non ruminat: non autem hoc eius vitium, sed natura est. Sunt autem homines qui per hoc animal significantur, immundi proprio vitio, non natura: qui cum libenter audiant verba sapientiae, postea de his omnino non cogitant.' *Contra Faustum* vi 7.

The figure is grotesque, but it is the last word on 'the danger of neglecting meditation.

The second book on our list is a very different affair, more difficult to read and much more difficult to review.

The origin and nature are on this wise. The Walker Trustees of the University of St Andrews who commemorate the name and ministry of the saintly pastor of Kinnell (*ob.* 1868 *aet.* 85) offered in 1916 one prize of £100 (and others at their discretion) for the 'most helpful' original essay on Prayer. No conditions were set, no creed or language was barred, no length was prescribed, although 6,000 words were suggested as a limit.

The challenge was accepted by 1,667 competitors writing in nineteen different languages, civilized and barbarous, from English to Kaffir. The essays of four prizewinners and three 'honourable mentions' are here printed, together with twelve others chosen not so much for their merit as for their representative character. Dr W. P. Patterson of Edinburgh prologuizes, Mr David Russell of the Walker Trust, epiloguizes. There is a copious bibliography and two good indexes.

As may be imagined, the work is not one to be read at a sitting. It must be tasted in sips.

It cannot be said that any one of the essays is of first-rate value as literature or thought, but there are very few which do not contain good things—some, very good—and the collection as a whole forms a human document of extraordinary interest. There is no manner of doubt as to the single-minded sincerity of most of the writers. Their science may be shaky, their experiences open to question, their learning superficial. But there is in their utterance a reality of conviction, a sense of the unseen, a belief in the power of prayer, which witness to an unexpected treasure of religious feeling in this troubled twentieth-century world. A book which brings this to light is one to be grateful for.

Examiners are notoriously apt to take divergent views in the matter of essays. But probably no one would dispute the right of Dr McComb,

Canon of Maryland, to the first prize. His dissertation on 'Prayer—its meaning, reality, and power' is sober, sensible, and suggestive. The other awards seem perhaps more open to question, but the Court was hampered by the condition of 'helpfulness', which ruled out several interesting contributions. For instance, the Christian Scientist (XII) and the Oriental Mystic (XVII), when they are not grinding their own axe, say much that is both true and beautiful, while the personal experiences of an evangelist (XIII) and the faith of a missionary (XI) must command respect and admiration, even though some of the statements advanced require outside support. On the other hand, the essay which shews most learning (XX 'Rules and methods; chapters in the history of prayer') has unscholarly touches which call criticism to arms. What can we think of the judgement of a writer who plumps for Jerome's *supersubstantialem* as the equivalent of the original Aramaic in the Lord's Prayer according to Luke, who calls Mme Guyon 'a graceful writer'—Mme Guyon, who wrote *des vers dans le style de l'Abbé Cotin et de la prose dans le goût de Polichinelle*? Another learned essay (XVI), on Bahai Prayer, omits all reference to Professor E. G. Browne's classical studies on Babism and cannot therefore be held to have tapped all sources.

Speaking generally, I should say that the most remarkable features of the symposium are (1) the variety of the witness to the efficacy of prayer, (2) the recognition of the superior claims of spiritual over material needs, (3) the absence of intolerance and dogmatism. And all this points to the benign influence of prayer upon those who use it. The writers have been on their knees before or while they wrote.

Even these nineteen representative papers do not cover the whole ground of the subject; and there are notable *lacunae*. There is curiously little said by any except the Roman Catholic and the Mystics on the theme of thanksgiving and adoration. The real barrier to prayer—that which makes prayer impossible—unrepented sin, is hardly touched upon. This is no doubt in the spirit of the age. The value of prayer as a creative power is imperfectly grasped. This want is noted by Mr Russell in his summing-up. He might have quoted Pascal: 'Pourquoi Dieu a établi la prière; 1^o Pour communiquer à ses créatures la dignité de la causalité.'

In order to end upon a cheerful note, unqualified praise is due to Dr Patterson, whose opening article on 'The Contemporary Mind', in which he surveys the competition and its results, is not only a masterpiece of analysis, but provides by its wisdom and sound divinity a wholesome corrective to the extravagances of some of the essayists.

H. F. STEWART.

Testimonies. By RENDEL HARRIS, with the assistance of VACHER BURCH. Part II. (Cambridge University Press, 1920.)

IN this volume Dr Rendel Harris and Mr Burch bring to more or less completion their arguments for the existence of a collection of anti-Judaic proof-texts from the Old Testament which antedated the New Testament literature, and which formed a handbook used by most of the early Christian writers. The review of the second half of a book is not, perhaps, the occasion for a discussion of the whole subject; but this at least may be said. The probability of the existence of Books of Testimonies has long been recognized, both *Testimonies pro Iudaeis* and *Testimonies adversus Iudaeos*. Hatch in his *Essays on Biblical Greek* (p. 203), Harnack (*History of Dogma* i 175), Drummond (*Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* p. 365), Stanton (*The Gospels as Historical Documents* ii 344), Burkitt (*The Gospel History and its Transmission* p. 127), Moffatt (*Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* p. 34), all agree that a collection of systematized extracts from the Old Testament would be needed, and therefore was extremely likely to be compiled. It was an age of excerpts and anthologies, and while on the one hand Jewish piety may well have brought together passages of Messianic import, on the other hand Christian propagandists would not be slow to do the same, and point to their fulfilment by Jesus of Nazareth. For that was the first necessity laid upon the evangelizers—to convince their Jewish hearers that Jesus was the Messiah because He fulfilled the prophetic oracles. This point need not be laboured. Granted such a nucleus of suitable proof-texts for use in argument with the Jews, it would soon and easily be supplemented or altered in process of time as need arose. For there can be no doubt but that the use of Testimonies grew out of experience. Real disputations such as we read of in the Acts involved this, and thus the collections of proof-texts compiled themselves. The sharp question and answer, the abrupt or harsh dilemma, were no literary device, they were echoes of actual dispute: they were not the outcome of imaginary polemic, but transcripts of real debate. They were hammered out by the grim necessities of the case argued *coram populo*. The literary tradition was based upon actual experience.

The next stage would be the arrangement of useful Testimonies under appropriate headings in a literary form; and when a series of apparently independent writers employ the same sequence of quotations, few of which are really relevant, but all of which were conventionally accepted as relevant, and when they fall into the same errors of ascription of authorship, there may be held to be evidence of literary dependence upon some common source of the quotations, especially when some of these are of a strikingly composite character. Such evidence Dr Harris

believes that he has been able to gather from Barnabas, Justin, Irenaeus, Lactantius, Athanasius, and some later writers, and it was set forth in *Testimonies* Part I, published four years ago. The *Testimonia* were shewn to be almost entirely anti-Judaic and pro-Christian, ranging over a large area of controversial subjects; and as such they survive in Cyprian and in Gregory Nyssen. The present work is devoted chiefly to indications of the use of the Testimony Book by St Paul in his letters to the Romans, to the Galatians, and to the Ephesians, by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, by the Synoptists and by St Luke in the Acts, by St John and by St Peter. The investigation of allusion and citation in these writers is pursued with meticulous, and (if one may venture to say so) occasionally whimsical, but always exuberant and joyous, assiduity.

I must try to justify my use of the word whimsical. On p. 15 (where the reference on the top line should be Rom. ii 24, not 17), in discussing St Paul's citation of Isa. lii 5, it is surely fanciful to drag in the meaning of the original Hebrew of that passage. St Paul was not thinking about the Hebrew, because he found what he wanted in the LXX. Dr Harris writes, 'When we turn to the Hebrew . . . we see that some one has anti-Judaized the passage, first of all by the insertion of $\delta\epsilon\ \iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, second by the addition of the words "among the Gentiles"'. But the 'some one' is the LXX translation; and if a Dialogist and Eusebius and Gregory Nyssen employ the passage in a way similar to St Paul, it is because for them (as for him too so often) the LXX (and not the Hebrew) was the 'authorized version'. It was the LXX use of $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ in Habakkuk ii 4 that permitted the employment of that text in arguing the case of Faith *versus* Works, notwithstanding that the Pauline $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ connoted something vastly differing from the prophet's conception of faithfulness (Rom. i 17, Gal. iii 11). Again, on p. 30, is it necessary to assume a written original for the series of questions—Did not Israel know? Did they not hear? Had God abandoned His people? Did they stumble so as to fall? These are just the questions that would naturally have arisen in those public disputations to which reference is made in the Acts (ix 22, xviii 4, xix 8 f), and St Paul, when writing to the Romans, recalled the arguments that he had been obliged to meet verbally more than once. It is a pity to weaken a good case by arguments that do not carry conviction, as Dr Harris himself admits occasionally. Moreover, he sometimes blurs the clear outline of his argument by expending a great deal of energy on details that eventually are abandoned as irrelevant.

The chapters on the Epistle to the Hebrews and on Jesus and the Exodus are illuminating and ingenious, and in further illustration of 'the identification of the historical Jesus with Old Testament situations' (the phrasing is not felicitous) there might have been added 'the

reproach of the Christ' from Hebrews xi 26 (reminiscent of Ps. lxxxix 51), and the Western and Syriac reading τὸν χριστόν in 1 Cor. x 9. I could wish that something had been said about the possible light thrown by collections of Testimonies on the composite quotations in the Gospels. For instance, the reply of the Jerusalem rabbis to the inquiry of Herod as to the predicted birthplace of the coming King (Mt. ii 6) corresponds verbally neither with the Hebrew nor with the LXX, but might very well be taken from a list of Messianic passages in which Micah v 2 was combined with 2 Samuel v 2. This may have been done either in a Jewish manual of Messianic texts, or in a Christian collection, and thence extracted by the compiler of the first Gospel. Another interesting combination is the blend of Isa. lxi 1, lviii 6, and lxi 2, which St Luke makes our Lord read in the synagogue at Nazareth (Lk. iv 18 f), and which allows us to conjecture either that the roll handed to Christ was itself a composite collection of Messianic excerpts from the prophet, or that the fusion of phrases is due to St Luke and to his supreme artistry in thus etching in, in the foreground of his Gospel, the characteristic lines of what Christ's ministry was to accomplish. The latter supposition is to my own mind the more probable. Something similar, I suppose, might be said of the Christian adaptation of the phraseology of Isa. xlii 1-4 in Mt. xii 18 f. In favour of the existence of Jewish manuals lies the fact that both our Lord and a Jewish lawyer on two apparently different occasions (Mk. xii 30, Lk. x 37) used the same composite of texts—Deut. vi 5 and Lev. xix 18—as though they were quoting from a well-known primer in which the twin duties to God and to one's neighbour were placed together.

Mr Burch has something to say on the puzzling 'He shall be called a Nazarene' of Mt. ii 23. I had myself tentatively suggested in *The Interpreter* (vol. xiv 3, April 1918) that the citation might have been made from a Jewish handbook as a summary of the prophecies in which Isaiah (iv 2, xi 1) and Jeremiah (xxiii 5, xxxiii 15) had spoken of the Messiah as the Branch (netzer, tzemach, ἄνθος, ἀνατολή). But Mr Burch shews that the ἄνθος = netzer of Isa. xi 1 and of Justin Martyr *Dial.* 126 and of Cyprian *Test.* ii 11 is a Testimony name, and that נאצר = ἄνθος 'chimes naturally' with the Aramaic for Nazareth and Nazarene, thus providing a literary reason for Matthew's phrase 'spoken by the prophets', which refers to the prophets in the Testimony Book, not to the body of Hebrew prophets. Whether this be so or not, it is, I think, quite clear now that the Matthaean Logia of the Papias tradition were not the discourses (and narrative) in our first Gospel, but 'Dominical Oracles', a phrase which is most naturally understood of Old Testament passages believed to be, or treated as being, 'prophecies' 'fulfilled' by events connected with the Lord's life and ministry. In the time of Papias λόγια had only one meaning when used in this connexion, that of Old Testament

Oracles. Half a century later Justin (*Trypho* 18) used it for the first time of specified utterances of Christ, but in a manner that shews he was aware that he was using it in an unusual sense. Nowhere does he use it of written Gospels. This was demonstrated very clearly by the late Dr John Burslem Gregory in *The Oracles ascribed to Matthew by Papias of Hierapolis*, published by Longmans in 1894. It is a tempting conjecture that the original collection of Testimonies was that work of St Matthew the Apostle to which Papias incidentally alludes. But it is precarious to pile hypothesis upon hypothesis. The existence of a Testimony Manual is one thing, and may be well established: the question as to who was its original compiler is another. To these Dr Harris, now half-heartedly, adds a third—an enquiry whether the original Matthaean compilation is not still extant in a Bodleian and an Athos manuscript. It is a pity that this investigation was included in the volume, for it tends to confuse issues which are really quite distinct. When presenting the evidence for a new and not universally accepted theory, it is not wise to encumber it with anything which is not necessarily involved in the main position. The cumulative effect is weakened, if not spoiled. On p. 39 for Heb. iii 8 read Ephes. iv 8; on p. 62 the spelling 'Nazarite' is unusual; and lower down for *Dial.* i 26 read 126; on p. 82 'apostacy' strikes the eye; on p. 88 l. 7 from bottom, the reference to Irenaeus *Apost. Preaching* should be 78 not 79.

I should like to add two remarks which have been suggested to me by a fresh study of the evidence adduced in *Testimonies* i and ii. The first is regarding the Greek text of Justin Martyr. The MS authority is scanty; but the text has obviously been worked over so far as the longer citations from the LXX are concerned and assimilated to it. In his own short quotations Justin frequently differs from the LXX, apparently working from some textbook. These have not been disturbed; but his editors in the case of the longer quotations have disregarded Justin and gone direct to a Septuagintal text. In *Trypho* 124 the point of the argument is thus destroyed, and what Justin really read and wrote cannot now be ascertained. Similarly in *Trypho* 73 Justin charges the Jews with having erased ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου from Ps. xcvi, and yet when quoting the whole Psalm for the very purpose of proving his charge the text gives the LXX version without the words in dispute!

My second point is that Irenaeus's dependence upon Justin Martyr may be more intimate than is generally supposed. The Dean of Wells has illustrated this in his Introduction to the translation of the *Apostolic Preaching*; but it had already been pointed out by Dr Montgomery Hitchcock in this JOURNAL (ix 34. 285, Jan. 1908). It is also interesting to see that Dr Hitchcock likewise believes that both Justin and Irenaeus often followed 'some common collection of scriptural proofs'.

T. HERBERT BINDLEY.

Sol Salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung in Gebet und Liturgie (on Praying towards the East). By FRANZ JOSEPH DÖLGER. (Münster, 1920.)

'THE Apostles therefore appointed that to the East ye should pray, because "as the lightning which lighteneth from the East and is seen even to the West, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be", that by this we may know and understand that from the East He will appear suddenly.' So runs the first of the Canons in the Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles*, as published by Cureton in 1864 and by Lagarde in 1856. It is a great pity that Professor Dölger has overlooked this ancient document, for it enunciates more clearly and explicitly than any other text one of the two main theses of the book here reviewed. The other thesis is that early Christian praxis in worship coincided in a number of curious details with the widely-spread cult of the Sun. It is therefore of the first importance to notice that the use of Matt. xxiv 27 in this connexion has nothing whatever to do with Sun-worship: the Syriac Canon as it stands is a relic of the eschatological hopes of the early Christians and belongs to the Jewish environment in which Christianity was born, before it was ever contaminated (if it was contaminated) with heathen ideas and customs.

Prof. Dölger does indeed refer to these Syriac Canons, but only indirectly through Marutha of Maipherkat, who wrote early in the fifth century (p. 129). In his version Marutha refers to Christmas Day, to Pentecost, and to commemorations of the Virgin Mary; so Prof. Dölger concludes that he has to do with an 'apokryphes Sammelwerk', compiled after the time of Ephraim († A. D. 373), and certainly inferior in age and authority to the *Didascalia* (third century). But none of these marks of a later age are found in the Canons as edited from the ancient MSS used by Cureton and Lagarde: it is indeed rather difficult to know to what age they belong, but I see no reason why, even in their present form, they should be considered later than the *Didascalia* itself.¹ If the Church of Mesopotamia prayed towards the East, it was not because of the *Didascalia*, but in agreement with it.

The *Didascalia*, like the Syriac Apostolic Canons, enjoins prayer

¹ The Christian Year of these Canons consists of Epiphany on Jan. 6, Fast for 40 days before the Passion, the day of the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension 50 days (Cureton) or 40 days (Lagarde) after the Resurrection, Commemorations of Martyrs on the day of their execution. It is said (Canon II) that the Resurrection and the Ascension (*sic*) are both on Sunday, and on Sunday will be the Parusia. Canon VIII commands that the people shall stand when the Gospel is read. Canon XXV looks forward to the day when there may be Christian kings, as was the case very early in Edessa.

towards the East, but the reason given is different, viz.: 'Give praise to God who rideth on the heaven of heavens on the East'. That is to say the Greek original quoted Psalm lxvii (lxviii) 34 from the LXX, punctuating it ψάλατε τῷ θεῷ, τῷ ἐπιβεβηκότι ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κατὰ ἀνατολᾶς (Dölger, p. 128). It is noticeable that here the eschatological flash has gone, and a reason is given that is not incompatible with Prof. Dölger's parallels from actual Sun-worship.

In any case the evidence to be got from Mesopotamian custom in this matter is specially valuable, because it comes from a region due north of Jerusalem, where the Jews pray towards the South. Prof. Dölger makes it clear that the Christian custom of prayer towards the East is no imitation of the Jewish custom, but if influenced by the Synagogue at all, it is a protest against it. Only the Elchasites worshipped towards Jerusalem (p. 146). For the eastward position of the Christians our author produces a number of converging reasons. Christ was believed to have ascended towards the East (p. 149 ff.). He was expected to appear from the East, as we have seen; further, Paradise was believed to be in the East (p. 166 ff.), to which both in life and in death the Christian wished to set his face (p. 194).¹

But in doing this the Christian put himself in a line with those whose God was *Sol Inuictus*. Since the days of Elagabalus, if not before, this cult had been widely spread all over the Roman Empire and under Aurelian it assumed almost the status of an Established Church. Then there were the devotees of Mithra, who was also closely connected with the Sun. What wonder if the uninstructed multitudes, who hastened to join themselves in the fourth and fifth centuries to the now victorious religion of Christ, should confound the practices of the old worship with that of the new?

The place where this mixture of religions seems to have been most persistent was the steps of St Peter's at Rome. St Leo (*Serm.* 27 = *Migne P. L.* liv 218 f) complains that Christians, before they enter the Church at sunrise, turn round at the top of the steps and bow their heads in honour of the rising orb.² Even if such persons are adoring the Creator rather than the creature, they should not in such circumstances do so, says St Leo, or converts will consider their old opinions are after all probable. St Peter's, then as now, had its nave on the

¹ It was perhaps by way of protest that the Marcionites, at least in Syriac-speaking lands, worshipped towards the west (Mitchell *S. Ephraim's Refutations* p. xciv).

² Nonnulli etiam Christiani adeo se religiose facere putant, ut priusquam ad beati Petri apostoli basilicam quae uni Deo uiuo et uero est dedicata perueniant, superatis gradibus quibus ad suggestum areae superioris ascenditur, conuerso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant et curuatis ceruicibus in honorem se splendidi orbis inclinent (Dölger, p. 3).

East, and though the celebrant at the Mass no doubt faced East as he stood behind the High Altar, the congregation faced West, some of whom may have felt that they were turning their backs on Christ when they entered the Church. In any case St Leo's exhortations do not appear to have been quite successful, for in 1300 Cardinal Stephanesco found it advisable to commission Giotto to make a mosaic picture of a ship, with Christ and St Peter in it, so that it should be before the eyes of worshippers when they turned round to the East and so take away the superstition of Sun-worship (Dölger, p. 194).¹

In Constantinople there was a similar union of Sun-worship and official Christianity. On the top of a great column of porphyry Constantine set a bronze statue of himself, inscribed 'To Constantine, shining like the Sun'. The statue had rays, so it might be regarded as an image of Helios, but in its hand it held a piece of the True Cross, and some said that the rays were made out of the Nails of the Crucifixion.²

Prof. Dölger has no revolutionary theory to maintain as to the evolution of Christian doctrine under the influence of the cult of the Sun. He is rather concerned to shew how easily practices natural in themselves may acquire different symbolical meanings. His industry is remarkable, and it is not often that he misses relevant illustrations.³ Specially interesting is his disquisition upon the word *actio* (in the Canon Actionis), which he explains from Plutarch and Ovid as meaning the act of sacrifice (p. 225). It seems that among the ancient Romans the actual slaughterer looked towards the responsible priest and said *agon?* (i. e. *agone?*), to which the priest replied *hoc age*. This may be well known to Classical scholars, but I don't think it is equally familiar to Christian students of 'liturgiology'.

One point Prof. Dölger has left for a future book, and I shall be curious to know how he will treat it. How is the 'basilican' arrangement of a church reconcilable with the sentiment that prayer should be made towards the East? The arrangement I mean is that where the bishop's seat is in the centre of the apse, facing the congregation, with the altar in the middle, so that the celebrant and the congregation face

¹ The note on p. 13 seems to me mistaken. St Ephraim in his expositions of Ezek. viii 17 simply follows the Peshitta, which itself is a mistranslation.

² Dölger, p. 55. It was set up with a hundred times repeated *Kyrie eleison*, which Dölger shews to have been a heathen charm for good luck (p. 58). On p. 73 I miss any reference to Edmund Bishop's *Kyrie eleison*.

³ I cannot help feeling that he ought to have quoted *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Arsenius 30 (Migne *P. G.* lxxv 97 c): 'They used to say about Arsenius that . . . he used to let the sun set behind him and stretch out his hands to heaven praying till the sun shined again on his face.' This striking story was pointed out to me by the late Professor Max Bonnet (*J. T. S.* xvi 79).

in opposite directions with the altar between them. Does this arrangement correspond to an opposite current of feeling to that brought out by Prof. Dölger, viz. that Christians should turn towards their own sacred mysteries and not towards any created object?

I should also have thought that a reference to *φῶς ἱλαρόν* ('Hail, gladdening Light!') would not have been out of place. This famous vesper hymn is so intimately connected with the sentiment of Greek Christian worship, that though it was already immemorial in St Basil's time, it is still in use to-day. It says: 'Jesus Christ, Light of the Father's glory, the sun is setting, but Thou mayest be hymned at all times', and its ritual use was to accompany the lighting of the lamps in the church at dusk. It does not say 'The sun is setting, so we turn our backs to it', but rather 'The sun is setting, but never mind; for us Christians the material daylight does not matter'. I can hardly think that the writer of this eminently popular Christian hymn attached much weight to any particular direction in prayer.

As I said above, Prof. Dölger does not attempt to derive Christianity in general from Sun-worship. He is much too learned, too orthodox, and too sane, to do such a thing. But I venture to think that he, like so many comparative religionists, is inclined to present the pious fancies of antiquity as if they were thought essential verities by those who enunciated them. The Christians believed that the visible world was made by the same God that had revealed the way of salvation to the faithful, and that therefore it was full of analogies and types that were in agreement with the truths of religion. But they held this belief about Nature in a loose and unscientific way; it was, to borrow Matthew Arnold's distinction, literature and not dogma, something which could be dropped or taken up as the occasion needed. The ascetic who has spent a night in the open naturally turns towards the dawn when he utters his morning prayer; no doubt it will make him think of his Lord as the Sun of Righteousness—*ecce uir, Oriens nomen eius*. But the same man, twelve hours later, may comfort himself with the thought of *φῶς ἱλαρόν*, that the spiritual light of his life never sets. Such a man will not have changed his religion, but only his metaphors.

F. C. BURKITT

Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration. By the Rev. ROBERT H. MURRAY, Litt.D. (S.P.C.K., 1920.)

LORD ACTON, as is well known, spent the greater part of a long life in amassing materials for a history of Liberty; and in the end he died before any real use had been made of them. Dr Murray, profiting perhaps by this example, is determined to avoid a similar failure. He tells us that he is engaged upon researches into the vast subject of

Toleration, and finding that 'the figures of Erasmus and Luther stood out so prominently' he decided to give them forthwith a separate volume.

Erasmus and Luther is a learned and sympathetic enquiry into the attitudes of two interesting but dissimilar characters towards the problems of their age; but it cannot be said that the sub-title is justified, or that the subject of toleration receives any really adequate treatment. However it must be admitted that if the subject itself but seldom appears on the surface, the whole book is a natural preparation for the final paragraph in which Dr Murray sums up, tersely and decisively, the 'conclusion of the whole matter'. After quoting Bishop Creighton's saying that a man's character is more revealed by what he tries to do than by what he succeeds in doing, he continues as follows: 'We firmly believe that this is no paradox, but a plain truth. The most fruitful heritage of the genius of Erasmus or Luther is their attitude to life, their spirit—not always their method—of tolerance. Their work lies not so much in what they did, as in what they made possible. So judged, the contribution of Erasmus and Luther to the ultimate solution of the problem of toleration is of high value and deep import.'

The book reviews in an impartial manner a period of much complexity, and one full of controversial points; the balance between Catholic and reformer is well kept, and justice is done both to Luther and to Erasmus. Dr Murray begins with a eulogy of the latter—and it is fitting that he should do so, for one of the great results of recent study of the Renaissance and Reformation period is an increasing appreciation of the importance of Erasmus—but none the less he is fair to Luther and endeavours to explain, though he cannot excuse, his growing intolerance. Here and there comparisons, sometimes unduly laboured, are introduced between the two great leaders, and between each of them and various other characters in history; e.g. Erasmus is compared with Voltaire, Goethe, Edmund Burke; Luther with Francis Bacon, Newman, Charles James Fox, Bismarck. Parallels such as these are not without their use in bringing fresh light to bear upon the main subject, but they ought not to be introduced too lavishly into the text. Dr Murray is ever on the look-out for such parallels and also for synchronisms; these latter he not infrequently introduces by means of fixed formulae and in a manner sufficiently dramatic to suggest a novelist of the Victorian era rather than a present day scholar. The following are two examples out of many: 'It was a memorable day in the Old World, and no less memorable in the New, for the very day Luther burnt the Bull, Fernando Cortez entered Mexico' (p. 104); and again: 'There was also an upheaval in the Western world, for the very day after Erasmus

wrote this important letter Cortez gained the battle which decided the fate of Mexico' (p. 180; see also pp. 164, 183).

In one small matter I would venture to suggest that Dr Murray is mistaken. He states on p. 114 that 'Unlike Erasmus, Luther wrote rapidly'. In so far as this statement leads the reader to suppose that Erasmus was a slow and painstaking writer it is misleading; Erasmus was one of the most rapid writers of his age, and the drafts which he handed to his scribe contain very few corrections; in this he is strongly contrasted with Bembo and others of his contemporaries. After all Latin was the only language which Erasmus ever really mastered, and no doubt his pen was almost as facile as his thoughts were rapid.

Dr Murray is fully acquainted with the various movements and events which gave to the period its unique importance; he quite evidently has a first-hand knowledge of his authorities; and he keeps close to them, in fact he hardly makes a statement without giving a reference in support of it. The recent tendency, as shewn for example in the Cambridge Modern History, to avoid footnotes, is entirely ignored, and some of the pages are overladen with them. When it is remembered that most of the authorities referred to are well known and easily accessible, that the facts dealt with are mostly undisputed, and that the book contains an excellent and full bibliography, it will be seen that the multiplication of references is unnecessary, adding as it does to the toil of the reader. For it must be confessed that the reading is at times toilsome; the material is by no means clearly arranged, and the style is seldom flowing, and sometimes indeed quite awkward. Dr Murray can on occasion write in an admirable manner, but he is also capable of some very bad lapses, as when he, for instance, says that 'The papacy was to him the Scarlet Woman, and he saw red when he thought of this institution' (p. 371); the use too of a term like 'Counter Renaissance' is surely unpardonable. But in spite of these occasional difficulties of style and arrangement, the book fully repays the labour of reading it; for the general student of history it will be found stimulating and suggestive, for the special student of the period almost indispensable.¹

L. ELLIOTT BINNS.

¹ It may perhaps be allowable to point out that the quotation from Mark Pattison's well-known article on Erasmus in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (on p. 21) is inexact, and that *Enycl. Britt.* is hardly a correct contraction; there is also a misprint on p. 281 l. 15.

The Bible and Modern Thought, by the Rev. J. R. COHU, M.A.
(John Murray, 1920.)

SOME twelve years ago Mr Cohu published a popular account of the criticism of the Old Testament entitled *The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Research*. Like other books by the same author it was clear, simple, and well-written, and it had a ready sale. But it contained a good many inaccuracies, and the author, becoming aware of these, suppressed it, and applied himself to a further study of the subject. The result of his recent labours is the volume which now appears with the strangely ill-chosen title 'The Bible and Modern Thought'. The book has no reference to the New Testament, and however great our respect for historical criticism we do not generally term it 'modern thought'. Mr Cohu has in fact written a very useful popular introduction to the study of the canonical Jewish scriptures. He divides his work into three parts. In the first, which is introductory, such subjects as the progressive character of revelation, Hebrew ways of thought and expression, the purpose of the writers of the Old Testament, Christ's use of the Scriptures, &c., are well discussed. The second part of the book deals with Moses and the Judges, whilst the third part includes all the later history and five concluding chapters on the 'Holy Writings'. The division is open to criticism, for it would surely have been better to include all the historical matter in one part, and to reserve Part iii for a discussion of the Hagiographa.

The central portion of the book provides a reconstruction of Israelite history from the time of Moses to the end of the Old Testament period based upon a critical study of the historical books and the Prophets. Mr Cohu takes up a position of moderate conservatism. He believes firmly in the historicity of Moses concerning which 'there is no shadow of doubt'. 'He is a historic personality of the very first rank.' Nor does the author question the main facts of the Exodus, though to some it may seem that the condition of Israel under the Judges (p. 98 f) is hardly compatible with the work of Moses as described a few pages earlier. He thinks that the legends of Elijah and Elisha give us 'a better total impression of these supermen than any amount of exact truth of fact could ever do'. He appears to consider the objections commonly urged against the historicity of the return from the Exile unworthy even of notice.

In these and some other particulars Mr Cohu passes rather lightly over the difficulties, but on the whole his sketch of Israelite history is excellent.

One of the least satisfying parts of the book is the chapter in which
VOL. XXII. U

the author seeks to estimate the spiritual value of the Priestly Code, and passes on to a defence of the Jewish legalism which it embodies. Judged from a Christian point of view the work of Ezra represents a vast descent from the sublime spirituality of Jeremiah and the second Isaiah, and the Psalmists, who are freely quoted, really owed more to the prophets than to the priests. Mr Cohu seems almost to forget that Jews, schooled in legalistic ways of thought, crucified the Christ. Many will question the dictum on p. 220 that 'Christ was no foe to the Law, only to its abuse, and urged His disciples to obey it'. If by 'the Law' is meant the Priestly Code, Christ simply swept it away.

In his discussion of the later Jewish writings Mr Cohu hardly gives sufficient weight to the influence of Greek thought.

The author makes no claim to originality, but he tells us that he has read practically all the classical books, English and foreign, bearing on the subject. That being so it is perhaps a pity that so large a proportion of his references are to the works of Prof. Burney and Mr Montefiore, for, despite what the author says in his preface, the impression created is that his book is chiefly a catalogue of the opinions of those two scholars.

Whatever be its imperfections *The Bible and Modern Thought* is likely to serve a useful purpose by explaining clearly the lines on which the critics deal with the Old Testament. It is just the book for the intelligent layman who wants to know what the 'higher criticism' really means, or for the theological student who wishes to begin with a good general survey of the ground he is to traverse. The worst thing about the book is its price. Mr Cohu has done his work so thoroughly that it is to be feared that his book will be beyond the reach of many of those most likely to profit by it. We are fast approaching a division of society into two classes, those who have the money to buy books, and those who have the brains to read them.

P. GARDNER-SMITH.

The Bible Doctrine of Society in its Historical Evolution, by CHARLES RYDER SMITH, B.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark, 1920.)

THOSE who fear that the study of the Bible is fast becoming a thing of the past will do well to read this book, for the impression gained from its perusal is that the author knows the Scriptures almost by heart. His object is to examine the Old and New Testaments from a somewhat unusual point of view, in order to discover what was the course of social evolution among the Chosen People, and what are the social implications of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity. Of course others

have worked in the same field, but the author seems to be justified in his claim that no other book covers quite the same ground as his, and 'The Bible Doctrine of Society' will be welcomed as a timely contribution to Biblical scholarship.

One thing may be confidently asserted: no one who reads Mr Ryder Smith's book can have any further doubt that social theory does not rest upon the chance opinions and fancies of individuals or of nations, but is the inevitable outcome of their whole outlook upon life. The social ideals of a religious society must differ from those of an irreligious society because they rest upon different presuppositions.

Mohammedanism does not give birth to Bolshevism, nor Catholicism to democracy. The social ideals of Israel changed enormously during the centuries of its history, but not more than its grasp of religious truth: in every period its social theory was the direct outcome of its understanding of the nature and will of God.

Mr Ryder Smith divides Biblical history into five periods: there was the ideal period of the patriarchs, representing the social theories of homeless Bedouins; there was the period of the early Hebrew commonwealth in which social theory was dominated by primitive religious notions, and in which the ideals of the family had to be enlarged and applied to village life; there was the monarchic period in which more complicated conditions had to be dealt with in the light of a refined conception of Jehovah's righteousness; there was the post-monarchic period in which a fully developed theology inspired the theocratic ideals of later Judaism; and lastly there was the period in which the Christian revelation 'fulfilled' the Jewish law and introduced new conceptions destined to exercise a profound influence on all social relationships.

The author's survey of the earlier periods is very interesting. Critics may consider that he is inclined to ante-date some of the more developed theology of the Hebrews, as when he ascribes the decalogue to the period before the Kings, and the Proverbs to the time of the monarchy, but all will agree that his analysis of the social environment of the ordinary Israelite and his picture of life in village and in city are very valuable. The history of a people is not the history of its kings.

Needless to say, he deals at length with the work of the Prophets. 'The Priests, the custodians of the Hebrew law, never developed a code for the complex city life. The task they avoided the Prophets undertook, but in their own way. They proposed to subject the complex society of their time to the sway, not of a concatenated law, but of a single principle. Else their achievement had had no universal value, for while law may meet particular need, its use passes with that need; principle, if true, is eternal. Not Hebrew law but Hebrew righteousness solves the problems of society to-day' (p. 126).

Many books have been written on the social consequences of Christian ethics, and perhaps for that reason Mr Ryder Smith embarks on no exhaustive discussion of the bearing of Christianity upon modern social problems; instead, he is content to indicate the dominant ideals inherent in the teaching of Christ and His Apostles, and to deal with their social consequences only in the broadest terms. Yet what he says about the Christian attitude towards 'imperfect institutions'—class distinctions, the state, the family—is interesting and suggestive, although the inclusion of the Church in this category may not please all his readers. The author's defence of 'Bliss' as an essential element in the Christian ideal, and his repudiation of asceticism, are not only clearly justified from the sources but specially valuable in an age which is all too prone to dub the Christian a 'kill-joy'. Some may question whether Meekness is the one all-inclusive Christian virtue, but the author has a habit of choosing some term like 'accommodation' or 'meekness' and for his own purposes giving it a very wide interpretation.

The book is not very easy to read, for the author's style is neither graceful nor fluent, and his divisions and subdivisions are apt to tax the reader's patience; but the industry which has been expended upon it, and the wide reading on which it is based, have surely not been wasted, and 'The Bible Doctrine of Society' is a book which should be carefully studied by all who wish to understand the bearing of religion upon social life. The crazy doctrine of Marx, that the development of social institutions is due only to the play of material forces, is best demolished by a sober and scientific study of the facts of history.

P. GARDNER-SMITH.

The History of the Christian Church to the Separation of East and West.

By the Rev. A. R. WHITHAM, M.A. (Rivingtons, London, 1920.)

To write with any adequacy the history of a thousand years or more of the Church's life and thought, while taking fewer than 350 pages for the purpose, means great skill in compression and the power to combine emphasis and terseness. The Principal of Culham shews himself to be possessed of these characteristics, and he has produced a readable textbook in which detail is rightly kept subordinate to the tracing of the principal movements and reactions. If I point out a few respects in which the book might be improved I am not the less confident that it deserves to have a successful future, not least because it does not stop

at the beginning of the fourth or in the middle of the fifth century. There are few leading Christians of the ante-Nicene period of whom we know as much as of Dionysius of Alexandria: Canon Whitham might well have put his readers more in touch with that singularly attractive personality. In speaking of the text of Cyprian's *De unitate ecclesiae* he should have referred to Canon Lacey's arguments against the interpolation theory. To Eusebius the historian he is not, I think, quite fair. To call him 'really at heart an Arian' is to ascribe to him a more definite opinion than the evidence warrants; for, though in his unsatisfactory letter on the Nicene definition he does not assert the doctrine of the eternal generation, he does not affirm that the substance of the Son was His by any act of creation. The 'Dated Creed' of Sirmium in A.D. 359 did not proceed from the Acacian party, but from the so-called semi-Arians of whom Basil of Ancyra was one of the leaders. The synod was not composed exclusively of bishops of this group, but the formula *ὁμοιον κατὰ πάντα* represented Basil better than Acacius, and we know that Valens disliked the last two words. At Seleucia, later in the year, the majority reaffirmed one of the Antiochene formulas of 341, a fact which, had Canon Whitham mentioned it, would have strengthened his paragraph on that council. Perhaps one may be allowed to protest against the use of such an expression as 'Arius . . . was out to win his cause' in a book of this kind.

J. K. MOZLEY.

The Evangelical Revival. By S. BARING-GOULD, M.A. (Methuen, London, 1920.)

MR BARING-GOULD has certainly said the worst that can be said of Evangelicalism as a distinctive system in which justification by faith only is a central doctrine. His indictment does not lack force, though sometimes good taste, and his strongest evidence is furnished by quotations from Evangelical leaders themselves or others who had had experience of the system. Evangelical theology could be unethical and even ferocious in its conception of God, and Evangelical teachers greatly lacking in the completeness of the Christian character. And the exposition of these facts has its use and its warning. But if Evangelicalism had been as bad on as large a scale as portrayed by Mr Baring-Gould it is almost incredible that it should have been able to do any good at all—and the author is anxious not to obscure its real achievements, though they do not hold his attention very long. What

he does not seem to realize is that, despite all talk about the perils of works, the Evangelicals did believe in sanctification as well as in justification. And though the Puritan character is not an attractive one, Mr Baring-Gould might have felt that he was not on quite sure ground when he had written of 'the Puritan declaration that there existed no such obligation as that of Duty', and when he had taken some of Luther's most rhetorical and indefensible outbursts about sin as though they implied an almost deliberate preference for evil-doing. What makes it impossible for him to judge the Evangelical movement, whether in its Puritan, its Wesleyan, or its rather later form, fairly, is the fact that he shews no understanding of that religious problem of the soul which the Evangelicals knew in their own experience, as did St Augustine, on whose anti-Pelagianism and predestinarian teaching he is extremely severe, and as did St Paul. Mr Baring-Gould is able to adjust himself to the latter because he follows Mr Watson Williams in interpreting *δικαιοῦν* as 'to make qualified', but even with that help he can hardly find the Apostle always to his liking.

J. K. MOZLEY.

The Early Christian Attitude to War: a contribution to the history of Christian Ethics, by C. JOHN CADOUX, M.A., D.D. (Lond.), M.A. (Oxon.). (Headley Bros., 1919.)

WHEN in the autumn of 1887 I was moved to write for a University Prize an essay on Christianity and War, the only kind of monograph on the subject I could find was an article in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, admirable so far as it went, by Mr J. Bass Mullinger, which became the basis of my essay ; though I had to rely on my own reading and secondary 'authorities' for the greater part of my work. Since then there have been a good many books published that bear on the subject, foremost among them, as regards the Early Christian attitude to war, Dr Harnack's notes in his *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums* 1902 (Eng. tr. *The Expansion of Christianity* 1904), followed by his volume *Militia Christi* in 1905 (which has not been translated). Dr Cadoux was certainly right in thinking that there was room for an English work which should take account of all the evidence as to life in the Empire and Christian sentiment that has been brought together and sifted during the last thirty years. His task was comparatively easy, and it is only the early period with which he deals. He thinks that I misinterpreted a good deal of the evidence I used and neglected some of importance. No doubt many readers of his book

will agree with him. He is certainly right as to one passage in Tertullian, in which I stumbled into a bad mistranslation. But in interpreting it himself he omits to note that in the immediate context Tertullian has asserted that Christians have already filled 'castra ipsa' and so borne witness to the fact that Christians in general did not feel that they were precluded from serving in the army. I should agree, too, that there was perhaps more conscious feeling against war in the early Church than, with the evidence then before me, I allowed for. But as regards the subject as a whole, having read Dr Cadoux's book carefully, I cannot but feel that it is a good deal coloured by his own conviction that approval of war is incompatible with the profession of Christianity. There is clear evidence that some of the early leaders of Christian thought held this view and sought to enforce it. There is no evidence at any period of which we have knowledge that this view was generally accepted by Christians—and that, too, although the army was recruited ordinarily by voluntary enlistment. We cannot say even that it was widely held. There is a good deal of evidence to the contrary, from the beginning onwards. Even when the 'Christian' consciousness of individuals was touched to greater sensitiveness in the matter than was common, the regular use of military metaphors shews that the 'virtues' fostered by military service and army discipline were recognized then as now. It was not regarded as altogether evil.¹ If a canon of Hippolytus, claiming 'apostolic tradition', can be quoted forbidding Christians to be soldiers, the special temperament of Hippolytus must be remembered, and it must not be supposed that his 'Church Order' was actually in operation beyond his own circle of adherents. The terms of the canon shew, like Tertullian's words, that Christians were in the army by common consent of their fellow-Christians. The author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, in striking out the canon, was not only recognizing the existing state of things: he was registering the fact that the Church as a whole had never gone as far as Hippolytus, even though it is also true that it had never gone so far in the opposite direction as it did at the Council of Arles in 314. The attempts which were made by individuals to enforce upon Christians what we all to-day regard as the Christian ideal in regard to war were

¹ Dr Cadoux, of course, with Dr Harnack before him, cites the evidence. Kuntze and Zahn have shewn the widespread use of *paganus* in contrast with *miles* (almost as 'civilian'), and established the probability that it is to this contrast that we are to trace the later Christian use of the word (not one of the *milites Christi*, not initiated, an 'outsider'); but it is a slip of the pen to write (p. 167) that *paganus* 'originally meant civilian as distinct from soldier'. Even in this use the underlying idea was probably always that of the 'rustic', uninstructed, ignorant, from the point of view of the speaker.

never effective. There was clearly always much the same uncertainty among Christians as there is to-day in respect of the application of Christian ideals to life in the world as it is. Dr Cadoux's book shews this as regards the period with which it deals.¹

J. F. B-B.

¹ I must be allowed in a foot-note to ask what good purpose Dr Cadoux thinks is served for English readers by disguising well-known names that have English equivalents by transliterating them from the original Greek or Latin and giving us such forms as Eirenaïos, Origenes, and even Arkhippos and Khrusostomos? And if he must write 'Illiberis' and 'Arelate' and 'Cyprianus of Carthago', why does he leave 'Clemens' of 'Rome' or 'Alexandria'?

Das Werden des Gottesglaubens, von N. SÖDERBLOM. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1916.)

THE publication of this book of the Archbishop of Upsala, in which he sets forth most fully his conclusions in his own special branch of research, may quite possibly mark an epoch in the study of Comparative Religion. The comprehensiveness with which he handles his subject, the fine judgement which he displays in drawing conclusions and weighing evidence, the precision with which among a mass of details he seizes and emphasizes the really salient points are conspicuous merits in the book. There must indeed be very few scholars competent to deal with this difficult subject as it is dealt with here. Theologians are apt to be deficient in anthropology and oriental philology. Orientalists and anthropologists cannot be sure of rightly estimating how the results of their own special studies bear on the developement of Christian doctrine and practice or throw fresh light on the origin of Christianity. Comparative Religion can and must be approached from so many different directions, that it suffers much from the theories of one-sided specialists.

Here we have a scholar equally at home in the study of the religion of primitive peoples, of the great religions of the East, and of Christianity. And while he gives us his own theory of the stages and main types of the developement of the belief in God, he discusses existing theories and indicates the limits within which it is safe to apply them. There is hardly one of the main problems in Comparative Religion which does not in this volume receive some illuminating criticism. It may be, that his classification of the facts is neither final nor exhaustive; indeed it hardly claims to be so. But the scheme here proposed is at once clearer, more adequate, and better attested than most of those suggested

before. From the title of the book one might be equally prepared for the subject to be approached from the psychological or from the sociological standpoint. Certainly these lines of study are important. But Archbishop Söderblom will probably carry the greater number of his readers with him in directing attention rather to the actual content of religious belief than to the conditions under which it grew up. French investigators are perhaps prone to lay undue stress on sociology, American on psychology. But in either case there is a risk of creating the impression that religion is a purely subjective phenomenon. And the question of what religion is should certainly come before that of how it arose.

In the present volume three types of religious belief among savage or primitive peoples are discussed, the belief in spirits (Animism), the belief in supernatural power (Mana), and the belief in some kind of exalted Being to whom the origin of the natural order or customary ceremonies is attributed (Urheber). Neither the first, as apparently supposed by Tylor, nor the second, as by Marett, nor the third, as by Lang and Schmidt, can be taken exclusively as the main source of religion in general. Rather it must be assumed that all three existed simultaneously and operated concurrently. It is very difficult to draw the line between Animism and belief in Mana. And it cannot be made out that either is earlier than the other. Certainly investigators of primitive peoples need to be on their guard. And there are many pitfalls for the unwary. For we are always apt to read our own later and more elaborate ideas into the accounts that primitive peoples give of their own beliefs. The theory of primitive monotheism and subsequent degeneracy is rejected. It is a mistake to confuse the 'Urheber' with the God of later monotheism, and Animism is by no means necessarily to be regarded as an instance of degeneration. The Urheber is liable to be mistaken for an ancestor or a power of nature, and requires to be carefully distinguished from them, however much he may be subsequently disguised by acquiring their characteristics.

Having established this position by carefully going into the evidence, the author proceeds to shew how different developments in higher religion may be traced back to these primitive types, according as one or other was more prominent. The Urheber type is seen most highly developed in the religion of China. Brahma, the central concept of Indian religion, is really a higher development of an impersonal Mana. Jahvism in Hebrew religion is a higher and purer and more ethical development of Animism. In the latter part of the book there is an interesting account of the rediscovery of the great Eastern religions by Western scholarship. The Deism of the eighteenth century had a natural affinity with the religion of China, the chief interpreters of which

were Jesuit missionaries; whereas the interest of the nineteenth century was rather directed towards Indian Pantheism.

The main purpose of the book is to survey the trackless and inaccessible jungle of primitive cult and belief and to relate it to the higher types of religion. Here the author has certainly attained some solid results, which should stimulate further more detailed investigation into the many points still remaining obscure. If his conclusions are generally accepted, less stress will be laid in future on various forms of cult which have hitherto loomed large in the history of religion, for instance ancestor worship, the worship of the heavenly bodies, and vegetation rites. With regard to the definition of religion in general, the author holds that a sense of awe and a differentiation between sacred and profane is more fundamental than a belief in any particular divine being or beings, to whom worship is to be addressed. On this view there is no difficulty in admitting the claim of Buddhism to be a religion in spite of its 'atheism': for it inculcates recourse to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha as a means of emancipation from the evils of existence, and thereby sets apart these three objects of faith as sacred (p. 211). There is a particularly valuable discussion on the difference between religion and magic in chapter v. Both employ Mana, but the attempt to distinguish them as social (religion) and individual (magic) breaks down. For individual religion is not unknown among primitive peoples, and magicians may form themselves into a guild. Magic is, however, recognized as distinct from religion by the primitive peoples themselves, as is shewn by the evidence of language, one word being used for a priest and another for a magician. The word magic really implies three things, (1) intercourse with evil powers, (2) illicit private practice in rivalry with a legitimate priesthood, (3) the employment of what is divine as a mere means in place of reverent submission to it. Accordingly the attempt to explain religion as a developement from magic must be abandoned, however closely related the two may be in their most primitive stages.

The chief point in the book which is likely to provoke criticism is its treatment of the various higher religions. The scheme here suggested hardly seems to do justice to the variety and richness of their developement. And it is often hard to determine how far they borrowed from one another, and how far they developed independently on parallel lines. The tendency recently has been rather to minimize the influence of different religions upon one another, and as far as possible to study each separately. In dealing with mysticism, for example, in Islam or Christianity, scholars would differ as to how far it is necessary to allow for Indian or Greek influences. On pp. 295, 296 a good case is made out for the influence of the old Iranian religion on the developement of

Islam in Persia. Probably an attempt to deal with the higher religions at greater length would have increased the bulk of the book unduly. But the necessary compression and selection are effected sometimes with some sacrifice of the lucidity, discrimination, and sense of proportion, which otherwise characterize the work as a whole. The religion of Egypt is hardly given sufficient prominence. And the various types of religion developed in India might perhaps have been described with more precision and in greater detail. But whatever the book may leave to be desired in these respects, most readers will feel, when they put it down, that it is a masterly treatise, a model of sound method, which accumulates a store of facts and keeps the most important questions well to the fore.

C. T. HARLEY WALKER.

History of Sacrament in relation to Thought and Progress, by ALICE GARDNER, M.A. (Crown Theological Library, Williams & Norgate, 1921.)

MISS GARDNER has a wide knowledge of history and some of its by-ways, and of literature in general, and her book is full of interest and suggestiveness. It has all the merit attaching to pioneer work of the kind that takes a great subject, looks well all round it, tries to see what lies at the back of it, to find its grounds in human nature, primitive instincts, and the common life of men, and to trace its connexions and relations with other departments of human activity and interest. There is a real call for such a survey of the subject of Sacrament at the present time—one that shall give a coherent view of the results of the investigations of modern psychologists, as well as anthropologists and sociologists, in regard to the origin and growth of religions sanctions and customs.

Miss Gardner is to be congratulated on having heard this call and responded to it.

I must, indeed, confess that her references to the doctrine and institutions of the Church are not always accurate, and some of her incidental allusions to other matters give me an uncomfortable feeling that all is not quite well with them. Had she been more careful in these respects, and also in the actual composition of the book and the reading of proofs, it would have been better than it is. However, none of the few positive mistakes that I have noticed seriously affects the argument, and of course in so wide a field of enquiry and illustration errors in detail are comparatively insignificant; and it is so good to have broken ground as Miss Gardner has done, that I hope there may soon be a second edition carefully revised.

J. F. B.B.

Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament. Collected, translated, and discussed by M. R. JAMES. (S.P.C.K., London, 1920.)

THERE are many remains of apocryphal writings connected with the Old Testament, collected in particular by Fabricius, to which, however, as Dr James says, there is 'not a handy English guide'. This guide is now very adequately supplied. For Dr James gives us far more than a mere list, far more than a mere translation. His little book is really a guide, for it clears the path and shews the way; it discusses sources, explains contexts, and offers sound judgements as to dates. Dates, indeed, are most elusive, but few will question the editor's conclusion that most of the material treated by him was produced during the period covered by 100 B.C. to A.D. 100. Nor ought it to be thought that Dr James is guide solely to realms explored by others. He is also a pioneer and a discoverer. The originality of his work is as conspicuous as is the industry of his research.

The subjects are arranged 'in the Biblical order of the personages to whom they are attributed, or of whom they treat'. In view of the uncertainty as to the dates of authorship of the various citations and fragments, it was obviously impossible to follow a chronological order. The Biblical sequence is with equal wisdom adopted in Dr Louis Ginzberg's larger work on *The Legends of the Jews*, four volumes of which have appeared, while the fifth (containing the references) is in the press (Philadelphia, the Jewish Publication Society of America). Now, whereas Dr Ginzberg uses the Rabbinic sources as a basis, merely illustrating these by quotations from non-Hebrew (not necessarily non-Jewish) apocrypha, it is the latter that form the main sources of Dr James's extracts. His authorities are not Hebrew Midrashim, but Greek and Latin Patristic lists and quotations. Thus his book is a complement to Dr Ginzberg's, and the two together will place future scholars in a far more favourable position than their predecessors occupied. As to his own brilliant contribution to this desirable end, 'I hope and believe', writes Dr James, 'that in the present collection not much that is of really old date will be found to have been passed over.' This confidence is completely justified. Students have reason to thank him for a collection at once complete and critical.

The importance of these texts is manifold. In the first place, their value is historical. We see here the type of legend that interested antiquity, and at the same time we perceive how much more restrained than these attempts to supply gaps in Scriptural stories are the narratives which were accepted as canonical. In the second place the significance of the texts is theological: we see theological preconceptions at work;

indeed such stories often reveal these preconceptions more naïvely than do the formal presentations of dogma. Thirdly, and perhaps for the general reader this is the most arresting feature, the texts have great literary value. Some of them are fine as literature, some of them are a link in the chain of the dissemination of folk-lore. We note here some of the same stories as meet us elsewhere. And the literary problems which they raise are attractive enough. Take, from the apocryphal book of Ezekiel, the parable of the Lame and the Blind (discussed by Dr James on p. 64, previously by the same writer in this JOURNAL xv 236, and by the present reviewer in *Studies in Pharisaism* p. 97). To other reasons for believing the Hebrew version to be older than the Greek may be added this. Faced by the problem of adjudicating the guilt of stealing the fruit between the blind man who could not see and the lame man who could not walk, the Ezekiel version runs: 'The judgement was at a standstill. What, then, does the just judge do? (τί οὖν ποιῇ ὁ κριτὴς ὁ δίκαιος;).' There is, it is true, a parallel to τί οὖν ποιῇ in the τί οὖν ποιήσει of Luke xx 15. But the phrase מה עושה ('What does the Holy One do?') of the Hebrew version (Leviticus Rabba ch. iv § 5) is nearer, and it gives us the literary source of Luke's phraseology, so that it is hard to resist Dr Felix Perles's suggestion that this of itself argues for the greater age of the Hebrew version (*Oriental. Literaturzeitung* 1912, col. 349).

Apart from the fascination of such discussions, Dr James's book provides English readers with their first real opportunity of becoming acquainted with a whole type of quaint fancies and traditions which are interesting in and for themselves. Take, as an instance, the legends concerning the Lost Tribes (on the Hebrew forms of which Dr A. Neubauer wrote four articles in the first volume of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*). The Utopian character of the lost community (lost to history but found by legend) is a striking feature of most of these apocryphal accounts. As Dr James quotes (p. 105): 'No word of lying hear we in our land, and no man knoweth another who speaketh that which is false.' Such visions of an abode of truth were a comfort to those who dwelt in our less ideal world, and the Talmud (Sanhedrin 97 a) has its own dream of a city of Qushṭa (Truth). That Dr James, besides offering so substantial a contribution to his subject, leads us into such pleasant pastures, is surely evidence enough of the manifold charm with which he handles an intricate theme.

I. ABRAHAMS.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1921 (Vol. xci, No. 182 : S.P.C.K.). E. W. WATSON Collegiate Churches—T. A. LACEY The religious developement of St Augustine—W. J. FERRAR St Malachy of Armagh: a twelfth-century Saint—R. E. DENNETT West African Religion—H. P. K. SKIPTON Thomas Deacon: new light upon his character and career—A. C. HEADLAM The Beginnings of Christianity—The problems of Peace—J. A. ROBINSON The Faith of the New Testament—W. H. FRERE A relic of St Willibrord—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1921 (Vol. xix, No. 2 : Williams & Norgate). F. WATSON The *entente cordiale* of the humanist spirit as the basis of a League of Nations—W. A. CURTIS A League of Churches—F. G. PEABODY The call of the bishops, as heard by American Protestants—J. W. WOOTTON The use and abuse of organized religion—C. T. HALLINAN My new-thought boyhood—R. MURRI Religion and Idealism as presented by Giovanni Gentile—R. G. COLLINGWOOD Croce's philosophy of history—W. McDUGALL Is conscience an emotion?—L. DOUGALL Miracle inconsistent with Christianity—C. W. EMMET The miracles of Sadhu Sundar Singh—M. LEIGH A Christian sceptic of the fourth century—G. G. COULTON Catholicism and civilization—C. G. MONTEFIORE Anti-Semitism in England—Discussions, Surveys, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 121 : Hodder & Stoughton). J. E. MCFAYDEN An Old Testament message—W. E. BEET The number of the Beast—W. S. WOOD Fellowship—W. R. WHATELY 'See thou tell no man'—J. H. LECKIE John MacLeod Campbell: the developement of his thought—V. BURCH Factors in the Christology of the Letter to the Hebrews—J. F. SPRINGER The Marcan *ἐπιράπτει*.

February 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 122). E. KÖNIG The burning problem of the hour in Old Testament religious history—J. H. LECKIE John MacLeod Campbell: the developement of his thought—W. E. BARNES Psalm lxii—G. H. WHITAKER 'Love springs no leak'—A. C. WELCH The call and the commission of Jeremiah—R. HARRIS The Apology of Quadratus.

March 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 123). G. B. GRAY Cain's sacrifice: a new theory—A. T. ROBERTSON The Greek article and the deity of Christ—A. FAWKES A great Scottish preacher—V. BURCH The austerities of discipleship to Jesus Christ—N. J. D. WHITE The Catholic Church and the summing up of all things in Christ—T. H. ROBINSON The ecstatic element in Old Testament prophecy—G. H. WHITAKER Additional note on 'the philology of St Luke's preface'.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Journal of Religion,¹ January 1921 (Vol. i, No. 1: University of Chicago Press). S. J. CASE The historical study of Religion—G. A. COE The religious breakdown of the Ministry—J. B. PRATT Why do religions die?—A. C. THOMAS Present tendencies in the Society of Friends in America—C. H. DICKINSON The significance of Jesus' hope—A. S. WOODBURN The Indianization of Christianity—F. C. PORTER Crucial problems in Biblical Theology—A. E. GARVIE The religious outlook in Great Britain—Book Reviews.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1921 (Vol. xix, No. 1: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD Oberlin Perfectionism—E. M. WILSON The anointing of the sick in the Epistle of James—M. A. BROWNSON The Coming of the Pilgrims—S. T. LOWRIE 1 Corinthians xi and the ordination of women as ruling Elders—J. V. LONKHUYZEN Abraham Kuyper: a modern Calvinist—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, January–April 1921 (Vol. xxxiii, Nos. 1–2: Abbaye de Maredsous). A. WILMART Le palimpseste du Missel de Bobbio—U. BERLIÈRE Le culte de S. Placide—D. DE BRUYNE 1. Les notes liturgiques du manuscrit 134 de la Cathédrale de Trèves: 2. Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste aux épîtres de S. Paul: 3. Note sur le costume bénédictin primitif—Bibliographie—Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, December 1920 (Vol. vi, No. 4: E. Nourry, 62 Rue des Écoles, Paris). A. LOISY La carrière de l'apôtre Paul—R. LAWSON L'eucharistie dans saint Augustin—A. LOISY Les rites funéraires des naturels australiens—Chronique bibliographique.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, January 1921 (Vol. xvii, No. 1: 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). Hommage de l'Université de Louvain à Son Éminence le Cardinal Mercier—L. DIEU Le commentaire arménien de S. Jean Chrysostome sur Isaïe ch. viii–lxiv: est-il authentique?—

¹ Continuing *The Biblical World* and *The American Journal of Theology*.

P. FOURNIER La collection canonique dite 'Collectio xii partium': étude sur un recueil canonique allemand du xi^e siècle—H. PINARD La théorie de l'expérience religieuse: son évolution de Luther à W. James—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, December 1920 (Vol. xix, No. 3/4: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). G. KRÜGER Erwin Preuschen—E. PREUSCHEN† Die Echtheit von Justins Dialog gegen Trypho—J. WEISS† Die Bedeutung des Paulus für den modernen Christen—W. BORNEMANN Der erste Petrusbrief: eine Taufrede des Silvanus?—R. BULTMANN Die Frage nach dem messianischen Bewusstsein Jesu und das Petrusbekenntnis—H. KOCH Petrus und Paulus im zweiten Osterfeierstreit?—EB. NESTLE† 1. Zum Schicksal des Verräters: 2. 'Christus'.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. ci, No. 4: H. Laupp, Tübingen). STEGMANN Die zwei 'athanasianischen' Bücher gegen Apollinaris—VOGELS Der Auferstehungsbericht bei Mk. xv 47–xvi 8 in altlateinischer Uebersetzung—Rezensionen.

The Journal of Theological Studies

JULY, 1921

DOCUMENTS

NICETA OF REMESIANA

DE VIGILIIS

AND DE PSALMODIAE BONO

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED.

(1) AUTHORITIES FOR BOTH DE VIGILIIS AND DE PSALMODIAE BONO (DE UTILITATE HYMNORVM)

- R Codex Vaticanus Reginae lat. 131: saec. ix-x. The MS contains the last half of *de vigil.* (from ch. v l. 12 of my edition [Burn 61. 3] onwards), foll. 148 b-153 a (fol. 152 is an inserted or misplaced leaf, in a different hand, having nothing to do with our sermons): followed by the whole of *de psalm.*, foll. 153 a-159 a. It is my fortunate discovery of this first-class authority for the text which justifies and indeed necessitates a new edition. This is the only MS whose readings I record in full in the apparatus.
- B Codex Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 210 (from Lorsch) of writings of St Augustine: saec. vi-vii: foll. 178 a, 183 a.
- C Codex Parisinus Nouv. acq. lat. 1448 (from Cluny): saec. ix: foll. 145 b, 148 b. In these two MSS (representatives of a large family containing a collection of writings of St Augustine) our two sermons appear in what is definitely an abbreviated and altered recension. Nevertheless apart from its alterations—and these proceed generally on certain well-marked lines, easy to be recognized and isolated—the B family cannot be neglected for the matter which it retains, since its leading representative is older than any other MS of the sermons, and is very carefully written. I have adopted its orthography in the chapters where R is not extant, and sometimes even against R. B fully repaid a new collation.

(2) AUTHORITIES FOR DE VIGILIIS ONLY

- α Codex Cantabrigiensis Bibl. Univ. Dd. vii 2 of the writings of St Jerome: saec. xv. Dr Burn calls this MS A, and in other cases I have followed his notation of the MSS: but to avoid confusion with the much older A of *de psalm.* I have in this case changed the symbol to α.
- H Codex Mediolanensis Ambrosianus A 226 inf.: saec. x: fol. 224 b. Collated by Mgr G. Mercati, who has generously put his collation at my disposal. A MS full of small blunders, but invaluable in chaps. i-v as a check upon α.
- Isid Isidore of Seville *de ecclesiasticis officiis* i chapters 21, 22 (*de vigil.* v 6-15, vi 20-22, vii 8-11).

(3) AUTHORITIES FOR DE PSALMODIAE BONO ONLY

- A Codex Cavensis (the Spanish Bible of La Cava: C in Wordsworth Vulgate): saec. viii-ix: fol. 101 a. Among the preliminaries prefixed to the Psalter:
- V Codex Vaticanus 5729 (the Bible of La Farfa): saec. xi-xii. At the same place as in the La Cava Bible. Fol. 253.

VOL. XXII.

X

INCIPIT DE VIGILIIS SERVORVM DEI
TRACTATVS NICETAE EPISCOPI

I. Dignum est, fratres, aptumque prorsus satisque conueniens de sanctis uigiliis nunc dicere et proferre sermonem, quando ipsa lucubratio geritur a sollicitis. nox ecce est caligo corporis quae non solum homines sed etiam cunctos somno detinet animantes, ut reformatis uiribus
5 per soporem possint diurnos labores sustinere uigilantes. bonus Deus, qui ita prospexit, ita constituit, ut HOMO EXITVRVS AD OPVS SVVM ET AD OPERATIONEM SVAM VSQVE AD VESPERVM haberet uicarium tempus in quo a laboribus duris et multa fatigatione requiesceret. ergo diem AD OPVS, noctem fecit ad requiem, et pro hoc, sicut pro omnibus, gratias
10 debemus agere illi qui praestitit. nouimus autem multos hominum, ut aut maioribus suis placeant aut sibi aliquid peculiariter prosint, noctis particulam ad aliquod opusculum segregare, et id pro lucro ducere quod furati de sopore suo operari potuerint. a Salomone uero laudatur et femina quae pensa et lanificium ad lucernam uigilanter exercet: addidit
15 etiam quod ex hoc laus VIRO EIVS IN PORTIS et gloria magna nascatur. quod si in carnalibus instrumentis, id est uictui ac uestitui necessariis, qui uigilat non reprehenditur, immo laudatur, mirari me fateor esse aliquos qui sacras uigilias tam spiritali opere fructuosas, orationibus hymnis lectionibus fecundas, aut superfluas aestimant aut otiosas aut
20 (quod his est deterius) inportunas.

II. Et quidem si sunt homines a religione nostra alieni qui ista sic sentiunt, non est mirum. quomodo enim profanis religiosa placere possunt, quibus si placerent, nostri essent quod sumus, utique christiani? si uero nostri sunt quos uigiliarum salutifer actus offendit (ut nihil de
5 his deterius suspicer), aut pigri sunt aut somnulosi aut senes sunt uel infirmi. si pigri sunt erubescant, quia illis insonant uerba Salomonis VADE AD FORMICAM, O PIGER, ET AEMVLARE VIAS EIVS. si somnulosi sunt, expergiscantur, scriptura proclamante O PIGER, QVOVSQVE DORMIS? QVANDO AVTEM DE SOMNO SVRGIS? MODICVM QUIDEM DORMIS, MODICVM SEDES,

I. 6. Ps. civ (ciii) 23 13. Prov. xxxi 13, 18, 23

II. 6. Prov. vi 6 8. *ib.* vi 9-11

Titulum e BC restitui: add INF. DE VIGILIIS SERVORVM DEI NICETAE EPCF B²

I. 2. proferre a H: conferre BC 3. geritur BC: exigitur a (H) corporibus BC 4. somno: *praem* in BCH reparatis BC 5. uigilantes: uiuentes a H 7. uesperam a 8. *tr* duris laboribus a (H) ergo . . . praestitit (l. 10) BC: prestitit a qui prestetit H 12. ad a H: in B; om C 13. potuerunt B* a Salomone . . . nascatur (l. 15): om BC 16. ac BCH: aut a 17. mirari H: *praem* et a; *aliter* BC 18. orationibus a H: + scilicet BC 19. lectionibus BC: + que a H 20. his H: id a; *aliter* BC

II. 1. et quidem a H: equidem BC 2. sentiant a 3. quod BCH: quia a 5. senes: *praem* quod his est proximum (*quae lectio in textu reponi debuit*) H quod his est primum a sunt BCH: om a uel a H: aut BC 7. somnulosi: formidolosi a

PVSILLVM AVTEM DORMITAS, PVSILLVM VERO COMPLECTERIS MANIBVS 10
 PECTVS. DEINDE SVPERVENIET TIBI TAMQVAM VIATOR PAVPERTAS,
 INOPIA AVTEM SICVT BONVS CVRSOR CITO VENIET. si senex es, quis
 te compellit ut uigiles? quamquam et non compulsus pro aetate tamen
 uigilare debes: et si stare non potes, et tuam cogitas impossibilitatem,
 non debes iuuenes et ualentes ad tuum reuocare torporem, quod 15
 propter uarias temptationes iuuentutis se ipsos propensioribus macerare
 debent uigiliis. si uero infirmus es membris, quod facere non potes
 noli reprehendere: immo RIGA et tu secundum prophetam LACRIMIS
 STRATVM tuum et dic SI MEMOR FVI TVI SVPER STRATVM MEVM: iniunge
 etiam uigilantibus ut te suis precibus iuuent, quo adiutus a Domino 20
 super lectum doloris tui canere possis, et tu quandoque merearis dicere
 IN MATVTINIS MEDITABAR IN TE, QVIA FACTVS ES ADIVTOR MEVS. alio-
 quin stultum et satis extraneum est ut quia ipsi currere non ualemus
 bene currentibus derogemus. nam etsi non possumus, debemus congra-
 tulari potentibus. sic enim ut de consensu malitiae participatur cum 25
 facientibus poena, sic participatio gloriae speranda est de consensione
 bonitatis. alios enim effectus coronat, alios pia uoluntas laetificat.

III. Nec sane onerosum uel difficile uideri debet etiam delicatis
 corporibus in septimana duarum noctium, id est sabbati atque dominici,
 portionem aliquam Dei ministerio deputare: ista enim quasi purificatio
 est dierum quinque uel noctium, quibus stupore carnali ingrauescimus
 aut mundanis actibus obsoletamur. 5

Nec erubescat aliquis in bono studio sanctitatis, cum non erubescant
 inprobi in perpetrando opere foeditatis. merito ergo scriptura in
 Prouerbiis ingerit EST CONFUSIO QVAE DVCIT AD PECCATVM. in bono
 enim opere CONFVNDI PECCATVM est, sicut in male faciendo non
 confundi perniciēs est. si sanctus es, ama uigilias, ut thesaurum tuum 10
 uigilando custodiens ipse in sanctitate serueris. si peccator es, magis
 curre ut uigilando et orando purgeris, dum tunso pectore frequentius
 clamas AB OCCVLTIS MEIS MVNDA ME, Domine, ET AB ALIENIS PARCE
 SERVO TVO: qui enim AB OCCVLTIS iam desiderat MVNDARI, nescio an
 eum delectet istis miseriis inquinari. 15

18. Ps. vi 6 (7) 19. Ps. lxiii (lxii) 7 22. *ib.* 7, 8

III. 8. Eccclus. (*non* Proverb.) iv 21 13. Ps. xix 12, 13 (xviii 13, 14)

12. cito ueniet (*e vers.* 11^a ἀοκνος ἦξει) *a* H: *om* B C 14. uigilare debes
scripsi: uigilas *a* H uigilare debent B C 21. quandoque B C H: aliquando *a*
 22. in te *a* H, *cf.* Ps. lxiii (lxii) 7: + domine B C, *ut* iv l. 20 24. debemus:
 + non inuidere sed B C

III. 2. dominici B C H: dominicae *a* 5. obsoletamur B C (H): oscitamus *a*
 6. erubescat aliquis B C H: erubescant aliqui *a* cum *a* C H: quia B 7. in-
 probi B C H: *om* *a* 9. male B C: malo *a* H 11. custodiens H: custodias *a*
 custodientes B C 14. *tr* iam ab occultis *a* nescio an eum B C H: necesse est
 ut eum non *a* 15. istis *a* H: iisdem B isdem C

IV. Res exigit, karissimi, ut de auctoritate uigiliarum et anti-
 quitate, deque ipsa utilitate pauca dicamus: magis enim quilibet
 labor suscipitur, si ante oculos proponatur ipsius laboris utilitas. anti-
 qua est uigiliarum deuotio, familiare bonum omnibus sanctis. *Esaias*
 5 denique propheta clamat ad Dominum DE NOCTE VIGILAT SPIRITVS MEVS
 AD TE, DEVS, QVONIAM LVX PRAECEPTA TVA SVPER TERRAM. Daud,
 et regio et prophetico sanctificatus ungento, ita canit DOMINE DEVS
 SALVTIS MEAE, IN DIE CLAMAVI ET NOCTE CORAM TE. et in alio
 psalmo MEMOR FVI IN NOCTE NOMINIS TVI, DOMINE, ET CVSTODIVI LEGEM
 10 TVAM.

Sed forsitan in lectulo suo positus haec cantabat: quod aliquanti
 pigriores sufficere putant, si tantum in stratu suo aut oret unus-
 quisque aut psalmum forte submurmuret. quod quidem et ipsum bonum
 est; Dei enim semper et ubique meminisse salutare est. sed quod
 15 sit melius exurgentem conspectui diuino assistere, accipe eiusdem
 prophetae aliam uocem quae et tempus et locum et habitum depre-
 cantis ostendit: IN NOCTIBVS inquit EXTOLLITE MANVS VESTRAS IN
 SANCTA ET BENEDICITE DOMINVM. et ne uespertinas tantum horas
 NOCTES aestimes appellatas, occurrit et dicit MEDIA NOCTE SVRGEBAM
 20 VT CONFITERER TIBI SVPER IVDICIA IVSTITIAE TVAE. ecce habes et
 tempus expressum exurgendi, et sollicitudinem quomodo Deo confitearis
 ostensam.

V. Adhuc consideranti mihi intentionem sanctorum maius aliquid
 ac laboriosius occurrit, et ultra humanae naturae condicionem suggeritur,
 cum eundem audio prophetam psallentem SI ASCENDERO [IN] LECTVM
 STRATVS MEI, SI DEDERO SOMNV M OCVLIS MEIS AVT PALPEBRIS MEIS
 5 DORMITATIONEM AVT REQVIEM TEMPORIBVS MEIS, DONEC INVENIAM
 LOCVM DOMINO, TABERNACVLVM DEO IACOB. quis non stupeat tantam
 in Dei amore animi deuotionem, ut somnum sibi, sine quo utique
 corpora humana deficiunt, penitus interdixerit DONEC LOCVM ac

IV. 5. Is. xxvi 9 7. Ps. lxxxviii 1 (lxxxvii 2) 9. Ps. cxix (cxviii) 55

17. Ps. cxxxiv (cxxxiii) 2, 3 19. Ps. cxix (cxviii) 62

V. 3. Ps. cxxxii (cxxx) 3-5

IV. 1. res exigit a H, cf. *psalm.* ix 2 (Burn 76. 6): tempus exigit BC karissimi
 H kk B kmi C 5. dominum BC: deum a H 7. et 1° BC: om a H 8. et
 in alio psalmo a H: item dicit BC 11. sed forsitan... assistere (l. 15): om BC
 12. putant H: putauerunt a ore a 14. enim e coniectura suppleui: om codd
 17. ostendit a H: ostendat BC inquit B C H: om a 19. noctes scripsi: noctis a
 H B C 20. tibi a H: + domine BC ecce B C: om a H 21. tr. exurgendi
 expressum a tr et exurgendi BC

V. 2. ac BC: et a H tr naturae humanae BC 4. stratus BC² H (cf. iv l 12
supra): strati a stratum C* 6. non stupeat... amore BC *Isid*: non stupeat
 in tantum dei amorem H enim tantum stupeat dei amorem a 7. utique
 corpora humana B C H *Isid*: tr h. u. c. a 8. deficient a ac B C H *Isid*: ad a

templum Domino fabricandum rex et propheta reperiret? quae res nos debet fortiter ammonere, ut si ipsi LOCVS DOMINI esse uolumus et 10 TABERNACVLVM eius

[*fol. 148 b*] ac templum cupimus haberi perpetuo (sicut Paulus asserit dicens VOS ESTIS TEMPLVM DEI VIVI), in quantum possumus exemplo sanctorum uigilias diligamus, ne et de nobis dicatur, ut psallitur, DORMIERVNT SOMNVN SVVM ET NIHIL INVENERVNT. quin potius gratu- 15 labundus unusquisque iam dicat IN DIE TRIBVLATIONIS MEAE DEVM EXQVISIVI MANIBVS MEIS NOCTE CORAM EO ET NON SVM DECEPTVS, quia BONVM EST CONFITERI DOMINO ET PSALLERE NOMINI TVO ALTISSIME, AD ANNVTIANDVM MANE MISERICORDIAM TVAM ET VERITATEM TVAM PER NOCTEM. | [*fol. 149 a*] haec et huiusmodi tanta ac talia ideo sancti illi 20 cecinerunt et scripta reliquerunt, ut nos eorum posteri paribus excitaremur exemplis ad celebrandas etiam noctibus nostrae salutis excubias.

VI. Sed a ueteribus ueniamus ad noua, a ministris legis ad ministros euangelii, ut de nouo etiam testamento uigiliarum gratia consignetur. ANNA FILIA PHANUELIS, VIDVA continens, ORATIONIBVS AC IEIUNIIS SERUIENS, NON DISCESSISSE DE TEMPLO DIE AC NOCTE in euangelio legitur. PASTORES illi sanctissimi, dum SVPER GREGEM SVVM nocturnas 5 exercent uigilias, et angelos in splendore uidere et CHRISTVM NATVM in terris primi audire meruerunt. iam uero institutio Saluatoris nonne tota ad uigilandum auditores exsuscitat, siue in parabola illa boni seminatoris dicendo DVM DORMIRENT HOMINES VENIT MALVS ET SVPERSEMINAVIT ZIZANIAM IN TRITICVM ET ABIIT—qui si non dormissent, nec 10 malus fortasse zizaniam seminare potuisset—siue cum dicit SINT LVMBI VESTRI PRAECINCTI ET LVCERNAE ARDENTES, ET VOS SIMILES HOMINIBVS EXSPECTANTIBVS DOMINVM SVVM QVANDO REVERTATVR A NVBTIIS: BEATI SERVI ILLI QVOS CVM VENERIT DOMINVS INVENERIT VIGILANTES: ET SI VESPERTINA inquit | [*fol. 149 b*] HORA VENERIT ET SI MEDIA NOCTE ET 15 SI GALLI CANTV ET INVENIAT EOS VIGILANTES, BEATI SVNT. ILLVD

13. 2 Cor. vi 16 15. Ps. lxxvi 5 (lxxv 6) 16. Ps. lxxvii 2 (lxxvi 3)
18. Ps. xcii 1, 2 (xc 2, 3)
VI. 3. Luc. ii 36, 37 5. Luc. ii 8 sqq 9. Matt. xiii 24, 25 11. Luc. xii 35-40 15. (Marc. xiii 35)

10. fortiter B C H *Isid*: firmiter a domini a H: dei B C 12. INCIPIT DE VIGILIIS AC TEMPLVM CUPIMVS Nos etenim frs carissimi si templum cupimus habere perpetuo adtendamus apostolum dicentem Haberi perpetuo sicut paulus adseret *etc R fol. 148 b* 16. tribulacionis R 18. sallere R 19. adnunciandum R

VI. 1. nouam R 2. ut B C: ut et R; om a H 3. fanuelis R 4. descessisse R die ac: diac R 6. in splendore uidere B C: in splendore (om uidere *per homocoteleton*) R H; om a 7. nonne tota R H (*et ita optime Burn*): nonne omnes B *etc* nomine tota a 9. dicenda (*sc* parabola) R 10. zizaniam R H *et* 11. zizaniam R* H: zizania *rell* potuisset R 13. expectantibus R nubtis B* nuptiis R 15. note R 16. bati R* illud . . . suam (*l. 18*): om B C

AVTEM SCITOTE QVIA SI SCIRET PATER FAMILIAS QVA HORA FVR VENIRET,
VIGILARET VTIQVE ET NON SINERET PERFORARI DOMVM SVAM. ITAQVE
ET VOS ESTOTE PARATI, QVIA QVA HORA NESCITIS FILIVS HOMINIS
20 VENTVRVS EST. nec uerbis solum docuit uigilias, sed etiam confirmauit
exemplo: testatur namque euangelium quia ERAT Iesus PERNOCTANS
IN ORATIONE DEI. pernoctabat Dominus [non sibi, sed] ut scirent
serui inopes et infirmi quid agere deberent, quando DOMINVS, DIVES
IN OMNIBVS nec ullius indigens quasi fortissimus, pernox in oratione
25 duraret. sic et increpat Petrum tempore passionis, dicens SIC NON
POTVISTI VNA HORA VIGILARE MECVM? et ad omnes iam † dirigit †
VIGILATE inquit ET ORATE NE INTRETIS IN TEMPTATIONEM.

Haec uerba, haec et eiusmodi exempla, oro uos, quem non de profundo etiam somno et morti simillimo ualeant suscitare?

VII. His instructi sermonibus, his confirmati documentis, beati apostoli et ipsi uigilarunt et uigilias imperarunt. Petrus in carcere NOCTV ab angelo excitatur, et ipso reserante PORTAM FERREAM IN DOMVM MARIAE PERVENIT | [fol. 150 a] VBI ERANT MVLTII CONGREGATI, non
5 stertentes utique sed ORANTES. idem in sua epistula ponit et dicit SOBRII ESTOTE, VIGILATE, QVIA ADVERSARIVS VESTER DIABOLVS TAMQVAM LEO RVGIENS CIRCVIT QVAERENS QVEM TRANSVORET. Paulus et Sileas IN CVSTODIA publica CIRCA MEDIAM NOCTIS HORAM ORANTES HYMNVM ADVIENTIBVS VINCTIS DIXISSE memorantur, ubi REPENTE TERRAE MOTV
10 FACTO ET CONCVSSIS CARCERIS FVNDAMENTIS ET IANVAE sponte APERTAE ET OMNIVM VINCVLA SVNT SOLVTA. idem beatus apostolus a Troade PROPECTVRVS SERMONEM PRODVCEBAT VSQVE IN MEDIAM NOCTEM, accensis LVCERNIS QVAMPLVRIMIS IN CENACVLO, ex quo EVTICHVS ADVLESCENS SOMNO PRESSVS, DISPVANTE PAVLO PROLIXIVS, A FENESTRA
15 DEDVCTVS CECIDIT DE TERTIO TECTO ET SVBLATVS EST MORTVVS. quo statim reddito uitae, VSQVE AD LVCEM SERMOCINATVS Deo gubernante PROPECTVS EST. idem beatus apostolus quam ualide quam copiose super exercendis uigiliis adhortatur, Thessalonicensibus quidem scribens

21. Luc. vi 12 23. Rom. x 12 25. Matt. xxvi 40, 41

VII. 3. Act. xii 6, 10, 12 6. 1 Pet. v 8 8. Act. xvi 23, 25, 26 12 Act. xx 7, 8, 9, 11

17. si: sci(RET) *primis curis* R* 18. utiquae R pereforari R* 22. non sibi sed a B C H: om R, *fortasse recte* scirent . . . sic et (l. 25): *aliter* B C
23. inopes et a H: in opere R 24. quasi fortis mus H, cf *ymb.* v (Burn 42. 10-17 quasi deus): et fortissimus R² nec fortissimus R* quam fortissimus a
25. sic 1°: si R* 26. potuistis R* dirigit R: dicit a B etc 29. simile R
VII. 1. insecruti *ut uid* R his 2°: hi R* tr. et ipsi beati apostoli R
5. stertentes a H: stertentes R dormientes B C 7. circuit: om R querens R Sileas B H. Sylleas a Silas R C 8. orantem? R* himnum R* 9. terre R
10. factu R* spontae R 11. a Troade . . . copiose (l. 17): om B C. 12. sermone R 17. ualidae R cupiose R 18. adortatur R

ITAQUE NON DORMIAMVS SICVT CETERI SED VIGILEMVS ET SOBRII SIMVS :
 NAM QVI DORMIUNT NOCTE DORMIUNT ET QVI INEBRIANTVR NOCTE EBRII 20
 SVNT. NOS AVTEM QVI DIEI SVMVS SOBRII SIMVS. et mire concludit :
 SIVE INQUIT VIGILEMVS SIVE DORMIAMVS | [fol. 150 b] SIMVL CVM ILLO
 VIVAMVS. ad Corintheos autem VIGILATE, STATE IN FIDE, CONFIRMA-
 MINI, VIRILITER AGITE. sic et ad Effesios scribit ORANTES OMNI
 TEMPORE IN SPIRITV, ET IN HOC IPSO VIGILANTES. se quoque exemplum 25
 ponens in catalogo uirtutum suarum functum se VIGILIIS MULTIS apud
 Corintheos gloriatur.

VIII. Haec sufficiant de antiquitate et auctoritate uigiliarum:
 superest ut secundum promissum ordinem de earum utilitate aliqua
 proferamus, quamquam sentiri magis potest per exercitium ipsa utilitas
 quam loquentis sermone narrari. GVSTANDO ENIM VIDETVR QVIA SVAVIS
 EST DOMINVS, sicut scriptum est. qui ergo GVSTAVIT, intellegit et 5
 sentit quantum pondus pectoris uigilando deponitur, quantus mentis
 stupor excutitur, quanta lux animam uigilantis et orantis inlustrat,
 quae gratia quae uisitatio membra uniuersa laetificat. uigilando timor
 omnis excluditur, fiducia nascitur; caro maceratur, uitia tabescunt, castitas
 roboratur; cedit stultitia, accedit prudentia; mens acuitur, error obtun- 10
 ditur; criminum caput diabolus gladio Spiritus uulneratur.

Quid hac utilitate maius? quid istis lucris commodius? quid hac
 delectatione suauius? quid ista felicitate beatus, teste etiam propheta
 | [fol. 152 a] qui in principio psalmorum suorum BEATVM VIRVM
 describens, summam beatitudinis eius in hoc uersiculo collocauit si IN 15
 LEGE DOMINI MEDITETVR DIE AC NOCTE. bona est quidem diurna
 meditatio, bona oratio, sed multo gratior et efficacior est nocturna
 meditatio: quia per diem necessitates uariae obstrepunt, occupationes
 distrahunt mentem, sensum multiplex cura dispergit; nox autem secreta,
 nox quieta, oportunam se praebet orantibus, aptissimam uigilan- 20
 tibus, dum carnalibus occupationibus expeditum collecto sensu totum
 hominem diuinis conspectibus sistit.

Inde diabolus, diuinarum semper rerum callidus aemulator, sicut
 ieiunia et uirginitatem uanam et baptismata inania suis cultoribus dedit,

19. 1 Thess. v 6, 7, 8, 10 23. 1 Cor. xvi 13 24. Eph. vi 18 26. 2 Cor. xi 27
 VIII. 2. cf. cap. iv l. 2 *supra* 4. Ps. xxxiv 8 (xxxiii 9) 14. Ps. i 1, 2

19. itaque... autem (l. 23): om B C 20. nocdormiunt R* 24. sic et...
 gloriatur (l. 27): om B C 25. in 2º: om R* 26. cata loco R

VIII. 2. aliquā R 3. exercitium R B²: exercidium B* 5. quia R*
 6. ponderis R uigilandum R* quantus mentis stupor excutitur a B C H:
 om per homoeotel R 9. fiducia R 10. stulticia R 13. dilectione R
 suauius: add *sup lin* R² 15. beatitudinis R² (sed m p) B etc: beatitudinem (R* ?) a
 uirseculo R conlocauit R 17. efficacior R 19. nox: uox R
 20. prebet R 23. inde... nisi (l. 29): itaque (ceteris omissis) B C
 emulator R 24. baptista R*

25 ita et hoc sanctum aemulatus officium nocturna sacra et uigilias suis commiseronibus addidit. unde iam nostri, si de suorum institutione non excitantur ad obeundas uigilias sanctas, uel in aduersarii eas usurpatione cernentes alienas a Dei rebus non esse fateantur: quas non imitaretur inimicus ad suorum deceptionem, nisi Deo placitas esse cognosceret ad celebrantium benedictionem.

IX. Tantum, karissimi, qui uigilat oculis uigilet et corde, [fol. 151 b] qui ORAT SPIRITV ORET ET MENTE; quia nec satis utile est oculis uigilare et animo dormire, cum e contrario ex persona ecclesiae scriptura testetur: EGO inquit DORMIO ET COR MEVM VIGILAT. curandum est etiam ne 5 nimietate cibi uel potus uigilantis pectus oneretur, nec foeditate ructantes et crapula non solum ipsi nobis insuaues simus sed etiam gratiae Spiritus indigni iudicemur. dixit namque uir quidam inter pastores eximius: SICVT FVMVS inquit FVGAT APES, SIC INDIGESTA RVCTATIO AVERTIT ET ABICIT SPIRITVS SANCTI CHARISMATA. ergo, tamquam diuino fungendo 10 ministerio, ante nos per abstinentiam parare debemus, ut ingrauantibus expediti libere uigilare possimus. cogitatio quoque mala pellatur, ne male uigilantis ORATIO FIAT sicut legitur IN PECCATVM. sunt enim et ex maligno uigiliae, sicut in Prouerbiis legitur quia ABLATVS EST SOMNVS AB OCVLIS EORVM: NON ENIM DORMIUNT inquit NISI MALE FECERINT. sed 15 absint, [fratres,] absint ab hoc conuentu tales uigiliae; sit noctis huius uigilantium pectus clausum diabolo apertum Christo, ut quem labiis sonamus corde teneamus. tunc erunt acceptabiles nostrae uigiliae, tunc pernoctatio salutaris, si competenti diligentia et deuotione sincera ministerium nostrum diuinis obtutibus offeratur. |

X. [fol. 153 b] Haec de uigiliarum auctoritate et antiquitate, necnon etiam de utilitate, dicta sufficiant. de hymnorum autem psalmodiarumque deuotione, quam grata sit et acceptabilis Deo, nunc quantulumcumque dixissem, nisi ratio prolixior uolumen aliud postularet. 5 et quod Domino largiente tribuitur sequenti exhibebitur lectione.

IX. 2. cf. 1 Cor. xiv 15

4. Cant. v 2

8. S. Basil. Hom. i de ieiunio

12. Ps. cix 6 (cviii 7)

13. Prov. iv 16

25. sanctum aemulatus a H: sēs aemulator R nocturna sacra et scripseram, et ita H: nocturna sacre R nocturna et a 27. obeundas Mercati: obaudiendas R eibeundas H habendas a

IX. 1. tantum RBCH (cf. psalm. xiii 1): tamen a 2. mete R* nec satis: neces. primis curis R uigilaret ut uid R* 5. uigilantis R: uigilaturi (-tutorum BC) a H BC, cf. l. 9 seditate R ructuantes R 6. gratiam R S. ructuatio R 9. fungendo scripsi: fungendi R: functuri a H (celebraturi B etc) 10. ingrauantibus expediti scripsi: ingrauatissimi R* p' grauatisi (et addit non sup lin) R² ingrauatissimi expeditus H integrati expeditus a ingrauatissimi et expediti B 12. uigilantes R et: om R 15. fratres absint a: absint H et longe absint BC; om (per homoeoteleuton ad finem lineae) R

X. 2. de hymnorum . . . lectione (l. 5) R BC: aliter a H 3. salmodiarumque R* 5. tribuitur coniecti: tribuit R; om BC

NOTES TO THE *DE VIGILIIS*.

title. tractatus Nicetae episcopi. The name Niceta is given by the B family at the head of both tractates, and as it is correct their evidence should be accepted. The word tractatus depends on the sole testimony of two MSS of the family on this one occasion: but it is a term characteristic of the early centuries of Latin Christianity in the sense of a sermon—it is the commonest term also for the Nicene Creed until that became raised to the level of what was at first simply the Symbolum—and I see no reason to doubt its genuineness.

I. 2. proferre sermonem *a* H: this seems more appropriate than conferre sermonem of B C Burn. 3. geritur with B family: the verb occurs thrice in *de psalm.*: exigitur *a* Burn caigitur H. 4. somno with *a*: in somno B *etc.* H Burn. I suspect the shorter text the more likely to be Niceta's: I think he tends to omit prepositions and use the plain ablative, cf. vi l. 25, *psalm.* ii 12, iii 18. reformatis *a* (H), cf. Burn 7. 3 'ad similitudinem dei reformatur': reparatis B *etc.* Burn. 7. uesperum with B C H Burn: uesperam *a*. Either form is classical; one naturally follows the oldest MSS in such things. uicarium: *i.e.* alternate. 8. ergo... praestitit (l. 10) with B family and Burn: *a* H omit the sentence, save for the last word, but that is a tell-tale indication that the intervening matter has fallen out by some accident. 13. a Salomone... nascatur (l. 15): the first of many serious omissions in the B family. The text it gives is an emasculated and abbreviated edition, but the MSS of this family are much earlier in the *de vigiliis* than the representatives of the complete text, and therefore, apart from long omissions, and apart from their dislike of the direct use of the first and second person singular, in which Niceta delights, their testimony must always be considered. 17. mirari H: et mirari *a* Burn (B *etc.* paraphrase): it seemed to me that et spoils the rhythm of the sentence (and rhythm is a very good guide for the true text of Niceta), before I knew of the evidence of H. 19. lectionibus B *etc.*: lectionibusque *a* H Burn. The asyndeton is more characteristic of Niceta's style.

II. 3. possunt... christiani? 'Seeing that if religious things did please them, they would be of our side and what we are, namely Christians'. This, which I am sure is the right sense, requires only a fresh punctuation (the MSS are, one may say, devoid of authority for punctuation) and the substitution of quod with B C H for quia of *a* Burn. 4. saluter: saluter sermo is cited from Maximus of Turin. 5. senes sunt B C H Burn. *a* prefixes to senes the words quod his est primum, 'which sound as though they concealed some genuine phrase': so I wrote before I knew of the quod his est proximum of H, which should have been placed in the text. 14. uigilare debes: this I restore from the uigilare debent of the B family, which seems to give a more appropriate sense than the uigilas of *a* Burn. Niceta says that no one forced old people to come to watch-night services, but that they ought to come if and as they could. 24. debemus *a* H: + non inuidere sed B *etc.* Burn, but I do not think that the words are genuine.

III. 2. dominici B C H: dominicae is read in this case by *a* only, though, as the oblique cases of dominicum (= the Lord's Body, or a church) would collide with those of dominicus (dies), I think that dominica was the form usually employed in the latter sense. 5. obsoletamur B *etc.* Burn: doubtless right against the oscitamus of *a*, for obsoletare in the sense 'to defile' is found in Tertullian *Apol.* 15, *Scorpiae* 6 'uestitum obsoletassent nuptialem'. 6. erubescat aliquis B C H: erubescant aliqui *a* Burn, but the singular is more in Niceta's style, and corresponds

to the *si sanctus es, si peccator es*, that follow. cum non erubescant H: quia non erubescunt B cum non erubescunt a C 7. inprobi BCH Burn: *om a*, presumably by error. 11. custodiens H: I had already restored this from the custodientes of BC (the B family turns the whole context into the plural), against the custodias of a Burn. It seems to be a case of a dependent clause, rather than of two co-ordinate clauses. 12. curre *codd* Burn: I thought at first (and so did Dr Mercati) that we ought to alter to cura; but currere is a favourite word of Niceta's, cf. cap. ii l. 23 above, *de diuersis appellationibus* (Burn 4. 23) 'curre ad uitae fontem', *ad competentes* fragm. i (ib. 6. 2) 'ad fidem currentibus'. 14. nescio an eum BCH: necesse est ut eum non a Burn. 15. delectare is a favourite word of Niceta's: for the construction cf. *de diuersis appell.* (ib. 5. 8) 'numquam te pecare delectabit'.

IV. 1. karissimi: I had so printed throughout with (so far as Dr Burn's apparatus or the witness of my own MS goes) no continuous authority. But I was fairly sure that an author of Niceta's date would have spelt the word, in this particular phrase, karissimi: and in fact on this occasion there is the testimony of BCH. 5. ad Dominum BC: ad Deum a H Burn. In such variations the choice must needs depend on subjective considerations: but the rhythm of Dominum seems better, and Deus in the quotation that follows may have suggested the change to Deum. 7. et regio et propheticum BC: regio et propheticum a H Burn. The balance of the sentence as it stands, if it does not require, at least commends the double et, 'both king and prophet'. 8. et in alio psalmo a: item dicit BC Burn. The formulae of quotation are generally better preserved in a than by the other family: and though I do not know that I can produce a direct parallel to 'in alio psalmo' (yet compare 'aliam uocem' a few lines on and *psalm.* ii 24 'alio loco'), I am not sure that 'item dicit' is in any better case. 11. sed forsitan . . . assistere (l. 15): *om* BC. A second instance of intentional omission of several lines of undoubtedly genuine matter. 12. stratu a H: strato Burn. As Dr Burn a little lower down (v 4) accepts stratus mei, on the authority of BC², it is difficult to see why he refuses it when it has no authority against it. The form is found, though it is not common. 13. submurmure: a late Latin word, first quoted from St Augustine *Conf.* vi 9, where Alypius is arrested for the theft he did not commit, 'submurmuraerunt argentarii qui subter erant'. 15. conspectui diuino assistere: cf. viii l. 22 'hominem diuinis conspectibus sistit', ix l. 19 'diuinis obtutibus offeratur'. 17. ostendit a H Burn: ostendat BC. I have some impression that Niceta prefers, where possible, to use the indicative rather than the subjunctive. in noctibus inquit BCH: *om* inquit a Burn. 'inquit' after the first word of a quotation is rather characteristic, especially if no verb of 'saying' has preceded: vi 15, *ib.* 26, ix 4, *ib.* 8, *ib.* 14, *psalm.* viii 6, ix 21, x 3, 5, xiii 2, 10, 19. noctes: noctis *codd* Burn. The word is, as I take it, meant to be an echo of in noctibus, and the plural must therefore be right: 'lest you should think that the psalmist by "at night" means the evening hours only . . .'. 20. ecce BC: *om* a H Burn. The parallels in *psalm.* ii 8 (Burn 68. 20) and vii 10 (*ib.* 75. 3), in both of which ecce immediately follows a quotation from Scripture, seem to justify the insertion of it here on the authority of the B family.

V. 2. ac laboriosius BC: et laboriosius a Burn. Niceta is rather fond of ac joining two words, and as et just afterwards joins two clauses, ac seems the better reading. 6. non stupeat tantam in Dei amore animi deuotionem BC Isidore: this makes excellent sense, while I can make neither sense nor grammar of the reading of a (followed by Dr Burn) 'tantum stupeat Dei amorem animi deuotionem'. At least the negative is necessary. The text of St Isidore's *de officiis* is perhaps not sufficiently well established (there is no critical edition as yet, though there is hope

of one) for his support of BC to be decisive: but at least it adds something. 8. *deficiunt* BCH Isidore: *deficient* a Burn. The subjunctive is not necessary here for the Latin idiom: and, as I have said above, I think that Niceta does not go out of his way to use it. *locum ac templum . . . fabricandum* BCH Isidore: *locum ad templum . . . fabricandum* a Burn. The dual phrase *locum, templum* takes up the *locum, tabernaculum* of Ps. cxxii (cxxxi) 5. And as Niceta in the next sentence speaks of ourselves wishing to be both the Lord's 'place' and His 'tabernacle', I think that the *ad* of *a* is only an ingenious correction. 10. *fortiter* BCH Isidore: *firmiter* a Burn. Here *firmiter* is supported by *de symb.* x (Burn 48. 17) '*debes firmiter retinere*': yet it does not go quite so well with *ammonere*, and the weight of authority against it is decisive.

From this point begins the testimony of Vat. Reg. lat. 131 (R) *fol.* 148 b. In this apparatus, if R stands alone in substantial variations against all MSS of both the other families, an asterisk is prefixed. 12. *perpetuo* RC with one later MS of the B family, T: *perpetuum* B a H Burn. 13. *uos estis*: from 2 Cor. vi 16, not (as Burn) 1 Cor. iii 16. 16. *dicat* RCH: *dicit* B a Burn. Obviously the subjunctive is right, parallel with what precedes '*diligamus . . .*'. 18. *psallere*: *sallere* R, and so more than once, *psalm.* ii 3 '*salmorum*', viii 5 '*salmista*'. See too the note on *psalm.* ix 1. 20. *tanta ac talia* RCH: *tanta et talia* a B Burn. For Niceta's fondness for *ac*, see above on l. 2 of this chapter, compare however also vii 5. 22. *nostrae salutis excubias* RCH: *salutis nostrae excubias* a Burn. Would not Niceta have avoided, if he could, the open vowel '*nostrae excubias*'?

VI. 1. *a ministris* RBC: *de ministris* a H Burn. The older MSS are obviously right: '*a ministris*' is parallel to '*a ueteribus*', '*de*' would suggest an erroneous parallel to '*de nouo testamento*'. 3. **continens* R: *continuis* BC a H Burn. The text of St Luke says nothing about Anna's prayers and fastings being '*continuous*' ('night and day' is attached by Niceta to '*not departing from the temple*'), but it does imply that she was '*uidua continens*'. I have no doubt R is right: rhythm requires that '*uidua*' should not stand in isolation. *orationibus ac ieiuniis* RBC: *et for ac* a H Burn. See on v 2, 20. 5. *sanctissimi*. Note the superlative. In Niceta's age *sanctissimus* as adjective with personal reference ('saint' so-and-so) was commoner than *sanctus*. Compare *psalm.* xi 9 '*cum Iona cum Hieremia sanctissimis uatibus*'. *gregem suum* RCH: *greges suos* a Burn. The plural '*shepherds*' suggested '*flocks*' ('while shepherds watched their flocks by night'): but St Luke wrote '*their flock*', ἐπὶ τὴν ποίμνην αὐτῶν. 6. *et angelos in splendore uidere* BC: *et angelos in splendore* RH *et angelos* a Burn. That the fullest reading is right will be clear to any one who considers either the sense or the rhythm—both good clues to Niceta's text. RH omitted *uidere* by *homoeoteleuton* after *splendore*. 7. *primi* RCH: *primum* a Burn. The shepherds were the first people to hear of Christ's Birth: cf *psalm.* iii 6 (Burn 70. 4) '*quis hominum primus . . . inuenerit*'. 8. *in parabola* RCH: *parabola* a Burn. Without the preposition the phrase is harsh and the grammar ambiguous, so that the preposition here scarcely falls under the rule I tentatively suggested on i 4 above. *boni seminatoris*. We could of course read '*boni seminis seminatoris*', but the rhythm of the existing text is the better, and I think it not unlikely that parallels, ancient or modern, could be found for '*The Good Sower*' as the title of the parable. 10. *qui si* RCH: *quod si* a Burn. Again the older MSS are right. But the reminder must be repeated that R agrees with *a* far oftener than it agrees with BC: only as Dr Burn, following *a*, had already divined the true text in the great majority of cases, there has been no reason to call attention to them. 12. *ardentes*: + in manibus uestris *a*. Dr Burn had enclosed these words within brackets, and Professor Burkitt (Burn p. cxlviii) had pointed out that they could not

be genuine as being only a late accretion even in the Vulgate text. R with the other MSS naturally omits them. 15. inquit R B C H : *om a* Burn. See on iv 17 above. 16. illud autem . . . domum suam (l. 18) R *a* H : *om* B C : Burn encloses in brackets, and Burkitt *loc. cit.* argues that the citation is too close to the Vulgate and, being only present in *a*, cannot be genuine. But the evidence of R turns the tables: and I am quite sure that Niceta would not have omitted a verse which contained the word 'uigilaret'. Note also that in place of the Vulgate *perfordiri* R has '*perforari*'. 19. nescitis R B C : *a* Burn (and Vulgate) non putatis. 20. confirmauit exemplo R C H Isidore : exemplo confirmauit B, docuit exemplo *a* Burn. The rhythm alone shews that the latter reading is wrong: Niceta would never have repeated docuit. And the chiasmus '*uerbis docuit . . . confirmauit exemplo*' is exactly characteristic of his style. 21. testatur namque euangelium R : namque testatur euangelium C namque testatur in euangelio B *a* H Burn. In ix 7 below, p. 312, although there are variant readings, namque stands in the second place in either reading. 22. *pernoctabat Dominus R : + non sibi sed *codd. vell.* I cannot see my way clearly as to whether accidental omission by R, or intentional insertion by the rest, is the more likely. 23. inopes et infirmi *a* H : in opere infirmi R (the other family abbreviates here). inops is not found elsewhere in Niceta, whereas phrases with opere are not uncommon; yet the parallel of inopes with diues, as infirmi with fortissimus, is decisive the other way. diues in omnibus R H : diues in orationibus *a*. The corresponding phrase '*nec ullius indigens*' proves the correctness of R's reading. 24. quasi fortissimus of H is, I think, right, for the parallels in *ymb.* iv go a long way in support of it: neither the quam of *a* nor the et of R² nor the nec of R* is satisfactory. pernox R H : *om a*. 'pernox in oratione duraret' is clearly right, corresponding to 'pernoctabat' of the citation from St Luke. 25. tempore passionis R B C H : in tempore passionis *a* Burn. In spite of vi 8 I omit 'in' confidently here: compare *de spiritu* v (24. 14) 'tempore passionis', *ymb.* vii (46. 1) 'tempore baptismi', and see my note on i 4. *dicens sic R : dicens (without sic) *codd. vell.* But sic represents Οὕτως of Matt. xxvi 40. 26. potuisti R² B C *a* H Burn: the context, and the contrast of Petrum which precedes and omnes which follows, seem decisive for the singular against the potuistis of R*, though the latter corresponds to the text of St Matthew ἵσχυσατε; St Mark however (xiv 37) has ἵσχυσας. *diriget R : dicit *codd. vell.* It seems hardly possible that R could have corrupted the simple dicit into diriget, and I conceive therefore that the latter word conceals the true reading. Possibly directe or directo: possibly an object word has dropped out before or after dirigit, such as sermonem. 28. haec uerba, haec et eiusmodi exempla R H : *om* haec 2° B C *a*, *om* et B C. Only the reading of R H gives the satisfactory oratorical swing to the passage. 29. morti simillimo B C *a* H Burn, perhaps rightly: morti simile R.

VII. 1. *tr* et ipsi beati apostoli R. But the order of the majority is the better, for it emphasizes the parallel of example and precept. 2. in carcere noctu ab angelo R B C : ab angelo in carcere *a* (H) Burn. The word noctu is necessary, since there is nothing else in the citation to make it an appropriate reference for vigils. 3. *excitatur R : suscitatur *codd. vell.* Both belong to Niceta's vocabulary. 5. stertentes *a* H Burn : sternentes R dormientes B C. I think that a word which seemed rather undignified (perhaps also unfamiliar) was changed in one direction or another. ponit et dicit R B C : ponit ac dicit *a* H Burn. Perhaps one may qualify what was said above (v 2, 20, vi 3) by restricting the characteristic use of ac by Niceta to other parts of speech than verbs. 7. Sileas B H Burn, cf. Sylleas *a*, with the Old Latin: Silas R C, with Vulg. 8. *mediam noctis horam R : medium noctis *codd. vell.*, perhaps rightly. But these

N. T. readings, and especially those from Acts, need separate treatment. 9. terrae motu facto et concussis R B C Isidore: *om* facto et *a* H Burn. The longer reading is doubtless right.

11-17, 19-23. idem beatus . . . copiose: and itaque non . . . ad Corintheos autem: *om* BC. 13. ex quo R: ex qua *a* Burn. There is no feminine noun to which ex qua can be referred: ex quo [*sc.* cenaculo] must be right.

17. idem beatus apostolus RH: *om a* Burn (but with idem later on, 'quam plene idem'). Beatus apostolus may seem unnecessary after the same phrase in *l.* 11: but at any rate the position of idem at the beginning of the sentence is the natural one.

quam ualide quam copiose R: quam plene idem quamque copiose *a* (H) Burn. Plene with copiose would be tautology: and the asyndeton without -que is characteristic of Niceta. 18. adhortatur . . . scribens R H (+ait H): adhortatur . . . dicens B C adhortatus . . . scribens ait *a* Burn. The 'exhortation' is the main point of the sentence, and is naturally indicative. 21. et mire R: mire *a* H Burn. R has certainly the preferable reading.

22. inquit RH: *om a* Burn. See on iv 17. 25. et in hoc ipso uigilantes se quoque R: et in ipso uigilantis quoque *a* Burn, et in ipso uigilantes adque H. Whether or no hoc is correct, R is quite certainly right in making the phrase part of the quotation from Eph. vi 18 καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ [τοῦτο] ἀγρυπνοῦντες—otherwise there would be no 'vigil' point in the reference—and in prefixing 'se' to the new sentence.

VIII. 2. promissum ordinem R *a* H: promissum B C Burn. The latter reading is unobjectionable in itself, but the agreement of R *a* H is decisive; and the meaning is doubtless that Niceta had promised (at the beginning of chapter IV) to speak first of the 'authority and antiquity', then of the 'utility' of vigils.

4. sermone narrari R B C H: sermo narrare *a* Burn. Obviously the passive suits better the correspondence and balance of the clauses. gustando R B C: gustandum *a* H Burn. I do not see how gustandum can be translated.

6. pondus *a* H B: ponderis R; *qm* C. ponderis is wrong: it was presumably attracted to the termination of the following pectoris. quantus mentis stupor excutitur *a* B C H:

om R. One of the few serious blunders of R: the clause is doubtless genuine, and was omitted by *homocoteleuton*.

9. fiducia nascitur caro maceratur RH: and so B C, followed by Burn, save that maceretur is given (by misprint?) for maceratur; *om a*, perhaps by *homocoteleuton*.

castitas R B C: caritas *a* H Burn. castitas makes a pair with uitia, as stultitia with prudentia: caritas would spoil the correspondence. Compare *psalm.* ix 12 (Burn 76. 18), where AV make the same blunder.

10. cedit R B C: recedit *a* H Burn. The choice was easy as soon as I found that B C give the same reading as R; the rhythm of cedit . . . accedit is better than that of recedit . . . accedit.

12. *maius R: magis necessarium *codd. rel.* Note in the first place that there are here four parallel clauses, and that each of the other three consists of four words and ends with a neuter comparative in -ius. Note further that maius is twice elsewhere used in balance with other neuter comparatives: v 1 *supra* 'maius aliquid ac laboriosius', *psalm.* vii 10 (Burn 75. 4) 'ecce praestantius, ecce . . . maius'.

13. delectatione B C Burn: dilectione R dilectione *a* H ista felicitate R B C: hac felicitate *a* H Burn, but once more the balance of the clauses hac . . . istis . . . hac . . . ista requires the reading of R.

teste etiam propheta R B C H: teste autem propheta *a* Burn. With the former reading the words continue the previous sentence, and beatius is taken up by beatum and beatitudinis: with autem a new sentence must begin, and I do not see how it is constructed.

15. summam beatitudinis R² B C H: summam beatitudinem R**a*. collocare is specially used of money, and the noun 'summa' carries on the same sort of metaphor.

17. bona oratio sed multo gratior

et efficacior est nocturna meditatio RBC: sed efficacior est nocturna *a* H Burn. The phrase *bona oratio*, with its repetition of the adjective but without connecting particle, is quite in Niceta's style, cf. ix 15: and prayer was an essential element of the 'vigil' service: see above i 18, vi 21-26, and below ix 12. *gratus* is used of the parallel 'ministry of hymns' *psalm.* ix 24 (77. 11). 19. *multiplex cura* RBC: *duplex cura* *a* H Burn. *multiplex* belongs to the vocabulary of Niceta *ymb.* vii (45. 14), *psalm.* xii 4 (79. 10). It is true that *duplex* is also found elsewhere, *ymb.* xi (50. 13), but there Niceta explains at once what is double, while here there is no sense that I can see in 'double care'. *nox autem secreta nox quieta* RH. With the B family (against *a* Burn) R has *autem* and the order *secreta, quieta*; but that family both after *secreta* and after *quieta* add *est* against R *a* H Burn. 20. *orantibus* RBCH: *orationibus* *a* Burn. The parallel with *uigilantibus* of the next clause is decisive. 21. *collecto sensu totum hominem* RBCH Burn: *collectum sensum in tantum hominem* *a*. 23. *inde . . . benedictionem* (l. 30) R *a* H Burn: *om* (save for a paraphrase of the last few words) BC 24. *et uirginitatem uanam* et (*om* et H) *baptismata* (*baptista* R*) *inania* RH: *et uirginitatem, uana baptismata et inania* *a* Burn. Both sense and rhythm support R. 25. *sanctum aemulatus officium* *a* H Burn: *sēs aemulator officium* R. Here R is clearly inferior. *nocturna sacra et uigilias: nocturna sacrae uigilias* R *nocturna et uigiliis* *a* *nocturnas et uigilias* Burn. Dr Burn rightly restored *uigilias* against his MS: but Niceta could not have used a noun *nocturnas* 'nocturns', and in fact uses the word as an adjective with *uigilias*, above vi 5, and in the present chapter, l. 17, with *meditatio*. From the *sacrae* of R and et of *a* I restored 'nocturna sacra' ('midnight rites') et', and I now find it in H. 26. *commiseronibus* R: *cum miseronibus* H *cum miserationibus* *a* *comissionibus* Burn. Dr Burn's reading was most ingenious, but the text of *a* concealed some word that should correspond to *cultoribus*, and R gives us in 'commisero' 'companion in misfortune', a good Tertullianic word (*adv. Marc.* iv 9, 36). 27. *ad obeundas uigilias sanctas* Mercati: *ad obaudiendas u. sanctas* R *ad habendas u. sacras* *a* *ad eibeundas u. sanctas* H. *sanctus* as an epithet for the vigils is guaranteed by the opening sentence of the treatise, 'de sanctis uigiliis nunc dicere': for the verb our MSS all differ, but Mercati's admirable conjecture accounts for them all. *in aduersarii eas* R: *in aduersa uarietatis* *a* *in diuersa uarietatis* H. This is the sort of instance which shews us how impossible it was to construct an adequate text out of *a* alone. The wonder is that Dr Burn's edition should be as readable as it is. 29. *imitaretur* R: *aemularetur* *a* H. The reading of R varies the verb, cf. lines 23, 25. *inimicus* RH: *iniquus* *a*. *inimicus* is in regular use by Niceta for the devil, *ymb.* i (39. 2) 'abrenuntiat inimico', (39. 12) 'in faciem proiciens inimici', *ib.* xiv (52. 12) 'quotiens inimicus mentem . . . titillauerit'. *iniquus* on the other hand he does not use in this sense. *ad suorum deceptionem* RH: *ad deceptionem* *a*, but *suorum* is wanted to balance *celebrantium* in the second limb of the sentence.

IX. 1. *tantum* RBCH Burn: *tamen* *a*. Quite decisive is the parallel in *psalm.* xiii 1 (79. 11) 'Tantum, karissimi, intermittentes'. *karissimi* R: *kmi* *C* *carissimi* *codd. vell.* See on iv 1. R with BC omits *frates* (*a* H Burn) after *karissimi*, and the parallels shew that omission is right, above iv 1, and so *psalm.* iii 1, ix 1, xiii 1, *ymb.* xiii 1, xiv 1. *karissimi* and *frates* are in fact alternative forms of address. 2. *nec satis utile* RBC: *necessitas inutilis* H *ualde inutile* *a* Burn. *ualde* is not found elsewhere in Niceta: *satis* is found twice in this treatise, i 1 'satis conueniens', ii 23 'satis extraneum'—it could best be rendered by 'very'. 3. *et (om et H) animo dormire* RBCH: *animo dormiente* *a* Burn. *dormitare* is used in one Scriptural quotation, see above ii 10, and *dormitatio* in another, v 5. 5. **uigilantis* R: *uigilaturi* *a* H Burn *uigilaturorum* BC.

The singular, as regularly throughout these treatises, is no doubt right. For the tense, I have an impression that Niceta avoids the future participle: otherwise there might be something to be said for *uigilaturi*. Similarly in *l. 9 a* has *functuri* and the B family *celebraturi*, but I have ventured to restore *fungendo* from R's *fungendi*, spite of the unclassical construction. **nec feditate ructuantes R ne cruditatem ructantes B C ne cruditates eructantes a H Burn.* *ne . . . nec* brackets the clauses: the double *ne*, making the one depend on the other, would be awkward. R and the B family agree on the simple verb, and the simple verb appears to be more common in the literal, the compound with *e-* in the metaphorical, sense. On the other hand the spelling *ructare* without *u* is, I believe, the older, and is guaranteed here (and for *ructatio l. 8* below) by our oldest MS, B: I have therefore given the preference to *ructare, ructatio*, in the text against R. But I retain *feditate*, though with some hesitation, because a word so natural in this connexion as *cruditas* is more likely to have come in, than to have dropped out, by error. And I doubt if Niceta would have tolerated the assonance *cruditatem et crapula*. On the other hand he may have had in mind Cyprian *de laps.* 30 '*cruditates suas postridie ructat*'.

6. *sed etiam R B C H: sed a Burn.* *sed etiam* is wanted to balance *non solum*. *gratie a B C H: gratiam R gratia Burn.* I feel bound to follow the MSS: *dignus* with the genitive occurs in Niceta's contemporaries Hilary Lucifer Priscillian Ambrosiaster Rufinus and Sulpicius Severus (see *Thes. Ling. Lat.*).

7. *dixit (dicit H)* *namque uir quidam R B C H: quidam namque uir a Burn.* If *dixit* is, as I think, right—a verb of saying followed by *inquit* after the first word of the quotation is not uncommon in Niceta, *e.g.* vi 11, ix 14, *psalm.* x 3; xiii 2, 17—it follows that Dr Burn's deduction from his own reading, namely that St Basil was probably still alive (p. 66 *ad fin.*), must be replaced by an exactly contrary deduction, namely that the past tense *dixit* rather suggests that he was dead. As St Basil died on Jan. 1, 379, and the certain dates of Niceta's episcopate extend from 398 in one direction to 414 in the other, the chronology of the *de uigiis* is certainly improved if it is to be dated after, rather than before, 379.

9. *abicit: though this is the reading of both R and the other MSS, I think there may be something to be said for altering to abigit, as a better equivalent of the Greek of St Basil ἀποδίδωκε.* *fungendo: see on line 5.*

10. *ingrauantibus expediti: ingrauatisi R* (add. non sup. lin. R²) ingrauari et expediti B C T ingrauari expeditus H integrati expeditus a Burn.* I have tried to make the best of the difficulty. *expedire* in the sense to lighten or free oneself is used by Niceta, above viii *l. 21* '*carnalibus occupationibus expeditum*', *ymb.* i (39. 10) '*his malis se homo expediens*': the word is therefore in some form to be retained here, even though absent from R. *integrati* is a *vox nihili*, invented by *a* or its ancestor because *ingrauari* gave no sense: yet since *R** and H and the B family agree on *ingrauari*, that verb must stand. The **libere* which follows in R is absent from all other authorities, but seems indispensable for the rhythm.

12. *et ex maligno a H Burn: ex maligno R et ex malignis B C.* The singular is of course right: *malignus* in patristic Latin constantly means 'the evil one'. '*et*' has dropped out before '*ex*' in R by one of the commonest confusions to which scribes are liable.

13. *quia R B C H: quare a Burn, who prints it as part of the quotation, but it does not correspond to the text of Prov. iv 16.* For *quia* in the sense 'that' see vi 21 '*legitur quia*', *psalm.* xiii 20 '*uides quia*'.

14. *sed absint fratres absint: sed absint R sed absint et longe absint B C absint fratres (om fratres H) absint a H Burn.* I accept *sed* on the testimony of R and the B family, while the combined witness of the latter family and *a* shews that R has suffered loss by *homoeoteleuton* *absint . . . absint*; and the *fratres* of *a* is preferable to the *et*

longe of B and its relatives, though a text without either is suggested by the testimony of H. 15. *sit noctis huius uigilantium R : sed potius uigilantium BC sit potius uigilantium a H. potius is entirely in Niceta's style : yet I cannot think that noctis huius, in spite of the awkwardness of the genitive, is other than genuine ; cf. viii 17, 25. For a similar difficult genitive cf. *psalm.* i 10 'operis adlocutio'. 17. tunc erunt . . . salutaris RBCH : tunc . . . salutaris erit a Burn. Rhythm is decisive : erit is far too weak a word to close this pair of balanced clauses. 19. offeratur RBCH : offeruntur a Burn. I cannot but suppose this reading in Burn to be a misprint.

X. 1. haec de uigiliarum . . . lectione (l. 5) RBC : a H Burn give instead a mere concluding phrase 'haec de uigiliarum auctoritate (et) antiquitate necnon (+ etiam de H) utilitate dicta sufficiant. gratia domini nostri Iesu Christi cum omnibus uobis. amen'. It might be thought that this alternative represented another edition of the treatise by Niceta : and perhaps that is Dr Burn's view (p. lxxxv). But an editor who was copying the *de uigiliis* without the corresponding treatise *de psalmodiae bono* would be bound to cut short the conclusion very much as the family a H has in fact done. 2. de utilitate R : de earum sancta utilitate BC. This is just the sort of unctuous supplement to the original language of Niceta with which the B family is replete. I do not record these variations except where, a H being deficient, the B family constitutes our only check upon the tradition as given by R. 3. grata sit et acceptabilis R : grata sit et acceptabilia B. 5. et quod Domino largiente tribuitur : this is the best I can make of the reading of R, 'tribuit', though if ratio could be taken as the nominative 'tribuet' might stand. The B family, omitting et and tribuit, gives, what in itself would be fairly satisfactory, 'quod Domino largiente sequenti exhibebitur lectione'.

EXPLICIT DE SANCTIS (scs R*) VIGILIIS R : there is apparently no colophon in any of the other MSS.

C. H. TURNER.

NOTE.—In order to find space for the remainder of the *apparatus criticus* and notes, I have had to omit at this stage all record and discussion of the variants in the biblical quotations. With these I propose to deal, together with those in the *de psalm.*, when I go on to edit the companion treatise. But in the meantime I include a summary reference here to those points where my biblical text differs from Dr Burn's edition : ii 9 surgis BC* H, modicum *bis* BC H, 12 inopia autem sicut bonus cursor BCH, 22 meditabar B, factus es BC ; iv 6 om sunt a H, 9 memor fui a H ; v 4, 5 aut . . . aut B(C) H, 19 tuam 2° RC a H ; vi 3 ac RBC, om domino RBCH, 10 zizaniam RH, 12 om in manibus uestris RBCH, 15 et 1° RBC, et 2° RBC H, 18 perforari R, 19 nescitis RBCH, 25 sic R ; vii 6 om ac RH, 7 transuoret RBC, 8 mediam noctis horam R, 12 producebat R (*gig*), in R, 13 lucernis quamplurimis RH, 14 pressus R (*gig*), 21 diei RH, simus RH, 23 om et RH, confirmamini R, 24 om in R, 25 in hoc ipso uigilantes R ; viii 16 meditetur RBCH, ix 13 om quare RBCH.

[The Introduction to this edition of the two treatises of Niceta *de uigiliis* and *de psalmodiae bono* will follow with the text of the second treatise.]

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE TRANSFIGURATION.

'THERE appeared unto them Moses and Elijah talking with him.'
Matt. xvii 3.

Moses is naturally assumed to represent the law, and the phrase 'the law and the prophets' is so familiar that it is assumed almost as a necessary corollary that Elijah represents the prophets. Let us take as our starting-point the first half of this identification. Moses represents or embodies the law. Our Lord was 'born under the law', or rather by His incarnation 'came to be under the law' (Gal. iv 4), and according to the law of Moses He was circumcised the eighth day after His birth (Lk. ii 21), and on the fortieth day presented in the temple 'as it is written in the law of the Lord' (Lk. ii 23). When He had completed His twelfth year He was taken up to the temple and became, like other Jewish youths, a 'son of the law', and we shall probably be right in assuming that up till the time of His baptism He was 'as touching the righteousness that is in the law found blameless' (Phil. iii 4; cp. Lk. i 6). But after that event the whole position is changed. He has received 'the adoption' (Gal. iv 4), and is a son of God. Hence He considers that He is under no obligation to pay the half-shekel (Matt. xvii 24-27). If, as seems probable, His baptism took place just about the time of the feast of the Passover, then He did not keep that Passover in Jerusalem, for the Spirit straightway drove Him into the wilderness (Mk. i 12). Nor did He keep the Passover that followed the feeding of the 5,000, but remained in Galilee. And we read that He did not keep a certain feast of Tabernacles, but went up in the midst of it: 'I go not up to this feast' (John vii 8); that is, He did not go up as a feast-keeper, did not consider Himself under legal obligation to go up. Nor did He think Himself under obligation to keep the Sabbath, for He says, 'The Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath' (Mk. ii 28); nor to observe the distinction of clean and unclean food, for St Mark's comment on His words is, 'this He said making all meats clean' (Mk. vii 19), an interpretation the scope of which is shown in St Peter's subsequent vision (Acts ix 15). In short, as is clear from the passage first quoted from St Matthew, during His ministerial life on earth our Lord presents Himself as one who constantly became as a Jew to the Jews (1 Cor. ix 20), being Himself not under the law but under grace (Rom. vi 14). And His language bears out this obvious

interpretation of His conduct. Thus He goes behind the law, much in the same way as does St Paul; Moses in the law allowed in certain cases a bill of divorcement to be given 'but from the beginning it was not so' (Matt. xix 8); and He corrects or supplements the law, 'it was said to them of old time'—'but I say unto you' (Matt. vi 21, 27). So He speaks of the law to the Jews as *your* law (John viii 17, x 34), or to others, as *their* law (John xv 25), never of *our* law (cp. John vii 51). Thus we may say that in whatever way Moses spoke to our Lord, he did not speak to Him as *His* lawgiver, as giving Him the law of His ministerial life, as presenting to Him rules of conduct. 'Moses was faithful in all God's house as a servant', 'but Christ as a son over God's house' (Heb. iii 5, 6) was 'free' (John viii 35, 36), the superior and not the inferior of Moses, released by the adoption of sonship from legal obligations transmitted or imposed by the 'servant'.

But it must be remembered that in thus speaking of 'Moses' and of the 'law', we are not dealing with 'the Moses of history' as the higher critics have portrayed him, nor of the curtailed and abbreviated code of which they permit him to be the author, but of 'the Moses of tradition', the reputed author of the first five books of the Bible, which were collectively called the 'law'; that is, we are dealing with Moses the historian or chronicler, in whose books Moses the legislator is one of the most prominent figures. Now in this sense Moses, while he was no legislator to our Lord, had a real and positive function. He testified of Him (John v 39), wrote of Him (John i 47), prophesied of Him. Even within the books of the law themselves Moses is called a prophet, 'There hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face' (Deut. xxxiv 10). So also the whole narrative of the covenant at Sinai is thoroughly prophetic in character (Ex. xxiv 1-11), and the Decalogue, whatever view we take of its origin, represents the moral standard to which the prophets of the eighth century made their appeal; while one of the prophets themselves claims Moses as a member of his own order, 'By a prophet the Lord brought Israel up out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved' (Hosea xii 13); and, finally, the Jewish expectation of the advent of 'the prophet' as a person distinct from Elijah (John i 21, vii 40) was based upon the fact that Moses foretold that a *prophet* should arise *like unto himself* (Deut. xviii 15). Thus the distinction between the law and the prophets, in their application to Christ, or their speech to Him and concerning Him, breaks down; it is not their diversity but their identity of function that we need to bear in mind. And this unity is brought out in the use of the phrase itself. 'The law and the prophets', with or without the addition of 'the psalms', is constantly used as a name for the whole of the Old Testament. Thus in St Luke xxiv: 'O . . .

slow of heart to believe in all that the *prophets* have spoken ! Behoved it not the Christ to *suffer these things*, and to *enter into his glory*? And *beginning from Moses and from all the prophets*, he interpreted to them in *all the scriptures* the things concerning himself . . . Was not our heart burning . . . while he opened to us *the scriptures* . . . These are my words which I spake unto you . . . how that all things must needs be fulfilled which are *written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me*. Then opened he their mind that they might understand *the scriptures* ; and he said unto them, thus it is written, that the Christ *should suffer*, and *rise again from the dead* the third day.' And St Paul is in entire agreement with this recognized usage when he claims that he is 'saying nothing beyond what the *prophets* did say should come *and Moses*', after which follow the heads of his speech that the Christ should *suffer*, that He first *by the resurrection of the dead* should proclaim light both to the People and to the Gentiles (Acts xxvi 22, 23). And the language of his epistle to the Romans is similar to that used in his speech, 'a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the *law and the prophets*' (iii 21). And so also St Peter : 'The things which God foreshewed by the mouth of *all the prophets*, that his Christ should *suffer*, he thus fulfilled. God spake by the mouth of his *holy prophets which have been since the world began*. *Moses* indeed said . . . Yea and *all the prophets* from Samuel and them that followed after' (Acts iii 18-24). Here, then, we have the whole Old Testament called 'the law and the prophets', and foretelling just those events on which as we know the mind of our Lord was dwelling at the time, His exodus to be accomplished at Jerusalem and the glory that should follow (1 Pet. i 11). At the beginning of the prophetic series stands Moses, not that the historic Moses was the earliest of the prophets, but that the first book of Moses records the commencement of prophecy. This interpretation is shewn to be correct by the statement that prophets were from the beginning of the world (Lk. i 70, Acts iii 21). Moses the prophet begins with 'in the beginning'. But this use of 'Moses and the prophets' for the whole Old Testament and the interpretation of 'Moses and Elijah' as symbolizing 'the law and the prophets' inevitably raises the question, why Elijah ? It is true that Elijah was expected before the coming of the Messiah ; he was expected on account of the prophecy in the last chapter of Malachi, and we may conjecture that he was named by Malachi because the prophet that was to arise was to fulfil a similar function to Elijah in that by his ministry the Lord God might turn the hearts of the people back again (1 Kings xviii 37). But Elijah was neither the first nor the last of the prophets, nor the greatest. On the last point our Lord's words are explicit : there was none greater than John. Accordingly, if Moses represents or

embodies the law as being the greatest legislator, we should have expected the representative of the prophets to be John; if Moses stands for the beginning of the old dispensation, John should represent its close, for 'all the prophets and the law prophesied until John' (Matt. xi 13); if the Jews expected Elijah, John was the Elijah whom they looked for. This is the angel's message who foretold his birth (Lk. i 17), and this identification of John with Elijah was made by our Lord quite early in His ministry (Matt. xi 14) and maintained by Him throughout. It is true that this was not the view of the Jews. For the most part they rejected both our Lord's Messiahship and John's Elijahship, and in fact the one was involved in the other: if Jesus was the Messiah, John must be the Elijah that should go before Him; if John was the forerunner announced in the prophecy of Malachi iv 5, Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah. It is this double identification that lies at the root of our Lord's question before His passion (Matt. xxi 25). If the Jewish leaders accepted John they must accept Him; if they rejected His Messiahship they must reject John's prophetic inspiration. But we are not concerned with the common Jewish opinion; the question we must ask is, who was the Elijah with whom our Lord was seen in converse, who was he to Him? And the answer is clear: John the Baptist. The three apostles did not themselves understand this at the time. They saw some one whom they recognized to be Elijah—how they recognized him we shall endeavour to indicate later—but Elijah ought, according to the view they had learnt to hold, to have come in the flesh, and he had not done so. Our Lord corrects them in reference to this very vision. Elijah had come in the spirit, and John the Baptist was he. They had accepted Him as Messiah, but their non-acceptance of John as Elijah still created a difficulty, and His explanation removes it (Matt. xvii 13). Now this collocation of Moses and John has a peculiar fitness. Moses 'in the beginning', John at the end, both prophesied of 'His exodus', from the prophecy 'It shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel', from the sign of the slain beasts of whose skins God made coats to clothe Adam and Eve—typical of the God-given righteousness won through death,—from the prophecy of Eve, 'I have gotten a man from the Lord', and from the death of Abel, up to the foretelling of the death of Christ under the figure of the slaughtered Paschal Lamb. But more than this, both Moses and John were in themselves signs. John was not only set forth as a sign to Israel (Lk. i 80) but to our Lord Himself. And our Lord quite clearly recognized him as such. Behind Herod who put John to death were the Jewish leaders who betrayed him (Mk. i 14), as behind Pilate were the same betrayers (Acts vii 52) who thus incurred the greater sin (Matt. xxvii 2, 18; John xix 11). And John was not only a sign to our

Lord, but the last sign; his death warned Him that His own was a certainty (Matt. xvii 12), and thenceforward He kept Himself out of danger until His hour should come. Again, 'Moses, the prophet of the Law, is dramatically pictured as dying outside the Promised Land, which he cannot himself enter. John, the last prophet of the Law, greater than all the prophets, still remains to the end dramatically outside, pointing the way in' (H. S. Holland *Philosophy of Faith* p. 139). Moses hands over his followers to Joshua, John his disciples to the other Joshua, Jesus, whom the former prefigured. Moses and John alike symbolize in their own persons the preparation, in the fulfilment of which they nevertheless have no share; both look forward to and tell of Another in whom their prophecy is to be accomplished. Moses leads the children of Abraham to the Jordan; John baptizes the unique seed of the faithful Abraham in it.

But throughout it must be remembered that we are dealing with a prophetic vision (Matt. xvii 9), a vision primarily granted to our Lord Himself in which the Apostles are privileged to share so far as they had the capacity. They enter into the cloud, or the glory (2 Pet. i 17). It is the cloud into which Moses entered (Ex. xxiv 18; cp. xxxiv 29); it is the cloud of smoke of Isaiah's vision (vi 4) when he saw the glory of Christ (Jn. xii 41); it is the cloud of which Joel prophesied (ii 30, cp. Acts ii 19); it is possibly referred to by St John, 'We beheld his glory . . . John beareth witness of him . . . the law was given by Moses' (Jn. i 14, 15, 17); it signifies the spirit of prophecy, the testimony which bears witness to Jesus (Rev. xix 10). The Transfiguration was the culminating endeavour of our Lord to make the Apostles understand what was coming on Him. He had often attempted to teach them by word, in parable, or by express and detailed declaration, but He had found their hearts preoccupied with prejudices and ambitions, and their ears dull of hearing. Now a new method is to be tried by which they may enter into His mind and learn to take His point of view. They see Him engrossed with the future. One event after another portended His death and resurrection; voice after voice had proclaimed it, ending with the voice and the death of John the Baptist. We have not here to do with the corporal reality or presence of Moses and Elijah, any more than we have with the physical reality of the almond tree or the seething cauldron in the first chapter of Jeremiah, or of the great sheet in the vision of St Peter. The whole description shews us that the robe of our Lord did not come off an earthly loom, any more than its brightness from a human fuller (Mk. ix 3); it is the white robe of the redeemed (Rev. vii 14), the robe of the High Priest, washed in the blood of Himself the victim. Our Lord is real, it is into His mind that the Apostles are invited to enter; but Moses and Elijah are figures

in a parable not spoken but exhibited to prophetic sight, and their reality lies in that which they symbolize, Moses and John the Baptist, the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end of the old dispensation, 'beginning from Moses' (Lk. xxiv 27), 'the law and the prophets', 'in all the scriptures', 'prophesied until John' (Matt. xi 18). But the Apostles did not wholly enter into His meaning; they were still confused. St Peter's mind had been occupied with the approaching feast of Tabernacles, and we are shown the resulting effect of these two streams of thought, the Master's and his own. 'Let us make three tabernacles' (this he said) 'not knowing what he said' (Lk. ix 33). So also he failed to follow our Lord in recognizing, in Elijah, John the Baptist. For the ordinary Jew the canon of scripture was closed. For centuries no prophet had arisen, and those who wished to put forth new writings had to veil their names under the pseudonym of some previous author. Thus it is, we are told, that the book of Daniel found an entrance into the canon; so the Book of Enoch, the Testament of Abraham and others are pseudonymous works. But to our Lord Old Testament prophecy endured to His own time, the old dispensation ended in John; in preaching repentance he was greater than Jonah, a prophet but more than a prophet; in the wisdom literature, the latest element in the canon which began with Solomon and was continued under his name, he was wiser than Solomon, greater than any man born of woman. We know that our Lord's mind was at this time full of the prophecies which spoke of His death and resurrection; He Himself tells that this is the theme of all the Scriptures; He personalizes the law over and over again under the title of Moses; He uses parable constantly in words; it is not to be imagined that while other prophets saw visions He saw none; we are told that this revelation was a vision; we know that He identified the Baptist and Elijah, He Himself tells us so; and that He regarded John as the closing figure of the pre-Messianic Age. These and other similar considerations must all be in our minds as we endeavour to estimate the significance of the Transfiguration: it was at once a manifestation of that heavenly state into which He had passed by the endowment of the Holy Spirit at His baptism by St John, an event in itself typical of death and resurrection (Lk. xii 50), and a revelation confirming to the Apostles the prophecies in word (2 Pet. i 19) which they found it so hard to realize.

F. J. BADCOCK.

THE THEORY OF SACRIFICE.

IN welcoming the publication of M. Alfred Loisy's treatise on the history of sacrifice we have to draw attention to what is virtually a history of religion culminating in a theory of its future.¹ The personality of the author, the significance and, we may add, the opportuneness of the subject, and the wealth of illustrative matter, give the volume an importance which entitles it to a more competent treatment than lies within the power of the present writer. However, the subject of sacrifice is attracting an increasing amount of attention among those who are not theologians, and it holds so central a place in the technical study of religions, that the attempt may be made to describe how M. Loisy's work strikes one from the point of view of comparative religion, and wherein and why the present writer feels obliged to differ from him. As is well known, at the rise of the comparative study of religions new lines of enquiry were opened out the consequences of which cannot even yet be discerned. The discussion of the origin and essential meaning of sacrifice was set upon a new basis. But the variety of standpoints from which the data of religion have been viewed, the difficulty, if not impossibility, of setting aside prejudices and preconceptions, and the size of the field to be investigated, have combined to prevent congruent results. The various theories of sacrifice that have appeared from time to time have been found imperfect, and M. Loisy's volume raises, and in an acute form, problems of principles and methods which are complicating the modern study of religions and are vital for our personal conceptions of religion itself.

It will be remembered that the founder of anthropology, Sir Edward Tylor, chiefly emphasized the gift-aspect of sacrifice: men give to the supernatural beings to achieve some end or to express their indebtedness. There is, in fact, enough evidence to justify the oft-quoted formula *do ut des*, and also the more naïve *dabo si dederis*, for which we may compare Jacob's vow (Gen. xxviii 20-22). On the other hand, Robertson Smith, the founder of comparative religion on the basis of anthropology, directed attention to the sociological and psychological aspects of sacrifice. The community is the religious unit, it included the communal gods or sacred beings (who might be totems); 'the fundamental idea of ancient sacrifice is sacramental communion . . .

¹ *Essai historique sur le Sacrifice*, 552 pp. ; Nourry, Paris, 1920, 30 francs.

all atoning rites are ultimately to be regarded as owing their efficacy to a communication of divine life to the worshippers, and to the establishment or confirmation of a living bond between them and their god.¹ To this it has been objected, *inter alia*, that too much stress is laid upon the commensality of gods and men, and that the theory (obviously suggested by Christian evidence) is too universally extended to the lower religious cults. It is, however, freely recognized that there is a 'mystical' element in primitive society, and that the individual does indeed form part of a social system of which the gods are also part. The very etymology of the word 'atonement' is significant, and (a) the place of the individual in some larger whole (however constituted), and (b) his relationship or 'oneness' with what he feels to be most vital for his welfare, are, in effect, two leading lines of enquiry which Robertson Smith powerfully stimulated.

Meanwhile, an important step was being taken by Sir J. G. Frazer. His work may be said to concentrate upon the theory of the ceremonial killing of sacred representative individuals, veritable 'pillars', not merely 'of society', but even of the world or the cosmos. They must be carefully preserved or hemmed in by tabus; or they must be put to death when they show signs of weakness, lest by their loss of strength the welfare of the social group or of the world or of nature be endangered. Sacrifice is seen to be bound up with some very remarkable notions of man's relations with the forces of nature; it serves to strengthen divine kings, or gods, or impersonal powers. Man, in some sense, is part of nature (although that concept has hardly arisen); and the ruling idea is not that of 'religious' communion, homage, or subservience, but the more 'magical' one of man's influence with or power over superhuman or natural forces. While Sir James Frazer illuminates what we may call the mechanism of magic and religion, MM. Hubert and Mauss, taking another line, point out, among other things, that the sacrificial victim is an intermediary between the ordinary world and the realm of the supersensuous, between the 'profane' or 'secular' and the 'sacred'. They very justly emphasize the fundamental significance of the psychical state of all the participants; and it may be added that when F. B. Jevons draws attention to the strange neglect of prayer by students of religion, he points out that prayer and sacrifice are logically indissoluble, and he, likewise, lays stress upon the subjective aspect of the evidence.²

The foregoing is of course no adequate synopsis of modern theories of sacrifice. It merely recalls the many-sidedness of M. Loisy's subject,

¹ See the summary in his *Life* by J. S. Black and G. W. Chrystal (1912), pp. 513-520.

² *Introduction to the Study of the Comparative Religion* (1908), pp. 175 sqq., cf. p. xix.

and it may enable one to realize that one now can pass from a survey of the data of sacrifice to that of theories of sacrifice, their implications and interrelations, and that such theories are themselves material for the next stage in comparative religion. It will be noticed, meanwhile, that they miss one important aspect. Men offer sacrifice or pray to achieve some end, or they simply do or attempt to do what is elsewhere accompanied with sacrifice or prayer; but sooner or later the question arises whether the differences are subjectively or objectively material. Throughout men may be said to imply, at least, some conception of causation, some theory of things, which justifies their prayer or sacrifice to move the forces of nature or influence the gods effectively. They are acting 'as though' certain propositions were true, and it is quite apropos to quote from a Christian writer who has a first-hand acquaintance with the Indian religions that 'religion is a religious *theory* [my italics] controlling, in organized form, the life of a community'.¹ After all, the student does not act otherwise when he approaches the deeper problems of comparative religion in the light of his convictions of what is most real and true, and it is entirely because there are no convergent theories of reality prevailing to-day that the most serious differences are found among lay and other students of religion. The purely theoretical study of sacrifice, as of religion in general, is inevitably bound up with one's implicit or explicit theory of the greatest realities, with the result that M. Loisy's work, like every other, must be estimated with reference to its contribution to modern religion.

Indeed, it is self-evident that in no circumstance can we afford to be indifferent to theories of sacrifice. We are only too painfully familiar with all that sacrifice entails: we think of the destruction, loss, renunciation, or suffering for some greater and perhaps undefined gain, for some faith or hope or ideal. There is to be some recompense; and whatever we may think of any particular aim or cause, we have seen and still see confidence and faith sustaining men, and great sacrifices for some greater assurance. Our experiences of sacrifice are so living and real that when we turn to the data from other lands and ages we can do so in no antiquarian spirit oblivious of what sacrifice means for this age. When men are endeavouring to find in the sacrifices of this age some clear meaning that will guide and inspire the future, the theory of sacrifice in human history cannot be pseudo-academic and ignore the events of to-day, and since M. Loisy is at pains in his volume to shew that the idea of sacrifice has grown increasingly richer and fuller, we are entitled to approach his treatise keeping in mind our experiences, sufferings, and hopes.

Studies of the data of religion invariably reach conclusions of greater

¹ J. N. Farquhar *The Crown of Hinduism* (1913) p. 445.

or less significance for modern thought, and since M. Loisy ends with a positivism, or humanism, or an ethical religion, in which there appears to be no room for religion as commonly understood, although the word is retained, we are entitled to expect careful attention to the facts that are really significant for the trend of religion and to the principles upon which any historical treatment of the subject depend. It goes without saying that anything that proceeds from his fertile and facile pen may count upon a sympathetic reception and will be read with interest and respect. That he would be clear and fearless was to be expected; and M. Loisy writes with courtesy and restraint even where some bitterness might perhaps have been excusable. He has written the most exhaustive treatise on Sacrifice, he has marshalled his evidence fully, accurately, and patiently, and we gratefully recognize the value of a work which no student can afford to neglect. But it must be said at once that its rationalistic temper is likely to prejudice some readers and blind them to the value of its contents, and that others attracted by its brilliance may perchance accept its methods and conclusions without the criticism that they need.

The volume is the fruit of lectures delivered by M. Loisy after his appointment to the Chair of the History of Religions at the Collège de France (May 1909). Sacrificial rites are the most constant and permanent, the most suitable for discerning the spirit of ancient cults. It is for this reason that the subject was chosen. Sacrifice is a genus with a great number of species which have undergone changes of form and significance; they cannot be reduced to a single type; there are as many forms of religion as of human civilization, and sacrificial rites are the skeleton of the principal religious cults (pp. 2, 10, 467). The phraseology is worthy of notice. We have to find the 'skeleton', the skeletal features of human development, and the task of tracing the history of sacrifice is analogous to that of finding a theory of evolution in the world of inorganic and organic matter.

The evolution of sacrifice is to be understood, following M. Loisy, by distinguishing broadly three stages in the history of religion. Among uncivilized tribes 'magical' practices prevail, the rites are imitative or representative, to control an enemy, an edible animal or plant, or the processes of nature. They are, in general, to the end that 'everything may function for the welfare of the tribe. In time, impersonal natural forces are associated with spirits and are regarded as personal. Food is given to the dead, to spirits, and to gods in order to sustain them. These become patrons of the effective powers, and the gifts are then offerings of homage or gratitude. In spite of the increase of knowledge a belief in personal powers of nature persists, and they are treated more or less as free powers to be won and exploited. The ritual is

avowedly religious, but it partakes of magic, and some religions are cosmical and almost magical (e.g. early China). Throughout, the sacrificial ritual serves to express and develop the national life and consciousness, and in some cases (e.g. early Israel) to eliminate it would be to cut out the most characteristic and essential expression of national life. Little by little the national religions manifest an interest in the eternal and happy life of the individual; and meanwhile the growth of empire favours the growth of ideas of universal religion. 'Saving gods' arise for the individual, and the cults become more spiritual. Still, the magical efficacy of sacrificial rites is not lost, and it is significant that St Paul seriously finds a parallel between pagan and Christian rites and condemns communion with demons (1 Cor. x 17-22, pp. 29, 429). In the Eucharist 'en un sens nous sommes ici très loin des vieux rites magiques, et à d'autres égards nous en sommes encore tout près'.

We are taken from the lower tribes, notably of Australia and Africa, to those more highly organized and developed, until we reach the great national religions. Among them we find brotherhoods, societies, mysteries, and individualistic reforming tendencies, and finally the origins of Christianity itself. It is notoriously difficult to do justice to theories from which one dissents, and we should be sorry to misinterpret and pervert M. Loisy's views; but we are bound to say that as we read him we feel that the historical thread is not a true one, and that the stages are too incommensurable for an evolutionary theory of sacrifice. The difference between the first two stages is that of social and political development, tribes become confederations, nations, &c.; but the difference between the second and the third is accompanied with the disintegration of these larger unions, and the spread of separatist, anti-nationalist, and individualist tendencies, and the rise of a new religion. We have intelligible social-political vicissitudes, but one cannot agree that these stages are a support for M. Loisy's theory of the nature of the fourth stage in the history of religion.

In defining religion and sacrifice M. Loisy seeks a formula that shall represent, not so much the reality or principle that is the basis of all religions, as the general direction which the religions of mankind seem to take (*s'orienter*) as they develop. His qualification is important because differences of opinion constantly turn upon the nature of this orientation, no less than upon the relation between magic (which he rightly regards as unprogressive) and religion (which he hopes to see purged of its supernaturalistic features).¹ As regards the nature of

¹ Page 5: 'La religion est l'ensemble des notions, coutumes et pratiques par lesquelles les hommes vivant en société pensent être constitués en rapport normal avec les puissances ou les principes supérieurs dont ils se croient dépendants.'

sacrifice he considers that in its essence it is neither a gift nor a food-offering to gods, spirits, or the dead. At the lowest stage of mankind there are no personal powers to receive gifts (cf. p. 26). Nor is sacrifice a communion, because the universality of totemism, still less that of the ceremonial eating of the totem, has not been proved. Moreover, when religions have arisen in totemic areas they do not seem to have sprung from totemism (p. 6). M. Loisy's attitude to totemism is not very clear throughout; but in any case the universality of some one type of totemism is not strictly relevant. Totemism contains ideas which, on any theory, are significant for religion, and if religion has not sprung directly from totemism, still less has it grown out of magic. However, the true starting-point of sacrifice is, in his opinion, 'la mentalité magique et mystique de l'homme inculte', which made man see in all living things powers to be managed and resources to be exploited. Here in the 'considération mystique' of the primitive hunter when he refrains from offending his prey, or hopes, by eating it, to assimilate its virtue, is the germ, though nothing more, of the entire economy of sacrifice. Certainly M. Loisy has at least cut the knot, and it is singular that, while relying upon man's magical and mystical mentality, he objects to the definition of MM. Hubert and Mauss on the ground that their own terms are too abstract and obscure.¹ Granted the fundamental difficulty of finding the best working conceptions, the question is whether we can find such as will have some real meaning for our own world of life and thought. As it is, M. Loisy uses as his key a primitive mysticism, which unreasonably insists upon surviving, and starts with the notion of the concrete 'sacred act' as the ultimate feature of sacrifice. Accordingly, sacrifice is a mystic sacred act of unverifiable efficacy which, while working on the visible world, pretends to rule or influence the forces of the invisible world (p. 9). This last is a world of faith, the faith which affirms the reality of things

Sacrifice is 'une action rituelle,—la destruction d'un objet sensible, doué de vie ou qui est censé contenir de la vie,—moyennant laquelle on a pensé influencer les forces invisibles, soit pour se dérober à leur atteinte lorsqu'on les a supposées nuisibles ou dangereuses, soit afin de promouvoir leur œuvre, de leur procurer satisfaction et hommage, d'entrer en communication et même en communion avec elles'. For the sake of comparison I venture to cite my own tentative statement in the art. 'Religion', Hastings's *Ency. of Rel. and Ethics* p. 693: 'Religion primarily involves some immediate consciousness of transcendent realities of supreme personal worth, vitally influencing life and thought, expressing themselves in forms which are conditioned by the entire stage of development reached by the individual and his environment, and tending to become more explicit and static in mythologies, theologies, philosophies and scientific doctrines.'

¹ They define sacrifice as a 'procédé' which 'consiste à établir une communication entre le monde sacré et le monde profane par l'intermédiaire d'une victime, c'est-à-dire d'une chose consacrée, détruite au cours de la cérémonie' (p. 7).

which are not seen, and justifies the immolation of untold bulls to a Zeus that has never existed. This faith is essential—and we are left wondering at the end whether the next stage in religion is to be solely a 'faith' or whether it will be in some contact with ultimate reality.

M. Loisy draws a necessary distinction between the negative sacrifice, for the elimination of harmful influences, and the positive, which is to regulate or sustain the influences that are beneficial. While it is 'magic' to endeavour to promote the processes of nature or to banish evil, food-offerings are not sacrificial and do not become so until they are combined with the 'sacred act'. Sacrifice itself is not absolutely primitive, because at the lowest level man has no care for the future, no conception of unseen personal powers, and no notion of influencing nature. Food-offerings and sacrifices proper begin with the cult of the dead, and increasing attention to agriculture promotes seasonal rites. In this way sacrifice comes to play an ever larger part in man's life and in the developement of ideas of personality; the 'sacred act' has thus made for the abounding richness of social life, though we are reminded that there is no breach of continuity between the magic of totemism and the Eucharist.

After an introduction on the definition of sacrifice (it is '*l'action par excellence, l'action sacrée, mystiquement efficace*'), and on the plan of the book, the opening chapter deals with the sacred word and deed, agent, time, and place. Primitive man, when he thinks at all, discovers only '*moyens imaginaires, sans réelle efficacité*'; the more devoid these are of any true and natural power, the more effective and holy they are (p. 19). M. Loisy's terms are ambiguous, and we must distinguish between his statement of data and his estimate of their value. When he treats the restrictions (e.g. purity) imposed upon representative individuals (priests, &c.) as primarily magical rather than moral, he characteristically takes a rationalistic rather than a psychological view of early tabus (pp. 39, 101, 107, 118). He remarks that the 'mystic virtue' of the old kings and priests '*est dite esprit saint dans le culte chrétien*' and that the power with which certain persons are invested for the accomplishment of certain sacred acts, whether the source be of God or of Christ, is a notion which is essentially the same as in the primitive cults and in the religions of antiquity (p. 45). But he does not observe that he has brought his discussion to the point where, in the interests both of his own theory and of the validity of his own methods, a deeper and completer treatment is necessary if it is to be considered scientific or objective. It is instructive to note quite another method of enquiry in Dr Marett's studies of Mana and Tabu, the widespread conceptions of some wonderful or sacred power which man can utilize, and of the heed, caution, respect, and reverence where

'Mana' or the 'supernatural' is concerned.¹ What Dr Marett calls the 'Tabu-Mana formula' has the merit of emphasizing a typical combination of supreme importance, since Tabu alone can lead to grovelling superstition, Mana alone can end in arrogance or indifference as regards all that is sacred, while, on the other hand, together each regulates and supplements the other. The combined concepts are so invaluable for a more discerning understanding of what we call the 'lower' religions that it is much to be regretted that M. Loisy did not adopt a less rationalistic method of handling the data. It is on the psychological side that his treatise is most open to detailed criticism, although one must freely admit that psychology brings new and difficult problems, and that the more appreciative our attitude to the lower religions the more difficult is it to indicate the true superiority, either of the religions we consider higher or of the religion of humanity by which M. Loisy would replace them.

Again, when M. Loisy turns to the use of blood, sacred water, the Indian *soma*-drink, and the like, he naturally notes that blood was regarded as a source of life (p. 49, cf. pp. 81, 189); but does he observe the real significance of the psychical state produced by the *soma* and its vision of immortality? Men, taken out of themselves, and in a state often artificially produced by 'elevating' liquor, or drugs, or tobacco, have felt that they participate in another existence; they have had experiences which confirmed old religious convictions or gave birth to new ones. Throughout, there has been enough to justify Plato's jibe at the 'immortality of drunkenness'; but M. Loisy leaves off at a point where serious questions arise which concern his own special subject.

The second chapter ('La Figuration rituelle') contains a description, admirable from the purely comparative point of view, of the world-wide imitative and symbolical practices. What is 'une réalité mystique' will seem to outsiders a drama if not a comedy. Capable of becoming more ideal and spiritual, the symbolism remains religious as long as it is a mystic realism, otherwise it is a dramatic representation, and not a sacred act, a sacrifice, or a sacrament (pp. 59-61). The imitative ceremonies for the food-supply become periodical, and the yearly round of nature, with nature's life, death, and rebirth, impresses itself upon the 'primitive theologies'. Men seem to collaborate with the gods, there is a correspondence between the mundane liturgy and the celestial order; and indeed, viewed from the outside, the mimetic rites are often

¹ *The Threshold of Religion* (1914), especially chapters iii, iv, and vii ('the birth of humility'). He concludes chap. iv with the words: 'in the meantime all religions, low and high, rudimentary and advanced, can join in saying with the Psalmist that "power belongeth unto God"'.

as extraordinary as the superb *naïveté* of the actors. Only from the inside can we see the strange tabus, the restraint, pain, and discipline, the typical sincerity of the actors, and the solemnity of the proceedings. M. Loisy does not fail to note the social and moral value of even the primitive sacrifices and their educative value in associating men with their ancestors and in thus engendering a sense of social unity (p. 116). In course of the progressive spiritualization of the rites the lives of men were incalculably strengthened and enriched. But the development was a complex one. Rites were detached from their original purpose and entered into a new social organism; they were extended to a more general purpose, and, like the Passover, served some great national purpose. Ceremonies to 'procure' became commemorative (cf. p. 500), and the cycle of the year would be associated with events of tribal or national history, no less than with the course of nature and the cosmical order. Upon these and other vicissitudes M. Loisy is exceedingly helpful, and he reminds us that, in the circumstances, the interpretation of any rite cannot necessarily be determined from its origin (pp. 70 sqq.), a principle of the greatest importance in view of his own emphasis upon the magical origin of the higher religions.

M. Loisy's discussion in this and other chapters of the rise of Christianity cannot be very well summarized. He points out that in early Christianity, as in the mysteries, the religion is not that of the nation, but of the individual. Religion is tending to be universal, but the extant religions are still religions of the elect; and although Christianity has the ideal of an international brotherhood, a true religion of humanity has yet to be sought (pp. 74 sq., 123, 537). The movement of religion is towards a profounder spiritualization, and the Christian rites differ from others in the fact that nature is excluded. Thus they stand in contrast to the physico-moral symbolism of the Avestan religion (cf. pp. 86, 465). But M. Loisy does not, I think, refer to St Paul's conception of the whole of creation as groaning and travailing (Rom. viii 22), and in view of his argument towards a religion of humanity and of the varying ideas of the relation between Man and Nature as exemplified in the magical and religious systems, where the concept of Nature has hardly emerged, it is exceedingly instructive that in the apostle's mind Nature should so participate in Man's hope that religious evolution might seem to be only part of a greater and grander process which our current dichotomies obscure. A humanism, no less than a theism, has to take an intelligible attitude to what we call 'Nature'.

The complexity of social-religious developement is also illustrated in the vicissitudes of (a) the totem, which may become a veritable anthropomorphic sacred being, (b) the conception of the totem-essence or

spirit in which the members of the group participate, and (c) the officiating members themselves. In the last-mentioned we have the representatives. They represent (in one sense) the revered or sacred object or being, and (in another sense) the rest of the group (pp. 75 sqq., 80, 85). This representation, and in the twofold sense of the term, is an exceedingly important conception. The special individuals represent, realistically or symbolically, spirits, gods, or cosmic powers, and also, often quite realistically, the whole of which they are the representative part. For M. Loisy this latter 'mystical' representation of the whole by means of a part is on a line with primitive mystical mentality (cf. p. 235 sqq.), but it really manifests an idea capable of profound restatement.¹ The 'representative' represents others, whether in some undifferentiated or in some more or less specialized sense; and where he is an intermediary, in the religious sphere—representing the gods to men and (in the other sense) men to the gods—he serves to guide the ideas of the group. For, in the first place, it typically happens that in the 'sacred' or 'holy' state the representative is conscious of that which is more holy and sacred; and, second, in the sacrifice of the holy to the holiest the worshippers become conscious of a reality far transcending that of the visible and familiar representative.

But M. Loisy, harping upon the magical and the mystical, seems to miss the vast importance of the idea of representation, so vital also for the political and social philosophy of this age, and fails to come to grips with the subject. Moreover, when purifying rites are under consideration, and the familiar ritual of the scape-goat discussed, he follows in the footsteps of those who see only the simplicity or the folly of man's belief in the efficacy of the ceremonial.² These writers do not perceive that we need some explanation or theory—of mankind, natural selection, or divine rule—such that we may understand this evolution and why man's nature has so deceived (!) him. We need a theory to account for this apparent irrationality. The endeavour to explain the existence of beliefs and practices which one deplors goes back at least to the day

¹ For example, I notice incidentally that Mr Wells (*God the Invisible King*, 1917, p. 115) speaks of a new religious conception of the God-fearing man who performs the will of God in his private life and in the acts and order of the state and nation of which he is part. He continues: 'I give myself to God not only because I am so and so but *because I am mankind*.' Here is only one of many cases where a religion of humanity, to have any success, must pay heed to human tendencies as manifested both in the world's religions and in writers on religion.

² Cf. Sir J. G. Frazer *The Scape-goat* Preface, on the old 'superstitions' and the 'process which has refined the base and foolish custom of the scape-goat into the sublime conception of a God who dies to take away the sins of the world'. So M. Loisy writes: 'le mythe chrétien de la rédemption est le plus sublime effort qui ait été tenté pour moraliser cette vénérable absurdité' (p. 127, cf. p. 15).

of Ezekiel (Ezek. xx 25 sq.). We do not expect M. Loisy to accept Ezekiel's solution, but in a treatise of this sort an author is bound to pay a little more regard to the curious or thoughtful reader who is not so easily satisfied by his *deus ex machina*.

M. Loisy's survey of the varieties of sacrifice is valuable. He argues that cannibalism preceded human sacrifice (p. 114); for sacrifice is to create and increase life, and what more potent victim than man? Apart from the question of priority, the interesting point is that when we ask what is meant by 'life', it is precisely here that, as he well remarks, the idea of sacrifice admits of growing increasingly humane, moral, and spiritual (cf. p. 120). Sacrifice, then, is to strengthen life; but what is killed is not really annihilated, and we have to bear in mind that primitive man could recognize a 'spiritual' aspect of the 'material', e. g. the 'soul' of objects, metals, &c.¹ Without deciding whether the cult of the dead or that of spirits of nature is the earlier (p. 131, cf. p. 12), he urges that the belief in the efficacy of the dead must be the starting-point of any enquiry into sacrificial rites. The dead were to be feared and avoided, or they were to be besought and their help implored, or their continued welfare was secured by appropriate mortuary cults. The more powerful dead naturally received greater attention, and the conviction of the mutual interdependence of dead and living, and of some relationship between men and spirits who, if not dead ancestors, were at least regarded as personal and effective powers, gave rise to numerous ideas and speculations which were commonly of a most inconsistent character.

In turning next to the seasonal sacrifices, the pacification of the animal to be killed (pp. 205 sqq.) and the practice of first-fruits, thank-offerings, and the like, are especially important. We note, *inter alia*, that the sacred being (edible totem, effective spirit, &c.) will not hurt its own kin, and that offerings will be made to the spirits or gods who are the givers or effective powers, or, it may be, to the men who represent the gods. The offerings serve, among other purposes, as a safeguard against sterility or to guarantee future blessings. It would be imprudent to over-simplify, but it may be suggested that there are two fundamental features, one, the common custom of preserving a *material* portion of a dead animal to secure its reincarnation, the other, the observance of some rite in order to preserve its *spirit* or soul, so that, although it has been eaten as food, it can be born again. These seem to me to be fundamental, and it is worth while referring (in a foot-note) to the elaborate system among the Esquimaux of the Behring Straits, the best points of which are not brought out by M. Loisy, although they

¹ Some examples of primitive symbolism are given on pp. 119 (the symbolical representation of grain), 161 n. 7, 479 n. 2.

are given by Frazer.¹ When, a little later (p. 212), he has occasion to comment upon the close connexion (on his definitions) between religion and magic, it is necessary to bear in mind the numerous marginal cases where we have to rely upon our own particular definitions, and upon the assumption that the original informants have given all the essential details. We sometimes find two virtually identical imitative ceremonies (e.g. to ensure child-birth), but because in the one there is a prayer which is apparently wanting in the second, it seems only natural to class them as religion and magic respectively. Yet we obviously cannot afford to be so entirely at the mercy of our observer; and even if we grant his accuracy, we clearly need a sounder basis for our estimate of the two rites. We need some conception of psychological or mental development (the subjective aspect) and also some conception of the Divine working in human development.

The inexhaustible topic of divination is handled only as far as sacrifice is concerned, and M. Loisy observes, truly enough, that sacrifice is, on the one hand, a presage, it carries a meaning, it requires interpretation, it is a revelation; on the other hand, it is to produce a revelation, to influence a decision, or bring about a result. He holds that the divination-sacrifice goes back before the recognition of personal spirits to the stage where the animal was more or less a member of the kindred group, participating in the same life (p. 267). From the first there was a glint of divinity in the beast immolated for purposes of divination; and it is an easy step to the sacrifice of a specific sacred animal and thence to the consultation of the gods through the interpretation of the carcase. So, divination became the science of the absurd (p. 270)—though it might have been added that divination by means of the liver (in ancient Mesopotamia) paved the way for anatomy, even as astrology led to astronomy; and perhaps the age of pseudo-sciences is not yet past! M. Loisy does not fail to notice the inconsistency in this type of sacrifice, for if the sacrificial victim reveals the unseen, why repeat it when the first attempt is unsatisfactory, and if what is fixed is fixed, how can any sacrifice alter it? There is some compromise between religion and magic (p. 269 sq.). But this compromise runs through all religion and deserves a deeper analysis. It is easy to see

¹ Frazer *Taboo* pp. 207, 295; see also *Index Volume*, s.v. 'Sedna'. The goddess Sedna preserves the souls of the seals and whales that have been killed and eaten by the Esquimaux, and they are sent forth again to be reborn. The capture of the food and the welfare of these souls depend upon the observance by the hunters of certain tabus of a moral order. So, not only can the animals be reincarnated and used again as food (cf. for analogies, Loisy, pp. 23, 205 sq.), but the system of ensuring the food-supply (without prejudicing the sanctity of life) is bound up with a spiritual theory of tabus and a belief in a deity of a moral order. Frazer notes that 'we seem to see a system of animism in the act of passing into religion'.

a profound difference between the reliance upon witchcraft, and the like, in order to learn the future and the unknown, and the reliance upon a religion which helps one to face any future. Similarly, we can distinguish between the assumption that events are pre-ordained or pre-determined, and the confidence in principles or truths that are unchangeable and permanent, manifesting themselves inevitably in history and therefore the required basis of all one's actions. But man is only slowly understanding the universe in which he finds himself, and the divination-sacrifice is in keeping with the paradoxes of religion and magic, in the sense that men act as though they held in their grasp the powers otherwise attributed to unseen forces or gods, while, at the same time, they feel themselves to be in the hands of these mighty forces themselves. From the comparative point of view we may find an analogy in the paradox of the immanence and transcendence of the Divine, and there is no evident reason why this paradox should not have been realized at an early stage of development.¹ It may be added that at the conclusion of the chapter M. Loisy finds the oracular sacrifice in the early interpretations of the crucifixion.² To this it may be said that the present age is witnessing not only sacrifices for some larger, if undefined or unknown hope, but also the anxiety to find an interpretation in the sacrifices of the past and present that shall be a solace and a stimulus—the deeper study of the world's religions cannot be divorced from the unrest in the realm of religious thought.³

In the sacrifices that accompany oaths, ordeals, and alliances the gods are secondary; the primary idea being that of magical constraint. M. Loisy agrees with Westermarck that in the use of the oath of imprecation—which he finds implied in 1 Cor. xi 29 sq. (p. 306)—the morality of the god did not provoke the appeal, but the custom of appealing gradually moralized the god (p. 289). This view is instructive on account of the admitted relation between the character of a people's god or gods, and the psychology of a people with all its moral, social, and other ideals. Thus, as regards the Semites, the psychology of this people is reflected in its conceptions of its gods, which in turn influence the various forms of Semitic life and thought. But, if we are neither

¹ There marks on the Mana-Tabu formula above (cf. p. 334, n. 1) will have shewn that some rudimentary form of this paradox is to be recognized if the data are to be handled intelligibly.

² He refers further to his *Mystères païens* pp. 273-285.

³ It should be mentioned that M. Loisy passes too abruptly from the rudimentary and national religions to Christian thought without enlarging upon the religious ideas discussed and developed, e. g. in Indian, Chinese, and Hebrew thought. Between the seemingly concrete 'magic' and the more explicitly 'spiritual' there are intermediate stages which do not receive the attention they merit. This criticism does not by any means apply to M. Loisy alone.

polytheists nor thorough-going rationalists it is not so easy to describe the vicissitudes of the gods. As theists we have to study the relations between God and man, and in studying religion we bear in mind Robertson Smith's conception of the typical group-unit in which the gods and worshippers are one, and we have to follow the history of systems of thought. When we take a long view and survey the religion of a people or of an area, at one time, it is seen to be permeating and stimulating the environment, whereas, at another, it appears to lag behind the advance of ethics and knowledge. Vicissitudes of this sort in the actual history of religion scarcely support Westermarck's too facile generalization, and we have to estimate it in the light of the fact that men's conceptions of gods are not to be confused with the ultimate realities which underlie religion. How did a people come to have higher moral conceptions of their god?—that is the question which Westermarck's view does not answer.

In chap. viii we learn that sacrifices of purification and expiation have also a magical origin. But the moral element gradually grows as society comes to recognize the significance of purity and impurity. Impurity and sin are primarily physical, and the modern conception of sin as a voluntary offence, an internal disorder of the mind, makes it difficult to follow the evolution of the fundamental ideas (p. 319). We constantly find an amalgam of magic, religion, and morality; and the magical and magico-religious rites, where the sacrificial victim (animal or human) delivers men from the demons that torment them, are the ancestor of the idea that the death of Christ was a ransom and substitute (p. 361 sq.).

The following chapter, on the sacrifices of consecration, introduces the reader to the means whereby men acquire *mana*, inaugurate a guardian or *genius*, or in any way strengthen the realm of the supernatural.¹ The chapter is all too short considering the fundamental ideas that are involved, but M. Loisy has not failed to signal out one especially interesting feature. By means of a foundation-sacrifice or the like it was thought to be possible to give a building a protector, or ensure the safety of its occupants. Christianity spiritualized this: 'la seule différence — qui est considérable au point de vue de l'humanité, mais presque nulle quant à la signification religieuse des rites — consiste

¹ Here should be noticed the Egyptian custom of presenting a small image of Maat to the divine statue when it is being consecrated. Now, Maat was the goddess of Truth, so that by this practice the statue, we may say, became a real god. in very truth (cf. e.g. *Ency. Brit.* art. 'Egypt', p. 54, col. 1). M. Loisy regards Maat as a sort of 'vertu divine' and thus misses what is clearly behind the Egyptian mind. And this is only one of many cases where a more psychological penetration takes us into the mind of men whose mentality, though it may differ from our own, is well worth while trying to understand.

en ce que le Christianisme utilise des morts glorieux pour la consécration de ses temples et l'avantage des fidèles qui y fréquentent, tandis que la barbarie antique tuait des hommes tout exprès pour la garantie de ses bâtiments' (p. 382). Similarly, there is a whole world of difference between the altar consecrated by the bones of the faithful (Rev. vi 9) and the deliberate sacrifice of sacralized victims in order to dedicate a shrine.¹ But surely the 'religious' significance of the difference is as important for the history of religion as the 'humanitarian', and it is analogous to that between the divination-sacrifice for a purpose and the interpretation of a sacrifice (above, p. 339).

In the chapter on initiation we verge upon questions which are as essential for M. Loisy's subject and his anticipations as was that of representation. He discusses initiation into the community as a whole (among simpler tribes), that of special individuals (including the consecration of chiefs and priests), and that into religious societies and brotherhoods. The three correspond approximately to his three great stages of development (above p. 330 sq.). Initiation itself is a world-wide phenomenon. The ordeals of the initiates have their relatively mild equivalents in civilized societies, the psychological factors are throughout similar, and when the initiate has become 'one of us' there is a new bond that may be far more effective than that of blood-kinship. Among the Central Australian Arunta, the most primitive of all tribes, initiation means participation in the 'pouvoir mystique' of the tribe, and its little world of beliefs and practices (p. 388). Upon the higher levels, as among the Zuñis of New Mexico, the initiate enters into rapport with the dead, spirits, gods, or cosmic powers. Even among African tribes the rites of circumcision are something more than a preparation for the sexual life, and the practice which acquired a unique religious and national significance for the Jews does not seem to have been without some sacramental meaning even for the lowest tribes (*ib.*). But here M. Loisy has not observed an important fact. When circumcision was practised, not as a puberty-rite, but shortly after birth, the infant was introduced at once into the community, and without the discipline and training in matters of tribal significance which the puberty-rite involved. And in general, while in the growth and differentiation of primitive society the earlier initiation ceremonies for the effective group as a whole came to be confined to special classes of individuals (in the rise of class-divisions), the entrance into the community as a whole was extended to those who had no sense of communal responsibility. Throughout the

¹ Franz Boll, in his studies on the *Weltbild der Apokalypse*, has an ingenious astral explanation of the martyrs under the altar (cf. the review in *Revue Biblique*, April 1921, p. 285 sq.); but an astral version of the old sacrificial rite can only be secondary. An astral *façon de penser* cannot be primary.

social-religious sphere we find indications that questions arose as to the position of the new-born, and the necessity was felt not only of not excluding them, but also of formally including those old enough to understand their position. In more differentiated societies we see the significance of infant baptism and of some later service (communion), virtually corresponding to the practices in undifferentiated societies; and further instructive parallels emerge as society became more complex. People then came to feel that they had an *a priori* claim to the favour of their gods, without any initiation, introduction, or discipline. They grew up with the expectation of divine favours which had otherwise been part of a veritable system of mutual claims. They took over certain concepts and ideas which primarily belonged to a sort of organized, self-supporting, and self-regulating system.¹ Hence it is interesting to see, at a more advanced and differentiated stage, that people will feel they have an *a priori* claim upon the state, although primarily the claim of the individual to the protection of the social-religious group was bound up with a unifying system of ideas in which the responsibilities no less than the privileges were clearly understood.

This digression seems called for because any treatment of the *history* of religion, particularly one with a distinctive theory of its next stage, might reasonably be expected to take a more dynamic view of the actual vicissitudes. It is in these recurring tendencies that we may see a clue to the real history of religion and escape that curiously mechanical and intellectualistic conception of religion which mars M. Loisy's learned treatise. Another question which merited fuller treatment is the revelation to the initiated of the awe-inspiring secrets. If the revelation destroys infantile credulity and popular myth, it also preserves a belief in the virtue of the initiation; but is it possible that it is a false revelation, a semi-rationalism (so p. 389)? We have not yet reached the heart of the matter. In citing the New Mexican evidence M. Loisy appears to overlook a certain moral aspect of the revelation: among the Sia Indians the masked men who represent the gods disclose their identity and tell the boys, 'now you know the katsuna [gods] you will henceforth have only good thoughts and a good heart, some day perhaps you will be one of us.'² The revelation of the mysteries does not

¹ One may consider the compound ideas Mana + Tabu, Immanence + Transcendence, and Liberty + Responsibility (or the like), and the way in which confusion has arisen through concentration upon one element only of each pair.

² Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies* (1908), pp. 187-189. Miss J. Harrison (*Themis*, p. 63) notes that the sanctity of the sacred bull-roarer survives the revelation, and speaks of the fundamental awe which 'is on the way to be reverence, and reverence is essentially religious'. Dr Marett (*Threshold of Religion*, pp. 157 sqq., 164) has a characteristic discussion of the ἀποκάλυψις: 'the native mind [is not discomfited by the discovery that the sacred bull-roarer is of

necessarily have a disintegrating effect. Familiarity with and the most intimate knowledge of what has been respected or revered need not breed contempt. This age, when the mysteries are being forced to disclose their secrets as never before—through comparative religion, biblical criticism, science, &c.—has to find some more satisfactory explanation of human nature than the cul-de-sac of the rationalist and the positivist; and the fact remains that the fuller knowledge of the sacred, instead of turning it into superstition, can make it more sacred.

A valuable chapter on the place of sacrifice in the ordinary service of the gods may be specially commended for its exposition of M. Loisy's main theories (pp. 419-466). Sacrifice is to feed and strengthen the gods who now receive tribute and homage. We are at a higher stage; but the primitive magic survives, for it is magic to offer food to spirits who do not exist, but are supposed to direct the cosmos (p. 422). The sacrifice-idea is, however, fuller; and at last the rite becomes 'a sort of universal sacrament bringing to all the circumstances of the national, family, and individual life, the guarantee of divine protection and indulgence' (p. 456). The renunciation is for some ultimate profit; it had always been for an increase of life (cf. p. 120), but the ideas have become richer and, we must add, more in harmony with our modern Western thought. In nourishing the gods man had hoped to be nourished himself (p. 439)—we have always to observe this indefinable unity of gods and men, all part of one thought-system, so to say; and it is therefore the more illogical, though hardly surprising, when M. Loisy concluded by simply eliminating all that section of experience and thought which lies outside the positivist's grasp. That man has been looking through distorting glasses we can understand, for we can see the nature of some of the distortions and perceive the efforts to remedy them. But when M. Loisy virtually tells us that what we are looking at does not exist, and that the next stage in religion must recognize this, he is sawing off the bough on which he is sitting. He himself points out that religion is tending towards universality, it has emancipated the individual from society and has placed him in absolute contradiction with his starting-point; the goal, however, is not to dissolve society but to make it perfect, and to unite human groups into a more profound unity (p. 461). Precisely, and therefore a stage far removed from the 'magical' or 'religious' ideas that prevail among men is hardly to be expected.¹

wood and string but] struggles hard against materialism, seeking to distinguish the inward grace from its external vehicle, though all uncertain whether to ascribe to this indwelling vitalizing force a personal or a quasi-impersonal nature.'

¹ The chapter ends typically enough with these words on the Christian sacrament (p. 466): 'puissant ressort de confiance morale, mais toujours dans la ligne des

The sacrificial systems of the different religions are next sketched in outline (pp. 467-520). The chapter may be recommended as a general survey of the whole field. Notice should be taken of the intermediate stages (e.g. p. 483), since they strengthen the view that there is no clear-cut division between 'magic' and 'religion', and that consequently the history of religion in the future is unlikely to deviate so drastically from its path in the past as M. Loisy expects. He draws special attention to the primitive ideas underlying the higher religions, and concludes that even the post-Reformation treatment of the Last Supper, in spite of the protest that it is not a sacrifice, is along the line of evolution of the 'sacred action', as long as it is bound up with ideas of sin and expiation, of a mystical regeneration and of life eternal 'comme avec des réalités'. What has to be said in this and other chapters on the mystery-religions is of course treated far more fully by M. Loisy in his *Mystères païens*.¹ But we have not noticed any discussion of the points which fall to be considered at this stage—that is, if, instead of a merely 'comparative' study of comparable data, we are to consider the underlying ideas, their value, and their future development. What is said, for example, on the salvation of the individual and the mysteries (p. 506 sqq.) certainly needs to be supplemented by (1) the part played by the idea of the Suffering Servant, (2) individualist tendencies outside the Western Asiatic area, and (3) the recurring tendency to demand a Saving or Redeeming God in Central and Eastern Asia no less than in the West.

Only the briefest mention can be made of M. Loisy's concluding chapter. Sacrifice is not absolutely primitive—earliest man did not attempt to provide for his food, and the feeding of the dead is not primary. Nor has it always had the same meaning. Its history has been an increasing rationalizing of practices in themselves devoid of reason and morality. Yet, 'il y a autant de magie à prétendre émouvoir la divinité par une prière, obtenir l'immortalité bienheureuse et entrer dans la communion de l'Être suprême par le moyen d'un sacrement, qu'à vouloir produire un phénomène naturel par la vertu d'une incantation et d'une mimique quelconque . . . c'est une projection d'activité mystique en dehors de la réalité' (p. 525). The fundamental misconception is the magical one of the part representing the whole—the ear of corn and the harvest, the firstling and the flock, the leader and the

sacrifices antiques; car il s'agit toujours, moyennant une action sacrée, une figuration rituelle, de prendre assurance d'un concours invérifiable.' But what 'concours vérifiable' is to take its place?

¹ Reviewed at length by R. P. Lagrange in the *Revue biblique*, 1920, pp. 420-446, who also discusses exhaustively the Attis cult and Christianity, *ib.* 1918, pp. 419-480.

people, the First Adam symbolical of sinful humanity—it is the same ‘mirage mystique’, though the Christian is grander and more beautiful (p. 526; cf. above, p. 336 and n. 1). The Christian sacrament has points of contact with lower cults from the Arunta upwards, but there are significant differences, although its truth lies in faith, and faith alone (pp. 529 sqq.). The history of sacrifice is that of the most tenacious illusion that ever held man—the irrational and vain effort to buy the free use of things already at men’s disposal, to buy the prosperity of nations, which, however, depends upon themselves, and upon causes or accidents ‘que ne gouverne aucune volonté arbitraire’, and to buy a happy immortality, ‘avantage incertain, insaisissable, et qui, dans la mesure où il pourrait correspondre à une réalité, ne dépendrait d’aucun rite sacrificiel, d’aucun symbole de rédemption’ (p. 531). The profit that has arisen from sacrifice has never been that which was sought. Sacrifice has given men ‘confiance morale en la vie’; it has helped men to face real and imaginary dangers, and in daring they did actually obtain more or less what they wanted. The ‘sacred act’ wrought the social bond which has led from the group of savages to the idea of universal brotherhood foreshadowed in Christianity, from the childish traditions of the Arunta to the artificial but inspiring traditions amid which Christianity has grown up. So, finally, we are to pass (with M. Loisy) to the goal to which the religions have apprenticed man.

His concluding pages on the goal of the world’s religions do not admit of any summary that would do justice to his eloquent idealism. He looks for a ‘faith’ which, leaving aside the old symbols and rites—an obstacle to the progress of humanity—will give humanity new zest. *Religions* die, but not *Religion*: every religion has never been aught else than the self-consciousness of society, realizing itself in the sacred act. Humanity—if we understand him aright—will evolve its own religion to satisfy its own needs and aspirations. And the needs are the three religious needs: confidence in life, social cohesion, and devotion to society (p. 539). Humanity can, as always, be self-confident; and, while the ‘sacred act’ was always superfluous, duty will be the sole effective sacrifice.¹ Duty requires a faith that must be ‘religious’, but in no equivocal sense; there must be no adhesion to old beliefs, no mystical union with a metaphysically transcendent being. Faith is trust in life and of its becoming perfect, and it expresses itself in moral grandeur, and in the love for concrete humanity—for our environment,

¹ Remarking that the survival of magic more or less paralysed the national religions, and the survival of national religion [i.e. particularism] cramped the ‘économies de salut’, he asks: ‘serait-il si téméraire de dire que les économies de salut se sont posées finalement au travers d’un épanouissement plus large de l’humanité?’

country, and nation. Religion is the respect for right, the right of every individual in society, and society's right towards the individual. Religion is the respect for the humanity in ourselves, 'et l'on peut espérer que ce respect finira bien par être plus efficace de bonheur pour les hommes que ne le fut jamais la considération de forces insaisissables, images flottantes de l'humanité qui se cherchait elle-même et qui pensait trouver dans ces idoles l'appui qu'en réalité elle prenait dans son propre cœur' (p. 540).

This summary though, it is hoped, not unfair account of M. Loisy's treatise may afford some idea of its range, character, and value. Its idealism is often exceedingly attractive, and the wealth of material makes it invaluable to all students. Space has not permitted a more adequate account of the contents of a book which, in a second edition, would gain by an enlarged index.¹ However strongly one dissents from his general tendencies one must recognize that his array of material—often more valuable than his interpretations, which we can correct—is more likely to attract the intelligent reader than many of the apologetic works which are as extreme in their way as M. Loisy is in his. But apart from this the weakness of M. Loisy's constructive work cannot pass unnoticed. The religion of humanity is no new ideal; it has been criticized frequently and fully, and M. Loisy does not meet the criticisms. Comtism has had noteworthy vicissitudes which are exceedingly significant for M. Loisy's theories. It does not prove to answer human needs, and it is strange that a writer who is aware that the early ethical Buddhism (the Hinayana) could not become a religion of the people (in the Mahayana) until it nourished ordinary human aspirations (pp. 534 sqq.) should not have borne this in mind.² A well-known psychologist, who manifests no weakness for an orthodox or transcendental religion, has observed that Comtism itself was obliged to 'smuggle in' the concepts it condemned as illegitimate, and he, for his part, looks for a religion where 'humanity would be regarded as an expression of *transhuman Power* [my italics] realizing itself in Humanity'. Yet he quite perceives

¹ There should be many more headings, e. g. Continence (or Purity, Sin, or the like), Holocaust, Magic (e. g. pp. 422, 523), St Paul, Prayer, Saracens (the oft-cited Nilus, pp. 437, 455, 515), Varuna (pp. 342, 396). Moreover, several of the important headings are very incomplete, e. g. Sacrifice, Human (add pp. 492, 501), Durkheim (add p. 468 and other important references), Figuration (p. 75, &c.), Premices (pp. 203, 426 &c.). An index of biblical passages would be appreciated; also, perhaps, one of the chief classical references.

² Mr Wells, commenting upon Sir Harry Johnstone's plea for a religion that would devote itself to the Service of Man, remarks, with all truth, 'without God, the "service of man" is no better than a hobby or a sentimentality or an hypocrisy in the undisciplined prison of the mortal life' (*God the Invisible King* p. 113).

that if this Power be regarded as 'purposive intelligence' we get back to the theism that must at all costs be avoided.¹ Indeed, M. Loisy's solution raises so many problems of the sort that persistently clamour for solution that it is, again, a little surprising that an historian of religion has not taken steps to anticipate this, has not, one might almost suspect, even realized the necessity.

In view of the fact that this age is endeavouring to reconcile its experiences, aspirations, and positive knowledge, a constructive essay towards a religion of humanity would at least have been suggestive, but that is not what lies before us in this volume. M. Loisy's tendencies and conclusions are an illustration of the bankruptcy of certain methods of research; and this is the more to be deplored, because the study of religions, as cautious readers will find in this treatise itself, has very much to contribute to a better conception of religion, and, therefore, to a further stage in the history of religion.

STANLEY A. COOK.

THE SYNOD OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE SCHISM AT ANTIOCH IN A.D. 362.

(continued)

V. ANTIOCH.

MEANWHILE at Antioch Lucifer, who had proceeded thither with other bishops² after the preliminary council in the Thebaid, endeavoured to carry into effect the policy arranged with Eusebius and Asterius who had gone to Alexandria. As Eusebius understood it, the intention was to reconcile the Eustathians and Meletians, and ordain Paulinus as bishop of both. Lucifer, however, found the Meletians' loyalty to their still absent bishop greater than he had expected. They refused to reunite under Paulinus. The right course would then have been to have informed the Synod of the difficulty of effecting a reunion. But Lucifer's whole project, the reconquest of the churches for the uncompromised, was in danger; his impetuous nature would not brook the opposition, and, in concert with Cymatius and Anatolius, he ordained Paulinus, who promptly sent his legates to Alexandria. Their

¹ J. A. Leuba *A Psychological Study of Religion* (1912) pp. 312 sq., 326 sqq., 332.

² Among them were probably Cymatius of Palta in Coele Syria, Anatolius of Beroea [the *Tonnus* probably wrongly has Euboea], and Karterius of Antaratud *vide infra*.

arrival was taken by Eusebius and the Synod generally to mean that the reconciliation had been effected, and they rejoiced at the news,¹ not suspecting that Lucifer would have broken his promise not to ordain Paulinus unless general consent had been obtained.

The names of those concerned in these proceedings shew that a consistent policy was being pursued. We know that among those present at the Thebaid council were Lucifer, Eusebius, Asterius of Arabia, and Hilarius of Jerusalem. The friends then separated. Eusebius and Asterius with some others, including Lucifer's legates, went to Alexandria. Lucifer proceeded with the rest (including probably Cymatius, Anatolius, and Karterius, whom we afterwards find co-operating with him) to Antioch. After the Synod the Tomus was sent by the hands of Eusebius and Asterius. It was addressed to the same group who had taken on themselves the settlement, Eusebius, Lucifer, Asterius, Cymatius, and Anatolius, and three of these, Lucifer, Cymatius, and Anatolius, had already at Antioch consecrated Paulinus. Paulinus and Karterius 'receipted' the Tomus on its arrival. Had Lucifer succeeded in persuading the Meletians to accept Paulinus, the policy of the group would have had a brilliant success. The uncompromised would have been established in power and in numbers: Meletius would have been rejected: and the Arian overtures scornfully repudiated. Their policy may generally be stated as, First, to persuade the Meletians to rejoin the orthodox and submit to Paulinus; Second, to ordain Paulinus; and Third, to take vengeance on the Arians. Lucifer by reversing on his own responsibility the order of the first and second is mainly responsible for its failure, though the wisdom of Athanasius would never have consented to the third.

Our previous argument has shewn strong reason to believe that the consecration of Paulinus was known to the Synod of Alexandria. But, when we turn to our three main authorities for the events which immediately followed, Socrates, Sozomen, and Rufinus, it appears at first reading as though Eusebius on his arrival at Antioch with the Tomus discovered for the first time that Lucifer had consecrated Paulinus, without the knowledge of the Synod. In fact almost every student of the period has assumed that this was the case. On this assumption it has been necessary for them to explain the presence of Paulinus's legates at Alexandria, and the fact that the Tomus contains no directions whatever as regards the Antiochene episcopate. The explanations, attempted by a very few scholars, are unsatisfactory: and most have passed over the difficulty in silence. If the view that Paulinus was known by the Synod to have been consecrated, and recognized by it, be correct, it must be borne out in the subsequent events by our

¹ *Tomus* § 4.

authorities. And it will therefore be necessary to examine minutely the statements of each. This examination will, I believe, shew the first impression is misleading, and that the accounts of the three bear out the thesis here maintained.

I. Socrates.¹ Eusebius hurries to Antioch and finds Paulinus ordained by Lucifer and the people divided, for Meletius's followers continued to hold their meetings privately. Disturbed *ὅτι τῇ γενομένῃ χειροτονίᾳ μὴ πάντες συνήνουν, κατέγνω μὲν καθ' αὐτὸν τοῦ γενομένου, τῇ δὲ πρὸς Λουκίφερα αἰδοῖ σιωπήσας ἀνεχώρησεν*. He promised to make it all right at a synod of bishops, and did his best to unite the conflicting parties, but could not [i. e. what surprised Eusebius *may* from this account just as well be the fact that the people were still divided as that Paulinus was consecrated] *ἔφθασε δὲ Μελέτιος τῆς ἐξορίας ἐπανελθών*. [The point of *ἔφθασε* is that Meletius by his return prevented the reconciliation which Eusebius was trying to effect. This reconciliation then can only have been a reconciliation under Paulinus. Meletius had been thrown over by the Synod and by Lucifer.] So Eusebius leaves Antioch. Lucifer, seeing that his action was not supported by Eusebius *ὕβριν ἡγάετο καὶ δεινῶς ἡγανάκτει*. [He had no right to be angry if he had acted on his own initiative in consecrating Paulinus. But if the consecration had been previously arranged, he had a certain grievance.] Then *ἐκ φιλονεικίας* he wished to reject the decisions of the Synod, i. e. its provisions for the return of the Arians, but was bound by their acceptance by his legates in his name.

II. Sozomen.² After the Synod Eusebius comes to Antioch and finds confusion, the Meletians refusing to unite with Paulinus, and holding their services separately. *Χαλεπῶς δὲ ἐνεγκῶν ὅτι μὴ δέον παρὰ τὴν πάντων συναίνεσιν ἢ χειροτονία ἐγεγόνει, οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἐμέμψατο Λουκίφερα τιμῶν*. [*μὴ δέον* is to be taken closely with *παρὰ τὴν πάντων συναίνεσιν* 'When it should not (according to arrangement) have taken place without general agreement'. This, and not the consecration of Paulinus, is here clearly stated to be the cause of Eusebius's anger. And it was the agreement which restrained him from denouncing Lucifer's action publicly.] Holding communion with neither faction [this is in conflict with Rufinus's 'neutri parti communionem relaxans'] he promised to bring the dispute before a synod for settlement. But while he was trying to bring the people into harmony Meletius returned from exile and rejoined his flock in the Palaea. Eusebius, failing to effect a reconciliation, left Antioch. *Ὑβρισμένος δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ Λουκίφερ, ὅτι μὴ τὴν Παυλίνου χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο, ἐχαλέπαινε τε, καὶ κοινωνεῖν αὐτῷ διεφέρετο. καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἔριδος, τὰ δόξαντα τῇ συνόδῳ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διαβάλλειν ἐπεχείρει*. [Again, as in Socrates, Lucifer would

¹ iii 9.

² v 12, 13.

have had no ground for anger if Eusebius had objected to an unauthorized act of consecration. In fact he should rather have been grateful to him for attempting to persuade the Antiochenes to acquiesce in it. But when Eusebius and the Synod knew that Paulinus had been consecrated he had ground for feeling aggrieved.]

III. Rufinus.¹ 'But Eusebius when he had returned to Antioch and found that a bishop had been ordained there against his promise' [i. e. the promise not to ordain till a general harmony had been established. That this had been violated was a sufficient cause of his indignation. Lucifer had consecrated Paulinus without being assured that the Meletians would accept him] 'pudore simul et indignatione compulsus abcessit, neutri parti communionem relaxans, quia digrediens inde promiserat se acturum in concilio ut is eis ordinaretur episcopus a quo neutra pars descisceret'. [This is a difficult sentence. Robertson² takes it as implying that Eusebius and Lucifer went first to Antioch, and refers 'concilio' to the Council of Alexandria. In reality the clause 'quia . . . descisceret' is explanatory of the fact that Eusebius remained in communion with both parties. 'Digrediens' and 'abcessit' both refer to the same departure, that with which we are now dealing; and the promise to bring the matter before a synod is recorded in other words by Socrates³ *σιωπήσας ἀνεχώρησεν, ἐπαγγελάμενος ἐν συνεδρίῳ ἐπισκόπων τὰ γενόμενα διορθώσασθαι*. Robertson, though misinterpreting Rufinus, rightly sees that Eusebius did not go to Antioch before the Synod of Alexandria. The correct interpretation of this sentence is a heavy blow to the general belief that Lucifer promised Eusebius to await the decision of the Alexandrian Synod as to who was to be bishop of Antioch, and then broke his promise by ordaining Paulinus.] 'Ille namque populus qui Meletium dudum de ecclesia pulsum, quasi pro fide recta, fuerat secutus, non iunxerat se ad priores catholicos, id est, qui cum Eustathio et Eusebio Episcopo fuerant (ex quibus etiam Paulinus erat) sed suum principatum suumque conventiculum tenuit.' [This is a causal sentence. What does it attempt to explain? The angry departure of Eusebius which has just been recorded. If this was caused by finding Paulinus ordained, the sentence becomes pointless. What drove away Eusebius in disgust was to find that the two parties were still unreconciled.] 'Hos ergo cum in unum revocare voluisset Eusebius, nec tamen (praeventus a Lucifero) potuisset, abcessit' [prevented, that is, by Lucifer's denunciation of the Meletians].

'Tunc regressus Meletius de exilio quia cum eo numerosior populus

¹ Chapter xxx.

² 'Athanasius', *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* Prolegg. p. lviii note 1.

³ iii 9.

erat, ecclesias tenuit. Et ex eo iam propriam synodum cum caeteris orientalibus episcopis habuit, nec tamen Athanasio iunctus est.' [Surely if the desire of the Synod of Alexandria had been to recognize his rule at Antioch, Meletius would immediately have professed himself in communion with Athanasius.] 'Interim Lucifer, iniuriam dolens [if he had consecrated Paulinus on his own initiative he would have had no grounds for this] quod episcopum a se ordinatum apud Antiochiam non recepisset Eusebius, nec ipse recipere cogitat Alexandrini decreta concilii [this last clause implies that he had not yet violated any of these *decreta*, and therefore that they did not contain anything forbidding the consecration of Paulinus]. Sed constringebatur legati sui vinculo qui in concilio ipsius auctoritate subscripserat. Abiicere namque eum non poterat qui auctoritatem eius tenebat. [The decrees which he wished to reject were, of course, those *re* recognition of returning Arians.] Si vero recepisset omne suum frustrandum videbat inceptum' [his attempt, that is, to establish the ultra-orthodox in power and repulse the compromised. This is a key-sentence to the motives of Lucifer].

'Diu ergo de hoc, multumque deliberans, cum ex utraque parte concluderetur [he had either to reject his legate or accept his enemies], elegit ut legato suo recepto erga caeteros sententiam disparem sed sibi placitam custodiret.' [Would a man who so scrupulously respected his obligations incurred through a legate, have been likely to break an honourable promise as most writers assume?]

We have now concluded our examination of the three principal authorities for these events; and, far from their contradicting the view which I have put forward, they appear to confirm it to such an extent that certain sentences are meaningless or inexplicable on the usual hypothesis. The examination has been tedious and complicated: but it is amply justified if, as I hope, it has thrown light on a year of critical import for the Christian Church, and a council remarkable alike for its theoretical decisions and its practical results. We have shared the counsels of the Catholic bishops at the moment of their great triumph over heresy, we have seen the ably conceived and determined plot of the 'priores catholici'¹ to seize control of the Church, and traced the conflict which thereon arose between the ideals of dogmatical purism and Christian charity, St Athanasius has been presented to us at the crown of his career and in contact with the great leader of the Pagan reaction, and some light has been thrown on the bitter schism which distracted the Church in the third city of the empire, and perpetuated the existing tendency to division between East and West.

¹ Rufinus.

VI. JULIAN AND ATHANASIOUS.

On Julian's accession various cities of the empire sent embassies of congratulation. Owing to the distance from the capital, the embassy from Alexandria arrived rather later than most of the others.¹ Naturally its members were of the anti-Christian faction, and the account which they brought to the emperor of affairs in Egypt caused him much displeasure. They told of the return of Athanasius, and his assumption of control in his diocese: and took care no doubt to paint his character in the blackest colours. This embassy set out probably shortly after the return of Athanasius on February 21, 362. The edict of the emperor permitting the return of the exiles had been published by Gerontius the prefect on February 10. But Gerontius, who was friendly to Athanasius, seems to have exceeded his instructions in publishing subsequently an edict of his own ordering Athanasius by name to return.² The emperor, as is obvious from his first letter on the subject,³ was not aware of this.

On hearing the complaints of the Alexandrians, Julian wrote a strong letter to Gerontius⁴ in the following terms:—

'He who was banished by many royal decrees of many emperors ought to have awaited at least one royal injunction (*ἐπίταγμα*), and then under such terms to have returned to his own city, and not, in daring and folly, to have insulted the laws as though they existed not, since, as you know, on the present occasion I did not agree to the return of the Galileans, exiled by the Blessed Constantius, to their churches, but only to their native cities. But I learn that the most audacious Athanasius, exalted by his natural boldness, is laying hold upon what they call their episcopal throne, and that this displeases greatly the pious people of Alexandria. Wherefore I proclaim to him to depart from the city on whatsoever day he receives these writings of our clemency, forthwith. And if he remains in the city I warn him of greater and more grievous penalties.'

After so peremptory a command we should expect to hear of the immediate departure of Athanasius. Instead of this an appeal against it was made,⁵ and pending its decision Athanasius remained at Alexandria and carried through the business of the Synod. How was this defiance possible? Only on the assumption that Gerontius, the prefect, took his part. Athanasius could not have remained if he had carried out his master's instructions. We have already seen cause to suspect Gerontius of friendship for Athanasius in the publication of his decree which specifically ordered Athanasius to return to his see. The facts of Athanasius remaining after the letter, and of an appeal being

¹ *Misopogon* 367 D.

² *Hist. Aceph.* vii 10.

³ Letter 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ As is obvious from letter 51.

made, are further evidence that he had obtained the prefect's favour. And another epistle of Julian on the same subject,¹ as we shall see, corroborates this view.

Julian answers the appeal at some length.² 'If your founder', he writes to the Alexandrians, 'had been any of the others who, having transgressed their own law, have paid the requisite penalty, choosing to live lawlessly and introducing new doctrine and proclamation, even so it would not have been reasonable that Athanasius should be sought by you (*as bishop*).³ But as it is, when Alexander is the founder of your city, and King Serapis your tutelary deity from the beginning, together with Isis his consort and queen of all Egypt . . .⁴ not caring for the healthy part of the city. But the diseased part dares to give as authority for itself the name of the city.' Julian then proceeds to give historical reasons against the apostasy of Alexandria from the Gods; and continues:—

'If, however, you desire to obey, you shall be greatly encouraged. But if you desire to abide in the superstition and instruction of the evil men, agree with one another, and do not ask for Athanasius. At all events there are many of his disciples who are well enough able to appease the itching of your ears if they require words of impiety. For in the case of Athanasius alone it has become necessary that the baseness of his impious teaching should be shut up. But as matters stand, you have a not undistinguished number of men, and the trouble is nothing. For whomsoever of the number you choose, as far as concerns the teaching of the scriptures, will be no whit worse than he whom you desire. But if through love of Athanasius's other activities (*ἐντρέχεια*)—for I am informed that the man is a *πανοῦργος*—you have made this request, know that for this very cause he is banished from the city. For an interfering fellow (*πολυπράγμων ἀνὴρ*) is unsuitable by nature to preside over the people. But if it is not a man, but a specious mannikin, like this great person, who, thinking his life to be in danger, gives this as the ground for disorder . . .⁵ Whence, in order that no such disturbance may occur among you, I long since⁶ proclaimed that he should depart, and now I add "depart from the whole of Egypt". Let this be published to our citizens of Alexandria.'

Even this, the answer to the appeal against the *διάταγμα* of letter 26, does not seem to have been immediately effective in securing the retirement of Athanasius. For the emperor found it necessary to write again 'to Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt' in the following terms⁷:—

'Though you write not to us of other matters, at least you ought to write about Athanasius, the enemy of the Gods, and that, too, since

¹ Letter 6.

² Letter 51.

³ 'sought to rule over you'.

⁴ There is here a lacuna in the MS.

⁵ The apodosis of this sentence is missing, and corruption must be assumed.

⁶ This letter was probably written during the summer of 362.

⁷ Letter 6.

you are aware of my wise councils for a considerable time. I swear by great Serapis that if Athanasius, the enemy of the Gods, does not leave it,¹ or rather the whole of Egypt, before the Kalends of December, I will fine your district (τάξις) a hundred λίτραι of gold. You know how slow I am to condemn, but much slower to remit a sentence once pronounced (καταγνοὺς ἀνείναι) . . .² and with his own hand. I cannot endure to be despised. By all the Gods, there is nothing I would see, or rather hear of, done by you with such pleasure, as that Athanasius was driven from the region of Egypt, the wretch (μιαρόν) who dared in my time to baptize Greek ladies of rank. Let him be pursued !'

There are several interesting points in this letter. It was published on October 23, 362³; but even had we nothing but internal evidence to go upon, it could be dated about this time from its reference to the Kalends of December, and the fact that its violent tone proclaims it to be the last of the series which we have been considering. This is also shewn, rather interestingly, by the words 'If Athanasius . . . does not leave it, or rather the whole of Egypt', for Julian's mind has dwelt on his original decree of banishment from Alexandria, and then recollected his subsequent addition of 'the whole of Egypt' in letter 51. The haste with which the letter is obviously written indicates his anger at the continued defiance of his orders. He writes unrestrainedly, corrects himself twice, and is careless of the order. Rarely indeed have literary records permitted us to see so distinguished a historical personage so very obviously in a rage.

Ecdicius published this edict on October 24, the day succeeding its receipt.⁴ Julian had reminded him at the beginning of the letter that he had been 'aware of his wishes for a considerable time'; in fact Julian had been impatiently expecting news of Athanasius's departure into exile ever since his reply to the appeal in letter 51. It is possible, therefore, that this letter also was addressed to Ecdicius Olympus. So of the series of letters, in chronological order 26, 51, 6, the first was addressed to Gerontius the prefect, and the two latter to Ecdicius Olympus the prefect. In other words, in the interval between the date of 26 (about March) and the date of 51 (about July or August) a change of prefects has taken place. We have already seen reason to conclude that friendly relations existed between Gerontius and Athanasius, and it may not be too bold an inference that the cause of the removal of Gerontius and the appointment of Ecdicius was connected with this. Gerontius had expressly invited Athanasius to return: he had defied the emperor's command in allowing him to remain after letter 26, and had permitted an appeal to be made. The respite had been used by Athanasius to carry through an epoch-making synod, to proselytize

¹ Sc. τῆς πόλεως Hertlein.

³ *Hist. Aceph.* vii 2.

² A lacuna.

⁴ *Ibid.*

vigorously, and to re-establish Orthodox Christianity in full power. It is little wonder that Julian should have dismissed Gerontius, and, on hearing nothing from the new prefect of the result of his rejection of the appeal of the Alexandrians, should have written in such violent terms as to cause Ecdicius to take immediate action and Athanasius to withdraw forthwith. If our reading of these facts be correct, the lacuna in letter 6 probably contained a reference to the dismissal of Gerontius, and might read 'You know how slow I am to condemn, but much slower to remit a sentence once pronounced "for this very cause I dismissed Gerontius who dared to send [support] an appeal against my sentence" and with his own hand. I cannot endure to be despised'.

We have no record of Athanasius's opinion of Julian. But Julian's of Athanasius may be gathered from these letters. It shews an instructive developement. As Julian came to realize the greatness of the patriarch of Alexandria his hatred of him grows more intense. His edict of amnesty takes no account of this particular bishop. It was a clever attempt to divide the Christians against themselves by recalling the orthodox to embarrass the dominant Arians. Then the Alexandrian embassy of congratulation makes it clear to him that Athanasius is a dangerous man. He orders him to leave Alexandria, and refers to his audacity and 'natural boldness'. Then the appeal against this sentence reaches him at Antioch. He now learns with pain of the true state of affairs at Alexandria, namely that the Christians are the dominant party, and endeavours to recall them from their 'apostasy'. Then recognizing, perhaps, the futility of this he bids them agree among themselves about a bishop: he will sanction the appointment of any one but Athanasius. The latter, in fact, is now a personality to be feared as a statesman, an opponent dangerous to the Pagan revival. He is a *πανούργος*, a *πολυπράγμων* *άνήρ*. The jeer of the emperor against this *άνθρωπίσκος* *έντελής*, and his extension of the banishment no longer 'from the city' but 'from the whole of Egypt' are proof of a growing appreciation of the patriarch's power and influence. And the last letter is violent. Athanasius now appears to Julian as the protagonist of the Galilaeans, 'the enemy of the Gods'. His defiance touches the emperor's weakest point, his pride. 'I cannot endure to be despised', he cries. It is his dearest wish, the greatest pleasure which the new governor could give him, that the 'accursed fellow' (*μιαρόν*—there is hardly a stronger word) should be driven into exile.

If we had no other testimony to the life of Athanasius than these three letters of Julian, we should yet have reason to infer that he was a very great man.

C. B. ARMSTRONG.

THE PROLOGUE TO THE *APOSTOLIC TRADITION* OF HIPPOLYTUS.

THE credit of being the first to identify the 'Egyptian Church Order' as the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus belongs to Baron Eduard von der Goltz. As long ago as 1906 he wrote an article in the *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, entitled 'Unbekannte Fragmente altchristlicher Gemeindeordnungen nach G. Horners englischer Ausgabe des äthiopischen Kirchenrechtsbuchs', in which he drew attention to the passages contained in the Ethiopic version of the Eg CO which are not found in the other versions. Later in the same year he devoted a longer essay, in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Heft i), to a special study of the baptismal forms which appear on pp. 162-178 of Mr Horner's *Statutes of the Apostles* ('Die Taufgebete Hippolyts und andere Taufgebete der alten Kirche'). In both articles he examined the Prologue to the Eg CO which is preserved in the Latin and Ethiopic versions (and in an altered form in the *Apostolic Constitutions* viii 3), and declared it to be the opening passage of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, recognizing at the same time that the eighth book of the *Ap. Const.* (cc. 3 ff) and the 'Canons of Hippolytus' are collateral derivatives of the *Apostolic Tradition*. He therefore anticipated the results of Prof. Ed. Schwartz by four years. Writing in 1910, Schwartz had not seen the two articles just mentioned; and I remained in ignorance of them till November 1920, when Baron E. von der Goltz very kindly sent me copies of them. As I could not refer to the articles in my essay in 'Texts and Studies' viii 4 (1916), I take the opportunity of calling attention to them which the present occasion affords.

The Prologue to the *Apostolic Tradition* contains the key to the identification of the document which it introduces; but its text as preserved in the Verona Latin and Ethiopic versions is not free from difficulty, and in more than one place the author's meaning is open to doubt. Fortunately we get some further light on the Prologue from a somewhat unexpected quarter. This fresh evidence has, indeed, been available for a considerable time, though it is only within the last couple of years that I have become aware of it. It is possible that some one else may already have noticed it and brought it to bear, but so far I have not seen any reference to it. It deserves to be taken into account by future editors of this important document.

In 1913 M. F. Nau published a French translation of the collection of documents which is known as the *Octateuch of Clement*, and which

is preserved in a Syriac version.¹ The collection is composed of the following pieces: books i and ii are the two books of the Testament of the Lord; book iii is the document called the Apostolic Church Order or the Ecclesiastical Canons; book iv contains the first two chapters (those on *charismata*) of the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions; books v-vii answer to other parts of the same eighth book of the Ap. Const.; and book viii contains the Apostolic Canons.

The purpose of this Note is to draw attention to a passage in the Octateuch the peculiar interest of which escaped the notice of M. Nau when making his translation.

The fifth book of the Octateuch comprises those chapters of Ap. Const. viii which treat of ordinations, with omission of the liturgy which follows the ordination of a bishop. It opens with ch. 3, which is an adaptation of the Prologue to the *Apostolic Tradition*. But here a surprise awaits us. The compiler of the Octateuch, like the person who made the 'Epitome' of Ap. Const. viii, usually follows his source without other alteration than the omission of matter which he does not require. It is true that the Epitomist broke this rule twice, once in the ordination form for a bishop, by substituting the original prayer of Hippolytus for the enlarged formula of Ap. Const., and again by making a similar substitution in regard to the ordination of the lector—departures from the rule-of-thumb method of simple excerption which have given untold trouble to students of these documents in our day. Now at the beginning of his fifth book of Clement the maker of the Octateuch has been guilty of the same sort of inconsistency, but with a difference: he gives us neither exactly what the 'Constitutor' made of the Prologue of Hippolytus nor exactly what Hippolytus wrote, but a combination of the two—he interpolates the Ap. Const. text by recourse to Hippolytus himself.

M. Nau's translation of the Octateuch was made from the text of Cod. syr. 148 of the Borgian collection, which until 1902 was kept in the Propaganda library, but has since been removed to the Vatican. I have recently obtained photographs of a part of this MS, and can now give the Syriac text of the passage mentioned above. I add a Latin translation, which is as literal as I could make it, and which at any rate keeps the order of the Syriac words unchanged. I have used Latin because I found it impossible to turn the passage quite literally into English; but I have avoided as far as possible using the words of the old Latin version. The text of the Verona Latin and that of Ap. Const. viii 3 are printed side by side with that of the Octateuch.

¹ *La version syriaque de l'Octateuque de Clément traduite en français*, Paris, Lethielleux.

Verona Latin.

Ap. Const. viii 3.

Octateuch.

(b)

καὶ ὅπως τῶν ψευδῇ ἐπιχειροῦντων λέγειν ἢ ἄλλοτρίῳ πνεύματι κινουμένων ἤλεγξε τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι πονηροῖς πολλάκις ἀπεχρήσατο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τε προφητείαν καὶ τερατοποιίαν.

sed et quomodo arguerimus modum eorum qui mendacia audent dicere vel spiritu alieno moventur, ostendentes verbo eis, qui aut ignorantia aut voluntate ad errorem peluntur, quod etiam malis saepenumero usus sit Deus ad prophetiam scilicet et ad facienda miracula.

(c) Nunc autem ex caritate quam in omnes sanctos habuit producti, ad verticem traditionis quae catechizat ad ecclesias perreximus, ut ii qui beneducti (*prob. docti*) sunt eam quae permansit usque nunc traditionem exponentibus nobis custodiant,

νυνὶ δὲ

ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαῖότατον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατηρώσεως ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπείγει, ὅπως καὶ ταύτην μαθόντες παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν διδάσκον, οἱ ταχθέντες δι' ἡμῶν γνώμη Χριστοῦ ἐπίσκοποι, πάντα κατὰ τὰς παραδοθείσας ἡμῖν ἐντολὰς ποιῆσθε,

Nunc autem amore erga omnes sanctos provocati, ad id quod magis principale et sublime est fidei, quae decens et congruens est in ecclesiis, impetum accipimus; et de dispositione et constitutione ecclesiastica (ut loquamur) concitat nos verbum, ut hunc ordinem a nobis discentes, episcopi, qui bene a nobis didicistis, voluntate Christi, secundum mandata ista quae tradita sunt nobis omnia faciatis,

(d) et agnoscentes firmiores maneant, propter eum qui nuper inventus est per ignorantiam lapsus vel error et hos qui ignorant: praestante sancto spiritu perfectam gratiam eis qui recte credunt, ut cognoscant quomodo oportet tradi et custodiri omnia eos qui ecclesiae praesunt.

(e)

εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἡμῶν ἀκούων Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, ὃ δὲ Χριστοῦ ἀκούων τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρός ἀκούει, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

scientes quoniam qui nos audit (Christum audit, et qui Christum audit) Deum patrem eius audit: cui gloria in saecula saeculorum, amen.

The italics in the third column indicate correspondences on the part of the Octateuch text with the old Latin version which are not shared by the Ap. Const.—in other words, the interpolations into the latter drawn by the compiler of the Octateuch from the Prologue of Hippolytus. I add a few notes on this new text.

1. Double renderings of a single Greek word are common in Syriac

translations, and we have several examples of them in the passage before us. Thus in (a) we find '*digne et congruenter*' where the old Latin has only 'digne'; under (c) we have 'magis principale et sublime' where Ap. Const. has *κορυφαϊότατον* and the old Latin 'verticem', and again 'de dispositione et constitutione' for the *διατυπώσεως* of Ap. Const. On '*decens et congruens*' in the same section, see below.

2. The italics in (a) shew unmistakably that the compiler of the Octateuch has used the Prologue of Hippolytus as a secondary source.

3. In (b) 'posuimus' is to be understood before 'sed et quomodo'; but 'arguerimus' for *ἡλεγξε* (sc. *ὁ θεός*) is an error, perhaps of the Syriac translator.

4. The clause, in (b), 'ostendentes verbo eis, qui aut *ignorantia* aut voluntate ad *errorem* pelluntur' is an addition to the Ap. Const. text suggested by the Prologue at (d), where we read of a 'nuper inventus . . . per ignorantiam lapsus vel error'.

5. In (c) '*amore erga omnes sanctos provocati*' is added from the Prologue, where the old Latin reads 'ex caritate quam in omnes sanctos habuit producti'. But the Syriac helps us to remove a difficulty in the Latin: it shews us that (as I had already suspected) the Latin translator misunderstood the Greek before him. What he read was doubtless something in this form, *νυνὶ δὲ ἐξ ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς (or πρὸς) πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους προαχθέντες*—that is, 'through *our* love for all the saints' (i. e. the faithful). This the sense requires, for the author would hardly have alleged God's love for the saints as his reason for treating of the apostolic tradition. The translator ought therefore to have supplied 'habemus', not 'habuit'.¹ We may compare Hippolytus *de Antichr.* c. 67 ταῦτά σοι διὰ βραχείων ἐξ ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἀρυσάμενος ἐξ ἁγίων γραφῶν . . . προσφέρω σοί.

6. In (c) again the words of the Syriac '*fidei . . . impetum accepimus*' are additional to the Ap. Const. text and answer to 'traditionis quae catecizat ad ecclesias perreximus' of the Prologue, except that 'faith' has been substituted for 'tradition'. But 'the tradition which catechizes' is an expression of the old Latin which is both odd in itself and difficult to fit into the sentence. In the JOURNAL for April 1915 (xvi p. 330), Dr Frere suggested that the Latin translator 'may have mistaken *καθήκει* for *κατηχεῖ*', since the Ethiopic version reads 'having come to the source of the *proper* tradition in the churches'.² The Syriac favours

¹ I had suggested this correction to Dom Wilmart in 1918. See an article by him in *Revue du Clergé Français*, Oct. 15, 1918, p. 87 note 2. We may also compare *Ep. ad Diognet.* xi 8 ἐξ ἀγάπης τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντων ἡμῖν γινόμεθα ὑμῖν κοινωνοί: for cc. xi and xii of the Epistle, which have nothing to do with the rest, are now by a number of scholars, and I believe rightly, ascribed to Hippolytus.

² This conjecture was made already by von der Goltz in 1906, *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch.* (Heft i p. 8) 'quae catecizat = die sich gebührt = ἦτις καθήκει oder καθήκουσα'.

this conjecture, for 'quae decens et congruens est in ecclesiis' evidently contains another double rendering of a single Greek verb, and gives much the same sense as the Ethiopic. The expression 'impetum accepimus' (so literally) answers to 'perreximus' of the old Latin: I have little doubt that the Greek word was ὠρμήσαμεν.¹ The original clause therefore may have run something in this way: ἐπὶ κορυφὴν τῆς παραδόσεως τῆς καθηκούσης (? ἐν) ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ὠρμήσαμεν, ὅπως οἱ εὖ διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἕως νῦν διαμείνανσαν παράδοσιν² ἡμῶν ἐκθεμένων³ φυλάσσωσιν.

7. The words 'qui bene a nobis didicistis', substituted for the οἱ ταχέστεροι of Ap. Const., seem to be inspired by the Prologue: 'ii qui bene ducti (more probably docti) sunt'. The rest of the passage follows Ap. Const., but with (apparently accidental) omission of the words which I have supplied in brackets.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

THE *DE HABITU VIRGINUM* OF ST CYPRIAN.⁵

THE *De Habitu Virginum*, to give the homily its traditional title rather than that of *Ad Virgines* which is well attested by the Cheltenham List, is one of St Cyprian's earliest writings. It stands next to the *Ad Donatum*, the first of all, in the Cheltenham List, and has the same place in Pontius's *Vita Cypriani* § 7, as also in all the most important groups of MSS. And not only is there nothing in the homily itself inconsistent with such a date, but much that suits better with it than with a later period. There are two certain points. It is the work of a bishop, for in § 1 the writer expressly says that correction in the spirit of love is the office of *fratres et maxime sacerdotes*, i. e. bishops, and claims for his office, and therefore for his authority to reprove, that its existence is a proof of the fulfilment of a prophecy. *Pastor* is a *terminus technicus* for a bishop, and the words *et dabo vobis pastores secundum cor meum*, here, as elsewhere in Cyprian, are a literal statement that the

¹ Cf. *Philosophum*. v 6 περιλείπεται τοῖνυν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν αἰρέσεων ἐλεγχον ὕμῶν.

² Cf. *ibid.* ix 12 (ad fin.) οὐ (Καλλίστου) διαμένει τὸ διδασκαλεῖον φυλάσσον τὰ ἔθη καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν, x 27 καὶ οὕτως ἕως νῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς διαδόχους διαμείνανσαν (sc. the heresy of Noetus), and *de Antichr.* 51 ἐξ ὧν τὸ γένος ἕως τοῦ νῦν διαμένει.

³ Cf. *Philos. Proem.* ὅπως . . . ἡμῶν ἐκθεμένων τὰ δόξαντα αὐτοῖς . . . παύσωνται τι τῆς ἀλογίστου γνώμης.

⁴ The verb is equivalent to 'docti estis', as the passive, meaning 'to be taught', is not much used.

⁵ A paper read before the Cambridge Theological Society in February 1904, and revised in accordance with some kind suggestions of Prof. C. H. Turner.

office of bishop was to be instituted. Thus he was already consecrated to that office ; but, for a reason which I will presently adduce, I do not think that we can safely argue from the humility of his tone towards the virgins that he had only of late been installed in it. It has been argued from § 3 *ad has loquimur, has adhortamur adfectu potius quam potestate, nec quo extremi et minimi et humilitatis nostrae admodum conscii aliquid ad censuram licentiae vindicemus* that he cannot have been sure of his ground, as a bishop firmly seated on his throne would be, when he wrote in such terms. But they are quite consistent with personal, not official, humility ; and find their counterpart, and obviously their origin, in the still more exaggerated language of Tertullian *Cult. Fem.* ii 1 *in.* who describes himself by the monstrous epithet *postremissimus*. A preacher who begins by emphasizing his office, and later on (§ 21) exclaims *audite, virgines, ut parentem*, would not derogate from it in an intervening passage of the same short address. Thus it was a bishop who wrote, though we cannot discover at what stage of his episcopate he was writing except by a negative test. There is no hint of persecution as more than a possibility. Such allusions as there are are either borrowed from Tertullian, or of such a generalized kind as evidently to belong, if it may be said without disrespect, to the commonplaces of Christian eloquence.

We may apply another test of date. St Cyprian must have compiled his *Testimonia* very early in his Christian career, and it is evident that even after they were published he continued working on the same lines. In his later writings we may find not only texts, but groups of texts, absent from the *Testimonia*, recurring in such a way as to shew that he was drawing not directly from the Bible but from a store of passages that he had accumulated for his own use. This appendix to the *Testimonia* remained, no doubt, unpublished ; but it was not in existence when he wrote the *De Habitu Virginum*. Apart from references to some very obvious passages, there is only one direct citation in the homily which is not found in the *Testimonia*, and that is so inevitable a passage as *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram* in § 15. There is no other of his writings which is so absolutely dependent for its quotations upon that collection ; and we may, I think, infer from the absence of any other of the numerous passages, both pointed and picturesque, which he might have cited with effect, that he had not had time, when he wrote the *De Habitu Virginum*, to add to the store already accumulated in the *Testimonia*, and therefore that the homily quickly followed the compilation.¹

¹ There is, however, one quotation of Scripture that is worthy of notice. It is well known that Cyprian was scrupulous in citing Scripture to name the book which was his source. But it has not been so often noticed that he frequently

But there is a further peculiarity which compels us to put the *De Habitu Virginum* early in Cyprian's career. Though it would be inaccurate to call it, either in content or in manner, a cento or adaptation from Tertullian, it is deeply beholden to him. And its relation to him is different from that of Cyprian's other homilies, the *De Bono Patientiae* and in part the *De Dominica Oratione*, which are directly adapted from the corresponding treatises of Tertullian. In them the work came to hand and was done forthwith; there is no sign of literary effort. But the *De Habitu Virginum* borrows from every one, I think, of the six treatises which Tertullian devoted to the various aspects of feminine ethics. This is very different conduct from the masterful adjustment to his own purposes of the thoughts of a single treatise; so elaborate an employment of the works of an earlier writer must have required leisure, and may well be thought to imply a want of self-confidence. We cannot say whether the excerpts were made and combined for the purpose of writing our homily, or whether at a somewhat later stage than that at which Cyprian made them he turned them to use. In either case, conscious though he is of the official authority with which he speaks, his expression, and in great measure his thought, is that of one who has not yet learned to trust his own resources.

So composite an origin can hardly be that of a document framed to meet an actual need. The address must have been drawn up at leisure; and the leisure that of one who had as yet little practical experience of the difficulties and aims of Christian life. It is, to tell the truth, a very bookish production and one that shews no close touch with reality. It is exaggerated and even violent in its statements and denunciations, and both its Christianity and its common sense are sadly defective. Would Cyprian in the maturity of his powers have described the marital relation as a *stuprum*? And would he have risked a smile by recommending undyed wool for the wear of Christian ladies? It would be an interesting point of antiquarianism to enquire whether such a vesture could be purchased in the markets of the third century. The whole picture, in fact, seems to be largely drawn from imagination. But it has another source as well. Cyprian was a rhetorician, and vanity in dress was one of the standing themes of ancient literature. There are some curious resemblances between the

introduces pithy or proverbial phrases of the Bible with a mere *quodsi* or *quando*. An instance is the *quodsi non est maior domino suo servus* in § 8, which Hartel has, perhaps pardonably, overlooked in his Index of Scriptures. Now in § 2 a period ends with the words *quando qui uiolat et ipse uioletur*. If they are not quoted as an authority, the sentence ends with pitiful tameness and want of effect; and they are introduced exactly as Cyprian is wont to introduce such phrases. It is, in fact, an inaccurate quotation from 1 Cor. 3. 17, probably modified to get the *esse videatur* termination.

De Habitu Virginum and Propertius's well-known poem *Quid iuvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo?* Just as he wrote in excellent literary form, and according to an accepted type, his *Ad Donatum*, he seems to have undertaken to handle from the Christian point of view this common topic. Tertullian, in his *De Pallio*, had done exactly the same thing. It must have seemed worth while to shew that Christians were not inferior in the accomplishments of the day to their pagan rivals. Hence also the strangely artificial style of the *De Habitu Virginum*. It is one of its author's few writings in which there is no sign of haste and no slip in grammar. It is, in fact, painfully laboured, its language being often tortured into affectation, and obscurity risked lest there should be any lapse into the commonplace. The use of prepositions in uncommon senses is especially worthy of notice. It is all brilliantly clever, in a debased style, and naturally enough excited admiration. This has found expression in the *De Doctrina Christiana* of St Augustine, but it is strange that Augustine's laudations have been taken seriously by successive generations, and of late by Archbishop Benson. For St Augustine, great as he was, was not superior to the temptation of a paradox, and he thought fit to protest that Cyprian and Ambrose were better material for education than all the classics. *Hoc Ithacus velit*; it was the very degradation that Julian had desired to inflict upon the Christian youth. Such a proposition, if it was to gain a hearing, could not be made in a tentative manner; there must be round and emphatic assertion. We can go far in agreement with his praise of St Ambrose, the most uniformly charming though not the most original of the Latin Fathers—would it be fair to say that he stands to St Augustine much as Schiller stands to Goethe?—but when we are boldly bidden to find in the *De Habitu Virginum* models of the *submissum* and *temperatum genus dicendi* and of the *dictio grandis* we cannot help remembering that the saint is engaged in special pleading, and that if we must demur to his plea against the classics we cannot accept his estimate of the passages which he adduces in illustration of the substitutes he proposes. We must, then, I think, take the *De Habitu Virginum* as an immature work of its author, as one deliberately composed for general purposes of edification and perhaps for the particular purpose of displaying the writer's capacity and his interest in his flock, rather than to meet a special need.

Nothing, in fact, is more striking about the address than its generality. There is less that a reader can take hold of as a clue than in any other of St Cyprian's writings. And this makes it practically impossible to discuss its contents at moderate length. Its interest lies in its being one of the earliest circumstantial evidences for the institution of Christian virgins, and incidentally in the light which it throws upon Christian

opinion in several respects in the third century and upon the social condition of the Church. As regards this last matter it is very instructive. The general belief that the Christians before Constantine were, as a class, poor, is one that seriously needs reconsideration. Not to speak of strong pieces of evidence to the contrary in Cyprian's epistles, two of his homilies, the present and *De Opere et Eleemosyna*, assume the opposite. They are pointless if there were not rich members among his flock, and so pointed as to be tactless if the rich were not comparatively numerous. Otherwise he would be indulging in unpardonable personalities. I mention the point because I have lately noticed that even Dr Kenyon in his *Introduction to N. T. Criticism* has assumed, as a reason why ancient copies of Scripture are so rare, that they were poor things as the property of poor men. Not to mention such examples as Pamphilus and the wealthy patrons of Origen, Cyprian himself was a rich man, and the family Bible of an Acilius Glabrio must have been well worth seeing. No doubt, in estimating the weight to be given as an evidence of wealth to such ostentation as Cyprian denounces, we must make allowance for the custom, where credit is undeveloped, of saving money in the form of jewellery. Another custom, that of expending an undue proportion of small means upon finery, we must not assume. St Cyprian would certainly have hit at that weakness if he had known of its prevalence. He does nothing of the kind. His complaint is that the virgins, and married women also, followed the fashion set by others, not under the same obligation to simplicity, who were of their own rank in life.

But it is noteworthy that he assumes throughout that these ladies had no idea that they were acting inconsistently with their profession. He speaks as informing them of an important truth which has never occurred to their minds. That most powerful of appeals, to the sense of having done wrong, which he uses elsewhere with singular force, is absent from the *De Habitu Virginum*. And I do not think that this is merely an evidence of the orator's courtesy. Very effectual use has often been made of this rhetorical device; but such psychological subtlety seems alien to the robust declamation of St Cyprian. It is best to take him literally, and believe that the custom at Carthage had been for well-to-do virgins to regard their vow as one of abstinence in one particular only, and to live exactly as other ladies did whose standard of comfort was the same as their own. Even the use of the *promiscua balnea*, which seems so strange to us, was so widely prevalent that custom must have become a safeguard of morality. The treatment of this part of the subject by the Abbé Duchesne is so admirable that no more can be said. He points out, as we know, that the glory was in the abstinence, because it was known to be difficult, and in no accessory

services of charity or worship. And when we consider the extraordinary degree of liberty which Roman custom actually forced upon women of independent means, married or unmarried, we can understand that the difficulty was as great for them as it unhappily is now for the rough girls who work in market-gardens or factories. The want of any rule of life enhanced the value of the self-sustained as well as self-imposed *disciplina*, with an eloquent praise of which the address begins.

But when we come to its details we have a curious sense of unreality. The dangers to the male acquaintances of the virgins are violently exaggerated, and stated in a way which is strangely uncomplimentary to the ladies. The existence of natural beauty is absolutely ignored; they are told that they would not be attractive unless they adorned themselves with ostentation; and they are bidden as a duty to dress themselves in such a manner that it shall be impossible for any one to fall in love with them (§ 9). And this must be, not by the assumption of a distinctive attire that shall command respect, but by the wearing of a mean variety of the ordinary dress. In this, and in a good deal else, the writer seems to be moving in an unreal world. But it is a world which we can easily enter. In the speeches, and outlines of speeches, in the rhetorical writings of the elder Seneca we find all manner of social as well as legal and political questions treated in the same artificial way. Reputation was gained, not by fixing upon sound positions and keeping close to real life, but by ingenuity in the development of fanciful situations. No doubt the Christians brought up in the same bad taste could transport themselves into the same imaginary world, and admire the dexterity which a Christian rhetorician could display in it. St Cyprian, perhaps for the last time in his life, was allowing a crude rhetorical theme to run away with him.

But the feeling which prompts these rhetorical excesses is obviously genuine, and the praise which he showers upon the virgins as sincere as his own self-depreciation. And this brings me to a point of biography which has, so far as I know, never been noticed. In § 22 he is extolling the virgins. They are living the life of the Resurrection. 'We', he says, 'shall be hereafter what you are already.' In other words, we are now what you are not. The point of comparison is not any general excellence of character, but clearly and precisely that abstinence which is the *differentia* of the virgin. That abstinence St Cyprian disclaims for himself. Had he been married? There had been ample time for him to win and to lose a wife before his conversion, and there was no possible reason why she, probably a pagan, should be mentioned among the few and intentionally vague particulars which are given us of his earlier life. Even if he had not been married a glance at Friedländer or Marquardt will shew that public opinion would not have affixed to

him the slightest reproach for levity of conduct. There is in Pontius (§ 2) a passage which confirms my suggestion. After saying that he begins his biography, where biographies ought to begin, with his hero's baptism, he proceeds: *inter fidei suae prima rudimenta nihil aliud credidit Deo dignum quam ut continentiam tueretur*. This would be consistent with either of the two suppositions I have named; and though it would be unfair to read too much into the words of Pontius, we must not make him mean less than he says. This hypothesis, and this only, will explain the language of extreme humility which he, no doubt in deliberate imitation of Tertullian, uses of himself. It was in an address to the *Ancillae Dei* that Tertullian had styled himself *postremissimus* (*Cult. Fem.* ii 1 in.). Tertullian was a married man, and I think it was because he was married that he inflicted that title upon himself. The *extremi et minimi et humilitatis nostrae admodum conscii* of St Cyprian is its exact counterpart.

Many points of interest have, no doubt, escaped my notice; there are many on which I have been intentionally silent, either from their width or from my own consciousness that my knowledge is inadequate. In particular, the general subject of celibacy and the comparison of St Cyprian's point of view with that of other ancient writers are themes too ambitious for me. May I only suggest that Clement of Alexandria seems to set forth most perfectly the other possible view of the matter as it presented itself to an ancient, and that much may be learned not only from the contrast between *Quis Dives* and *De Opere et Eleemosyna*, but also from that between the *Paedagogus* and *De Habitu Virginum*?

E. W. WATSON.

ST PETER'S TOKEN OF THE COCK CROW.

I.

THE commentators on St Peter's denial and on the Lord's prediction of it have interpreted the Cock-crowing as referring to the act of a living bird awaking from its slumber to salute the approach of morning.

I believe that this interpretation is incorrect, and that the token given by Christ, and recognized by St Peter, when he heard it, was not the crowing of a domestic cock aroused from sleep, but the *Gallicinium*, the signal given on the *buccina* at the close of the third night-watch, and the change of guard.¹

¹ The four night-watches are frequently mentioned by commentators, but the token given by our Lord has not been assigned by them, so far as I know, to

The division of the night into four watches, termed *Vigilia Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, and *Quarta* (or φυλακή πρώτη, &c.) was part of Roman military discipline. By the beginning of the first century A.D. it had superseded in Palestine the older Hebrew division into three (First Watch, Lam. ii 19; Middle Watch, Judges vii 19; and the Last Watch, Exod. xiv 24).

That the Roman division was known to our Lord is shewn in Mk. xiii 35: 'Watch, therefore, for ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning'; ὁψέ, μεσονύκτιον, ἀλεκτοροφωνία and πρωί.

The close of one watch and the commencement of another was made known by a blast of the *buccina*, and the four watches were sometimes called *buccina prima*, *secunda*, &c., in consequence. The soldier who gave the signal was guided by a clepsydra in keeping his times correctly. Trimalchio is held up to ridicule by Petronius for introducing a military custom into his domestic arrangements. 'Trimalchio, lautissimus homo, horologium in triclinio et Buccinatorem habet subornatum, uti subinde sciat, quantum de vita perdiderit' (Petronius, 26).

The Roman garrison in occupation of the Antonia, which dominated Jerusalem, was in near proximity to the Temple, and the signal of the change of the watch given from this eminence must have been heard throughout the city, and have been a leading feature in the passage of the night.

This blast, at the close of the third night-watch, the *Gallicinium*, as it was popularly called—or ἀλεκτοροφωνία—I submit was the signal made at a definite moment, which would promptly recall the attention of the apostle to his lapse.

The term *Gallicinium* had long ceased to be connected with an actual cock-crowing, from which it had been derived. That it was commonly used as a note of time is seen in Apuleius *Met.* viii, which begins 'Noctis Gallicinio venit quidam iuvenis ex proxima civitate'.

This interpretation meets the requirements of the narratives in Matthew, Luke, and John, and gives to the token a definite point or application, in which the crowing of cocks is lacking.

A late writer, Vegetius (*Epitome Rei Militaris*), supplies a more elaborate account of the proceedings on a change of watch, though one in harmony with the earlier custom, and adds 'A tubicine omnes uigiliae committuntur et finitis horis a cornicine reuocantur'.

the trumpet blast given by the soldier on duty. E.g. Plummer, in his commentary on St Luke (4th ed. 1901), p. 505, states on verse 34 of chap. xxii that

'the third of the four Roman Watches was called ἀλεκτοροφωνία, *Gallicinium*. . . The expression here is equivalent to "Before the night is past".'

According to this interpretation the cock-crowing, considered as a token, seems to disappear. It is only a phrase or fashion of speech. But on p. 516, commenting on verse 60, he reverts to an actual crowing.

II.

St Mark, the earliest of the four, is the only Evangelist who speaks of *two* cock-crowings. Is he correct? And did our Lord give, as a token to St Peter, two cock-crowings or one?

The two later Synoptists, Matthew and Luke, as well as the writer of the Fourth Gospel, all posterior to Mark in point of time, desert him in this particular. Against accepting Mark's version there are the following considerations:—

1. The element of uncertainty in the text. Mk. xiv 68: 'And he went out into the porch; and the cock crew'. Here W. H., followed by Swete, omits *καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν*, with Codex Sinaiticus, C. Vaticanus, and some other MSS.

Swete also encloses in square brackets [*ἡ δὲ*] in Mk. xiv 30, as omitted by C. Sinaiticus, C. Bezae, &c., and adds in a footnote '*Δὲ* (cf. v. 72) is peculiar to Mark in the Canonical Gospels, but is supported by the Fayûm papyrus'.

Swete again in Mk. xiv 72 encloses *δὲ* in square brackets, and in a footnote states 'Mark, according to the best text (see v. 68 app. crit.), has not referred to an earlier cock-crowing'.

2. The refusal of Matthew and Luke, who had Mark before them, to follow him in this particular—for which it may be presumed they had adequate reason.

3. The especial claim of Luke to full and accurate knowledge.

4. The testimony of the Fourth Gospel, which, if written by the Apostle John, is the witness of one who was on the scenes at the time of the denial; and, if written by another John, shews the accepted tradition at the time of the composition of this Gospel.

5. When Mark inserts graphic or realistic details not mentioned elsewhere they are most acceptable. The case would be different when an occurrence affecting the whole *mise en scène* is introduced—such as the mention of two cock-crowings in the place of one; the latter statement marking a point of time, the former the speed with which one event followed another.

6. Our Lord's prediction, according to Mark, does not assert that a cock should crow *twice*; but before a second crowing succeeded a first (which would follow at a very short interval) three denials would take place. *Πρὶν ἢ δις ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ* (Mk. xiv 30).

7. The *ἐκ δευτέρου* in Mk. xiv 72 is the interpretation attached to *δὲ* by the source from which Mark received his information. 'And straightway, the second time the cock crew'. But if the *δὲ* is uncertain, the comment shares its fate.

8. The presence of *δὲ* in Mark's version of our Lord's prediction may

easily be accounted for on the score of its assonance with *τρίς*, for by this addition the sentence gains in forcefulness.

But the prediction in this form suggests the influence of a proverb to the effect that the event foretold will be followed by another, as closely as the successive crowings of a cock. It is no longer a distinct mark of the time of the event, but of the speed with which one denial followed another.

9. Two allusions are made in classical writers to a *second cock*, or to a cock crowing the *second* time (Juv. ix 106 and Aristoph. *Ecll.* 389-392), but in both cases the idea is the brief interval between the crowing of a cock and the response of his rival to the challenge, or between two consecutive crowings of the same bird. The references do not touch the question of a second burst of vocal energy after a considerable interval.

10. Travellers in the East have reported three outbursts of cock-crowing during the night—at 11.30 p.m., 1.30 a.m., and 3 a.m.

The first of these is put aside as being too early for the denial, and it is acknowledged that cock-crowing is heard all through the night; and Thompson remarks that 'it seems to be an objection to the sign given to Peter, that a thousand cocks in Jerusalem might crow at any hour' (*Land and The Book*). The uncertainty thus arising is sought to be countered by supposing that it was a cock in the High Priest's palace, or a bird belonging to a Roman soldier in the Antonia, that gave the token.

I submit, therefore, that the interpretation of the cock-crowing as the *Gallicinium* not only completely harmonizes with the accounts given in Matthew, Luke, and John, but also

1. Gives a clear and decisive mark of time, which is absent from the crowing of the living bird; and was a token easily to be recognized by St Peter when it came.

2. Obviates the difficulties occasioned by the *three* bursts of crowing during the night, and by the irregular crowings at other times.

3. Removes any objection to an actual cock-crowing in Jerusalem, arising from the presumed uncleanness of this dung-hill bird.

4. And agrees with a revised text of St Mark's narrative.

C. H. MAYO.

A HEBRAIC CONSTRUCTION IN THE APOCALYPSE.

DR CHARLES'S monumental commentary on the Apocalypse undoubtedly marks an epoch in the interpretation of that difficult book. Among other services which he has rendered to New Testament scholarship, not the least important is his cogent proof that the writer of the Apocalypse phrased his language on a Semitic model, and that his Greek can only be rightly understood by a Hebrew scholar. This fact is richly illustrated in many points of detail; and of these perhaps the most illuminating—from the point of view of accurate translation—is his discovery¹ that the idiomatic Hebrew construction, in which a participle is reinforced by a finite verb, is exactly reproduced in the Greek of the Apocalypse. Discussion of this point is to be found on p. cxlv of the Introduction, and again on p. 15 of the Commentary (note on i 5, 6). On p. cxlv he quotes Dr Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*², § 117 (by error reference is given to § 163)—'it is a common custom with Hebrew writers, after employing a participle or infinitive, to *change the construction*, and, if they wish to subjoin other verbs which logically should be in the partcp. or infin. as well, to pass to the use of the finite verb. Thus Gen. xxvii 33. וַיֵּבֶן יַעֲקֹב מִזְבֵּחַ וַיִּזְכֹּר אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים *ὁ θερεύσας θήραν καὶ εἰσενέγκας* (lit. *ὁ θερεύσας θήραν καὶ εἰσήνεγκε*).' After explaining the construction, Dr Driver gives classified instances; and these I here set forth in full, together with a literal translation which is intended to make the usage clear to N. T. scholars who are unacquainted with Hebrew.

(1) 'Wherever the participle . . . asserts something indefinite or undetermined—wherever, therefore, it may be resolved into *whoever, whenever, if ever, &c.* (ὅς ἄν, not ὅς, ἐπειδὴν not ἐπειδὴ, &c.)—we find the *perfect* with *consecutive* employed'.

Exod. xxi 12 מִכָּה אִישׁ וְמָת 'The smiter of a man (= Whosoever smites a man), and he dies'.

Exod. xxi 16 נָיִב אִישׁ וּמָכְרוֹ 'One stealing a man (= Whosoever steals a man), and sells him'.

¹ I say 'discovery' in view of Dr Charles's statement (p. 15) that in none of the cases in point has the construction been recognized as Hebraic by any commentator. In the present discussion I mention that I have noted the same construction in two passages in the Fourth Gospel, viz. i 32, v 44. Observation of the identity between the Greek and the Hebrew construction does not imply exceptional insight, but should leap at once to the eye of any N. T. student who is a Hebrew scholar. If, as seems to be the case, it has hitherto failed to be recorded, this is one point among many others serving to emphasize a fact which is too commonly overlooked, viz. the impossibility of doing justice to the N. T. without a first-hand linguistic knowledge of Semitic. It will be noticed that, in some of the passages in question, A. V. has instinctively rendered correctly, while R. V. has erroneously altered the rendering.

Num. xix 13 וְלֹא יִתְחַטֵּא בְּמַת . . . 'Every one touching a dead person . . . and does not purify himself'. LXX, following the Heb. construction, *pās ὁ ἀπτόμενος τοῦ τεθνηκότος . . . καὶ μὴ ἀφαγισθῇ*.

Jer. xxi 9 הַיּוֹצֵא וְנָפַל עַל-הַבַּשָּׂדִים 'The one going forth, and falls unto the Chaldeans'.

Jer. xxii 14 וְקָרַע לוֹ חַלּוֹנֵי 'The one saying (= Who says) . . . and cuts himself out windows'.

Exod. xxxiv 7 וְנָקָה לֹא יִנָּקָה 'Keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, &c., and by no means counts guiltless' (*sc.* the guilty). So LXX *καὶ δικαιοσύνην διατηρῶν καὶ ἔλεος εἰς χηλιάδας, ἀφαιρῶν ἀνομίας κτλ. καὶ οὐ καθαριεῖ τὸν ἔνοχον*.

Isa. v. 23 מַצְדִּיקֵי יִשְׁעַ עֶקֶב שֹׁחַד וְצִדְקַת צְדִיקִים יִסִּירוּ מִפָּנָיו 'Justifying the wicked for a bribe, and the righteousness of the righteous they take away from him' (= 'Who justify . . . and take away').

Isa. xlv 25, 26 מִפֶּר אֹתוֹת בָּדִים וְקִסְמִים יְהוֹלֵל מְשִׁיב חֲכָמִים אַחֲזֹר וְדַעְתָּם 'Frustrating the tokens of boasters, and diviners He makes mad; turning wise men backward, and their knowledge He makes foolish; confirming the word of His servant, and the counsel of His messengers He accomplishes' (= 'Who frustrates . . . and makes, &c.').

Ezek. xxii 3 וְעִשְׂתָּה גִלּוּלִים . . . עִיר שֹׁפֶכֶת דָּם 'A city shedding blood . . . and makes idols' (= 'that sheds . . . and makes').

Ezek. xxxiii 30 וְדַבְּרִיחַד אֶת-אַחֲרֵי וּ' 'The children of thy people—those speaking together of thee . . . and each speaks with another, &c.' (= 'who speak together, &c.').

Hab. ii 12 בָּנָה עִיר בְּדַמַּיִם וְכוֹנֵן קִרְיָה בְּעוֹלָה 'Building a city through bloodshed, and he founds a town through iniquity' (= 'Who builds . . . and founds').

Ps. xviii 34 מְשִׁנָּה רַגְלִי כַּאֲלֹת וְעַל בְּמַתִּי 'עֲמִידִנִּי 'Making my feet like the harts', and on my heights He sets me' (= 'Who makes . . . and sets').

Ps. xviii 35 מְלַמֵּד יָדִי לְמִלְחָמָה וְנִתְחַתָּה קֶשֶׁת נְחוּשָׁה וְרוּעַתִּי 'Teaching my hands for the battle, and my arms bend a bow of bronze' (= 'Who teaches . . . so that my arms bend, &c.').

(2) 'Where, on the contrary, the participle . . . asserts an actual concrete event, we find the following verbs connected with it by the *imperfect* and וְ'.

Gen. xxxv 3 לְאֵל הָעֲנָה אֹתִי בְיוֹם צָרָתִי וְיְהִי עִמָּדִי 'To the God—the one answering me in the day of my distress, and was with me' (= 'who answered . . . and was with me').

Gen. xlix 17 b הַנֹּשֵׁךְ עֶקְבִּי סוֹם וְיִפֹּל רֶכְבּוֹ אַחֲזֹר 'The one biting the

heels of a horse, and his rider fell backward' (= 'That bit . . . so that his rider fell'). LXX δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσεῖται ὁ ἵππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.

Num. xxii 11 'הָעָם הַיָּצֵא מִמִּצְרַיִם וְיָכֵס וְג' 'The people—the one coming forth from Egypt, and has covered the face of the land' (= 'that came forth . . . and has covered').

Isa. xiv 17 שָׁם תִּבְלַל בְּמִדְבָּר וְעָרָיו יִהְיֶה הָרָם 'Making (= Who made) the world like a wilderness, and overthrew its cities'. LXX ὁ θεὸς τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην ἔρημον, καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ καθεῖλεν.

Isa. xxx 2 שָׁאֵלוּ וְפִי לֹא שָׁאַלְוּ 'Those walking (= That walk) to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at My mouth'. LXX οἱ πορευόμενοι καταβῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐκ ἐπερώτησαν.

Isa. xliii 7 בְּרֵאשִׁי וְלִכְבוֹדִי בְּרֵאשִׁי 'Every one called by My name, and for My glory I have created him' (= 'who is called . . . and whom I have created').

Jer. xxiii 31 f וְיִסְפְּרוּ . . . נִבְאֵי חֲלָמוֹת שָׁקֶר . . . 'Those taking their tongues . . . and have said, He saith ; . . . prophesiers of dreams of falsehood . . . and have recounted them' (= 'Who have taken, &c.').

Amos v 7 הַפְּכִים לְלַעֲנָה מִשְׁפָּט וְצִדְקָה לְאַרְצָה הַנִּחָז 'Those turning (= who have turned) justice to wormwood, and have cast down righteousness to the earth'. LXX ὁ ποιῶν εἰς ὕψος κρίμα, καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἰς γῆν ἔθηκεν.

Amos v 12 עָרְרִי צִדִּיק לִקְחֵי כֶּסֶף וְאֶבְיוֹנִים בְּשַׁעַר הַטּוֹ 'Afflicting the just, taking a bribe, and the poor in the gate they have turned aside' (= 'That have afflicted, &c.').

Amos ix 6 הַבֹּנֶה בַּשָּׁמַיִם מַעְלוֹתָיו וְאֶנְדָּתוֹ עַל-אֶרֶץ יִסְדָּהּ הַקָּרָא לְמִי הֵם 'He building in heaven His upper chamber, and His vault upon earth He has founded it ; He calling to the waters of the sea, and has poured them, &c.' (= 'Who has built, &c.').

Prov. ii 17 הָעֹזֶבֶת אֶלֶף נְעוּרֶיהָ וְאֶת-בְּרִית אֱלֹהֶיהָ שָׁכַחָה 'She forsaking the companion of her youth, and the covenant of her god she has forgotten'.

! with the imperfect.

2 Sam. v 8. Text corrupt.

Dan. xii 12 אֲשֶׁרִי הִמְתַּכָּה וְיָנֵעַ וְג' 'Happy the waiting one (= he who waits) and attains, &c.'

Besides these cases, Dr Driver cites, in a small print 'Observation', a number of miscellaneous cases, viz. Amos vi 1 b, 3, v 8, 9, vi 6, viii 14, ix 5, 6, Isa. xxix 15, 21, lvii 3, Jer. xlviii 19.

In cases in which LXX copies the Heb. construction, the rendering has been given above. Normally the Greek either resolves the participle into the finite verb (e.g. Exod. xxi 12 Ἐὰν δὲ πατάξῃ τις τινα καὶ ἀποθάνῃ), or the following finite verb into a participle (e.g. Isa. v 23 οἱ δικαιοῦντες . . . καὶ . . . αἰρונτες). It is not likely, therefore, that occurrences of the construction in the Apocalypse are due to LXX influence.

Such occurrences, collected by Dr Charles, are as follows:—

Apoc. i 5 τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς, 'Unto Him that loveth us . . . and hath made us'. A. V. renders the sequence correctly. R. V. 'Unto him that loveth us . . . ; and He made us'—incorrect.

Apoc. ii 2 τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ. A. V. correctly 'and are not'. R. V. 'and they are not', with redundant 'they'.

Apoc. ii 9 τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν.

Apoc. ii 20 ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφήτιν, καὶ διδάσκει, 'That saith . . . and teacheth'. R. V. 'and she teacheth', after semi-colon—incorrect.

Apoc. ii 23 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐρευνῶν . . . καὶ δώσω 'I am He that searcheth . . . and will give' (or—if καὶ δώσω represents the translation of a perfect with 1 consecutive in a frequentative sense—'and giveth').

Apoc. iii 9 = ii 9.

Rev. vii 14 οἱ ἐξερχόμενοι . . . καὶ ἔπλυναν, 'that came out . . . and have washed' (so A. V.). R. V. 'and they washed'—incorrect.

Rev. xiv 2, 3 ὡς κιθαρωδῶν κιθαρίζόντων . . . καὶ ᾄδουσιν, 'As of harpers harping . . . and singing'. A. V. 'and they sung'. R. V. 'and they sing'—wrong.

Rev. xv 2, 3 ἐστῶτας . . . ἔχοντας . . . καὶ ᾄδουσι, 'standing . . . having harps . . . and singing'. A. V., R. V. 'And they sing' (after full stop)—wrong.

To these Dr Charles might have added Apoc. xiii 11 ἄλλο θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον . . . καὶ εἶχε, 'another beast coming up . . . and having', &c.

I happen lately to have been working at the language of the Fourth Gospel, and have independently, and before seeing Dr Charles's work, noted the same construction in two passages, viz. i 32 Τεθέαμαι τὸ Πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον . . . καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν 'I saw the Spirit descending . . . and abiding upon Him' (not, as in R. V., after semi-colon, 'and it abode upon Him'); v 44 λαμβάνοντες . . . καὶ οὐ ζητεῖτε 'receiving . . . and not seeking.'

There are, however, two other passages in the Apocalypse which Dr Charles seeks to bring under the same construction, viz. i 18 καὶ ὁ ζῶν, καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός, and xx 4, where, rejecting οὔτινες before οὐ προσεκύνησαν as an editorial gloss, he would make the sequence to be

τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον. It is in order to show how contrary this explanation is, in each case, to the genius of Hebrew thought that I have given a full survey of the O. T. illustrations of the construction.

It will be noticed that, in all the instances cited by Dr Driver (with possibly one exception) the finite verb expresses *the proper sequence of the action denoted by the participle*. This may be actually a sequence in time, so that the *ו* connecting the finite verb with its antecedent expresses the sense '*and then*', or, as introducing the direct result, '*and so*'; or, a sequence in description in which, though the fact described may properly speaking be coeval with its antecedent, it follows naturally in the gradual unfolding of the picture (this is especially frequent in description of types of character). We do *not* find cases in which the sequence describes an event *actually prior in time to its antecedent*. For these quite a different construction would be employed. Such, however, are the two cases which Dr Charles would bring under the same head as the passages already noticed.

His principal discussion of i 18 occurs in the note on i 5 (p. 15) already referred to, where he marshals the legitimate illustrations of the Hebrew construction under discussion. His words are, 'In i 18 the failure to recognize this idiom has led most scholars to mispunctuate the text, and the rest, like Wellhausen and Haussleiter, to excise *ὁ ζῶν*. The *ἐγὼ εἶμι . . . ὁ ζῶν* is to be taken closely with *καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός* (cf. Amos vi 3 for this Hebrew construction) = "I am . . . He that liveth and was dead." Hence the first two lines =

אֲנִי הָרִאשׁוֹן וְהָאַחֲרֹן
וְהָיִיתִי וְנָאֲהִי מֵת¹

Thus, with inclusion of the preceding *Μὴ φοβοῦ* the words, on Dr Charles's theory, form a couplet, which is rendered in vol. ii p. 388,

'Fear not; I am the first and the last;
And he that liveth, and was dead.'

It may be maintained with the greatest emphasis that, supposing the existence of a Hebrew sentence *אֲנִי . . . הָיִיתִי וְנָאֲהִי מֵת*, in which *וְנָאֲהִי מֵת* was intended to stand in close relation to its antecedent, Dr Charles's rendering would be quite out of the question. The only possible sense which we could attach to such a sentence would be, 'I am he that lived and (subsequently) became dead.' The imperfect with *ו* consecutive *וְנָאֲהִי* necessarily describes our event *taking its start out of the circumstances previously described*. This is so elementary a fact of Hebrew syntax

¹ *וְנָאֲהִי* is obviously a mispunctuation for *וְהָיִיתִי*, since Dr Charles's theory of connexion with what follows precludes a pausal form.

that it requires no argument to prove it. The construction with 1 *consecutive* can never describe an event *anterior in time* to its antecedent. It will suffice to recall the fact that when, in a description of past history written with a succession of imperfects with 1 *consecutive*, the writer wishes to introduce such an anterior event (a pluperfect), he invariably breaks the consecutive construction by introducing the subject *between* the 1 and the verb, the verb thus lapsing into the perfect (cf. Dr Driver's long discussion in *Tenses*, § 96 *Obs.*). Had the writer wished to convey the sense desiderated by Dr Charles in the Hebrew construction under discussion, ch. ii 8 suggests the way in which he would have phrased it. He would surely have written וַיָּחִי . . . הָיָתָה וַיָּמָת 'ἐγώ εἰμι . . . ὁ ἀποθανὼν καὶ ἔζησα, 'I am He that died and then lived.' Thus we seem bound to acquiesce in the punctuation and rendering of R. V., 'Fear not; I am the first and the last, and the living one; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore.'

On the same grounds, xx 4, which, by Dr Charles's omission of οἷτινες, would run τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον, could only, if considered as a Hebrew sentence, be naturally interpreted, 'the souls of those that had been beheaded, and so had not worshipped the beast'; for in καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησαν = וְלֹא הִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ, though the use of 1 *consecutive* is precluded by the insertion of the negative, the natural sequence remains unaffected. In order to express the sense intended, viz. that they had not worshipped the beast prior to their beheading, and that their refusal to do so led to their execution, it would be necessary in Hebrew to employ a *circumstantial clause*, thus breaking the sequence—וְהָיָה לֹא הִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ 'and they had not worshipped' (= 'they not having worshipped, &c.'), or to make the clause relational וַאֲשֶׁר לֹא הִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ. It is this latter alternative which is adopted by the writer: καὶ οἷτινες οὐ προσεκύνησαν. Thus the use of οἷτινες, so far from being 'an addition by John's literary executor in order to make the sentence better Greek', is indispensable upon the assumption that the writer was framing his language on a Hebrew model.¹

C. F. BURNEY.

¹ In discussion of Dr Driver's instances of the Hebrew construction, I have mentioned one possible exception to the rule that the finite verb following the participle expresses its proper sequence. This is Isa. xxx 2 הַהֹלְכִים לְרֹדֶת מִצְרַיִם 'That walk (or, are going) to go down to Egypt, and have not asked at My mouth'. Here the 'asking', had it occurred, would naturally precede the embassy. It will be noticed, however, that the sentence is intentionally phrased, as a circumstantial clause by inversion of the natural order of sequence, וְלֹא שְׁאַלוּ פִּי 'and at My mouth they have not asked' = 'without having asked, &c.'

THE 'SONG OF LIGHT'.

THE 'Song of Light' is a Syriac hymn used by all East Syrian Christians on Sunday mornings, and also by the Maronites. The special point of interest about it is its authorship, whether it is by St Ephraim or by Theodore of Mopsuestia.

The first strophe of this hymn runs as follows¹:—

Light that hath shone forth to the righteous : and gladness to them that are true of heart.²

ⲁ. Jesus our Lord the Messiah : hath shone forth for us from the bosom of his Father : he hath come and taken us out of darkness : and hath enlightened us with his glorious light.

ⲕ. The day hath shone forth on the sons of men : and the power of darkness hath fled : a light hath shone forth to us from his light : and hath enlightened our darkened eyes.

ⲉ. His glory he hath caused to shine forth in the world : and hath enlightened the lowest abysses : death is extinguished and darkness hath fled : and the doors of Sheol are broken.

ⲁ. And he hath enlightened all creatures : who of old were darkened : and the dead who lay in the dust arose : and gave glory that salvation had come to them.

ⲁ. He effected salvation and gave us life : and was exalted to his Father on high : and again he cometh in his great glory : and enlighteneth the eyes of all who have waited for him.

There is a second strophe, each stanza beginning with the letters of *M sh ī kh ā* (i. e. 'Christ'), just as each stanza of the first strophe began with *I' sh ō'* (i. e. 'Jesus', but in an abnormal spelling). The Syriac is unmetrical.

It will be seen that the hymn is as innocuous of any particular heresy as C. Wesley's 'Christ, whose glory fills the skies', and therefore can hardly be fixed in authorship or date on that head. The second strophe is of similar character. The only Biblical allusion is that to the 'doors of Sheol', where the hymn has ܕܐܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ in substantial agreement with the Peshitta and the Curetonian, both of which have ܕܥܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ in Matt. xvi 18.³ Ephraim, on the other hand, has more than

¹ I give with a few changes Bp M^cLean's translation in *Rituale Armenorum* 382.

² Psalm xcvi (xcvi) 11, as in the Peshitta. The intrusive relative pronoun is omitted in B.M. Add. 17219, in *CUL* 1966, and the Chaldee Breviary.

³ The Sinai Palimpsest has here lost a leaf. It should be noted that the two oldest MSS of the Peshitta (Gwilliam's 15 and 18) also have ܕܡܝܬܐ.

once *ḡawr mēḡawr* 'the gate-bars of Sheol', a phrase which may be conjectured to have stood in the Diatessaron (*Overbeck* 352, *Lamy* iv 673, 687). Had the 'Song of Light' been written by St Ephraim we should therefore have expected 'gate-bars' rather than 'doors'.

The conclusions to be gathered from the external form are less clear. The hymn is unmetrical, as unmetrical as the Psalms of David, which in the case of a Syriac hymn usually is a sign that it is a translation from the Greek. On the other hand it is called an acrostic, which makes a translation unlikely. This is the reason, and it is the only reason, advanced by Bickell (*Conspectus* p. 94) and by Sachau (*Theod. Mops.* p. iv) against Theodore's authorship.¹ But was the hymn originally acrostic? As sung to-day by the East Syrians the ten stanzas begin with *ḡawr mēḡawr*, but 'Jesus' is never spelt *ḡawr* in any language. Moreover, as printed in the Roman ed. of Ephraim (ii 330) from a Maronite source (which I have failed to find in print) it is not acrostic at all, the stanzas being otherwise divided and several words different, while the whole hymn (after the Psalm-verse) begins with *Māran Jeshu'*, not *Jeshu' Māran*.² The obvious deduction is that the East Syrian acrostic form is a later rearrangement, and the argument that the 'Song of Light' must be a Syriac original because it is an acrostic falls to the ground.

Turning now to the question of authorship, the present-day East Syrians and the Maronites (according to J. S. Assemani) ascribe the 'Song of Light' to St Ephraim. This is supported by the following Psalters:—

B.M. Add.	7156	sacc.	xvii	³
B. Nat.	24	,,	xvii	
Camb. U.L.	1966	,,	xix	
	2036	,,	xviii	
	2037	,,	xix.	

On the other hand it is ascribed to Theodore of Mopsuestia in

B.M. Add.	14675	sacc.	xiii	
	14677	,,	xiii	
	17219	,,	xiii.	

These tables alone would create a strong presumption that the 'Song' is really by Theodore, which is not at all removed by the fact

¹ Dr Swete *DCB* iv 943 accepts their authority.

² Through the kindness of my friend Dom R. Bede Camm I have heard from the Maronite Patriarchate at Alexandria that the Maronites do use the Song of Light 'dans leur office du matin'; that it begins *ḡawr mēḡawr*, i.e. as printed in the Roman ed. of Ephraim; and further that they do not recognize it as an acrostic.

³ This MS describes another hymn of Theodore's (viz. his adaptation of the *Gloria in excelsis*) as being by 'Saint So-and-so, the Interpreter'.

that it has been printed as Ephraim's in the Roman edition (*Opp. Syr.-Lat.* ii 320). There it has been simply taken out of some Maronite Office-Book, for it is not in *Cod. Vat. Syr.* cxi (A.D. 522), from which the three preceding hymns in five-syllable metre were taken.¹ But this is not all. J. S. Assemani (*B. O.* i p. 60) tells us that the Jacobites also regarded Theodore as the author of the 'Song of Light', and for that reason reproached the Maronites for singing it instead of 'The Heavens are telling'. The Jacobites said: 'Theodore, Nestorius's sister's son,² whose Hymn to-day the Maronites sing in their services, beginning "Light that hath shone forth", and they have abolished the proper Hymn, which is "The Heavens are telling".' And similarly a marginal note in B.M. Add. 14675 has been added opposite the hymn: 'Beware of what comes from Nestorians, lest we make some one err thereby in word' (Wright *C B M* i 130). It is surely clear from all this that the ascription of the *Song of Light* to 'Mar Ephraim the Doctor' is nothing more than a late mediaeval attempt to clear a popular and inoffensive hymn from heretical ancestry. So far as I can see, there is no evidence that any one in East or West ascribed the hymn to Ephraim before the fifteenth century.

What part Theodore of Mopsuestia had in it is naturally more doubtful. It may have been ascribed to him by the Nestorians merely because it was not metrical. But he may have composed a hymn of two strophes which was translated into Syriac, a later revision of which was made into an imperfect acrostic in the East, while in the West it retained its non-acrostic form. At least those who deny it to be Theodore's and a translation or adaptation from a Greek original should take account of the fact that the recension known to and used by the Maronites is not an acrostic at all.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ The three hymns are printed as one 'Sermo Exegeticus', vol. ii pp. 327-329. In my list of the sources of the Roman ed. of Ephraim (*St Ephraim's Quotations* pp. 6, 7) a separate entry should have been given for the Song of Light on p. 6, v 330 A, and on p. 7 there should be the reference '*B. O.* vol. i p. 60 (*Maronite Breviary*)'.

² There is, of course, no historical foundation for this!

ON *CELTIS* 'A CHISEL': A FURTHER NOTE.

IN the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES for July 1916 (vol. xvii pp. 389-397) I examined at length the then available evidence for the Latin Vulgate text of Job xix 24, and shewed that both in the Bible text and in the Liturgical Service called *Dirige* all the evidence down to the end of the twelfth century supports *uel certe*, the earliest witness to *uel celte* (the reading of the Clementine printed Vulgate) being Cardinal Hugo de Sancto Charo, who died in 1263.

There was, however, one gap in my attestation, to fill up which is the main object of this Note. St Jerome himself quoted Job xix 23 ff from his own new rendering of the Hebrew in his work against John of Jerusalem (Migne *P. L.* xxiii 381 C). Here Vallarsi prints *uel celte*, and his note seems to say that neither of his MSS has anything else. The only MS I had access to in 1916 (*CUL* Dd vii 2, fifteenth century) read *uel celte* also.

I have now been able to fill up this omission. MSS of this little-read tract of Jerome are not common, though the work exists in two forms, viz. the full text found in printed editions, beginning *Si iuxta*, and an epitome beginning *De reliquiis quae ad fidem pertinent* (see Migne, col. 367, l. 11). Codex 445 (formerly 416) in the Cambrai Library, of the twelfth century, contains the full text (*C*), and codex 281 in the Tours Library (*T*), of the tenth century, contains the Epitome. Both *C* and *T* read *uel certe*, though in other respects they differ considerably, as will be seen below. There can be therefore no doubt that *uel certe* is the true reading in this passage of the *aduersus Ioh. Hierosolymitanum* and that the presence of *uel celte* in the printed text and in the fifteenth-century Cambridge MS is only due to the tendencies of late mediaeval copyists.

Job xix 23-25^a according to the Clementine Vulgate, with the variants of Cod. Amiatinus (*Am*), together with the quotation of Jerome *adu. Ioh. Hierosolymitanum* from the Cambrai MS 445, fol. 158 v, col 2 (*C*), the Tours MS 281, fol. 108 v (*T*), and the printed text (Migne).

23 Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei? Quis mihi det ut exarentur in libro 24 stylo ferreo et plumbi lamina uel celte sculpantur in silice? 25 Scio enim quod Redemptor meus uiuit . . .

23 michi *C* tribuat] det inquit *C Migne*, tribuit *T (sic)* quis mihi det ut exarentur] *om. T* 24 stilo *C T* et] uel *C* lamina] lamina *Am*, lamina *T* celte] certe *Am C T* 25 meus] *om. T** uiuit] uiuat *Am T*.

Since my former article was published Mr E. J. Thomas, in a note upon *cellis* (Proc. of Camb. Phil. Soc., January 24, 1918), has pointed out that Albertus Magnus read *uel celte*, for he says 'Celte nomen indeclinabile est et est instrumentum cementarii quo durissimi sculpantur lapides'.¹ Albertus died at Cologne in 1280, so that he is as early a witness for *uel celte* in Job as Cardinal Hugo. Mr Thomas also

¹ Albertus Magnus *Comm. in Iob* (ed. M. Weiss, 1904) p. 234.

pointed out that the word was in use in Cologne in Albert's day, but in the sense of chip or bit of stone, for a noble proprietor from the Drachenfels in giving the authorities of Cologne Cathedral certain powers over his quarries specifies *celtes seu fracmina lapidum* (A.D. 1267).¹ Mr Thomas further compares this with the Welsh *maen cellt*, 'a flint stone', but the familiar Office for the Dead, in which *celte* had definitely ensconced itself by the end of the thirteenth century, seems to me a more likely source for the supposed meaning. I cannot think that any evidence from the thirteenth century can invalidate the unanimous testimony of all the earlier witnesses to *uel certe* in Job xix 24, especially now that it is found that the earlier MSS of the tract against John of Jerusalem read *uel certe* also.

As a bibliographical curiosity it may be mentioned that the famous 42-line Bible, printed at Mainz before 1455 and commonly believed to be the first printed book, reads *uel certe*.

F. C. BURKITT.

PSALM XXXII 3.

כִּי הִחַרְשֵׁתִי בְּלִי עֲצָמִי
בְּשֹׁאנָתִי כָּל-הַיּוֹם

'When I kept silence, my bones wasted away
Through my groaning all the day long.' (R.V.)

FILLED with the pleasure and profit of reading this Psalm as a whole, one is apt to overlook a serious difficulty in this verse, as received, arising from the inconsistency between one part and the other; for, how is it possible to keep silence and yet be continually groaning? All versions substantially agree in their respective renderings; even the venerable Septuagint attests the inconsistency as existent in the Hebrew when this translation was made. But what solution can be discovered now? Our only hope seems derivable from careful examination and emendation of the Masoretic Text itself. For want of anything better the following course is suggested.

Let the first part of the verse remain as it has been received, but recast the remainder by substituting resemblants, thus:—

כִּי שֹׁאנָתִי בְּלִי חַיִּים

What are the results of such a change? Briefly these:—

First, inconsistency in meaning between one part of the verse and the remainder completely disappears.

¹ Lacombet *Urkundenbuch f. d. Gesch. des Niederrheins* ii 331. On p. 382 the Drachenfels Baron's successor in 1319 gives a similar privilege and speaks of *celtes seu alia fragmenta*.

Second, there emerges a simple and beautiful parallelism, in which both lines, each now composed of four words, begin with the same term יָד, followed by closely resemblant verb-forms. Moreover, the second line exhibits an advance, or intensification of idea, beyond what is stated in the first; for this tells of evil effects merely on the bones, while the other tells that life itself became seriously affected.

The following may now be accepted as a fair rendering of the amended text:—

When I kept silence, my bones were wasting away;

When I groaned, life [itself] was ebbing away.¹

A third advantage of some such change comes into view when advance is made to the next verse: there, the Note-line—or two such lines, as given in some MSS and printed editions—attests the difficulty felt by the old-time scribe in finding mention made only of ‘day’ in verse 3, but ‘day and night’ in verse 4: the difficulty, however, disappears with the disappearance of ‘day’ from the former verse, where, as we now see, the difficulty really lay, and still lies for many.

JAMES KENNEDY.

THE MEANING OF קָנָה AND קָנָה IN HEBREW.

THE word קָנָה is conventionally rendered *pelican* (*B. D. B.* 866 β: ‘a bird, usu. *pelican*; . . . but sea-fowl improb. in ψ, Isa.’). In Lev. xi 18 (= Deut. xiv 17) the קָנָה is mentioned among unclean birds,² in Isa. xxxiv 11, Zeph. ii 14 as inhabiting ruins, and in Ps. cii 7 as an example of loneliness. But none of these characteristics belongs to the pelican, which feeds on live fish and cannot therefore be called unclean, and inhabits marshes, building its nest in high trees. It has, however, occurred to me that קָנָה means *jackdaw* and that it is a participial formation from an onomatopoeic root no longer extant in Hebrew, [קָנָה *cawed*], which may be assumed from Arabic, where it survives only in a reduplicated form, قَاوَا *cawed*.³ This is further supported by the

¹ On the construction of the last two words in Hebrew cf. Ps. xxxi 11.

² The derivation of the word from קָנָה as ‘throwing up food from its crop for its young’ is purely fanciful; while the legend that it feeds them on its own blood is based on the misunderstanding of a peculiarity proper only to the flamingo, of which the earliest known mention does not occur until Ephr. ii 346 E-347 A.

³ See Salmoné *Arab. Dict.* 736 b; Freytag (*Lex. Arab.-Lat.* ii 387 b) cites only the noun قَاوَا, *cawing*. As the Arab. عَزَعَ, *agitated* is formed by reduplication from عَزَعَ, *impelled*, and corresponds to the Hebr. עָזַז, so the Arab. قَاوَا, of which the simple form does not occur, would correspond to a root קָנָה in Hebrew.

Syriac and Arabic versions; for the former renders קִפֹּר by مُفَل, which is clearly identical with the Arab. قَانِي *rook, crow, jackdaw*,¹ and the latter by قَتِي, a variant form of قَانِي.² Further, the jackdaw is abundant in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, which is not the case with the pelican; and it feeds not only on worms and insects, but also on all kinds of refuse, including carrion, for which reason it might have been included among the unclean birds, while ruins are its favourite nesting-places.³

The second word קִפֹּר is rendered by the R. V. *porcupine*, a meaning supposed to be derived from קִפֹּר *gathered together, rolled up* (*B. D. B.*, 891 a). But this is inadmissible in view of Zeph. ii 14: *the jackdaws and porcupines shall lodge in the chapters thereof: their voice shall sing in the windows*, the latter part of which makes it impossible to suppose that broken columns lying on the ground are meant. Some bird seems, therefore, to be required, and this can be found in the Syriac, where the names of two creatures are derived from the root مَفַج Ethp^c., *bristled, wrinkled; was bunched up*: (i) مَفַج hedgehog, the animal which rolls itself up; (ii) مَفַج night-owl, the bird which looks bunched up.⁴ It is, therefore, not improbable that the one word קִפֹּר corresponded to both מَفַج and مَفַج and that the earliest translators, overlooking the twofold meaning, translated it *porcupine* when it should have been rendered *night-owl*,⁵ which it seems always to have signified in Biblical Hebrew.⁶

In Isa. xxxiv 11, also, the symmetry of the verse requires 'jackdaw: night-owl :: owl: raven'; instead of 'pelican: porcupine :: owl: raven'; and this is obtained by reading: *But the jackdaw and the night-owl shall possess it; and the owl and the raven shall dwell therein.*

¹ The Syriac lexicographer, Elias Bar Sinaeus, indeed identifies the Syr. مُفَل with the Arab. عَقَقِي (Payne-Smith *Thes. Syr.* ii 3708 b-3709 a), a variant of قَقَق, *magpie* (Dozy *Suppl.* ii 153 a and ii 382 b), a bird of the same family as the jackdaw.

² Dozy *Suppl.* ii 420 a.

³ For the habits of the jackdaw, at least in England, see A. G. Butler *British Birds* ii pp. 153-155.

⁴ Brockelmann *Lex. Syr.* 331. a, b. Compare with this the Arabic root قَفَد *was thick-necked*, a peculiarity which is characteristic of the owl as distinct from all other birds (Salmoné *Arab. Dict.* 800 a).

⁵ In Isa. xxxiv 11 the Pesh. has مَفַج, which I take to be a similar error on the part of the translator for مَفַج.

⁶ The introduction of the owl as a symbol of ruin and desolation should be compared with the Arabic periphrasis طير الموت *bird of death for owl*.

G. R. DRIVER.

REVIEWS

THE APOCALYPSE.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St John, with introduction, notes, and indices, also the Greek text and English translation. By R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D., Archdeacon of Westminster, Fellow of the British Academy. (International Critical Commentary. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1920: in 2 vols. vol. i pp. cxii + 373, vol. ii pp. 457 + indices pp. 459-497: price 40s.)

THE mere statement just given of the number of pages contained in these volumes suffices to shew that here the Apocalypse has met with more detailed treatment than in any English work (or, so far as I know, any continental one) published in our time. And, indeed, as Dr Charles tells us, we have here the result of a study extending over twenty-five years. It is hardly necessary to remind readers of this JOURNAL of all the mass of work connected with Apocalyptic literature which Dr Charles has put out. We owe to him the most usable editions we have of most of the great Jewish Apocalypses, not to mention other *pseudepigrapha*; and now we have his presentation of the great Christian Apocalypse.

How does he arrange his work? A brief conspectus of the contents will be in place here.

In a *Short Account of the Seer and his Work*, to which we shall return, Dr Charles defines his attitude on the principal points, and then gives an analysis of the plan of the Apocalypse. We then have two sections on the *Authorship of the Johannine Writings*, in which the evidence, internal and external, is examined. The existence and character of an *Editor of the Apocalypse* are then postulated and described. The *Depravation of the Text* is set forth, and next, the *Greek and Hebrew Sources* employed by the writer, and his obligations to the *Books of the O. T.*, *Pseudepigrapha*, and *N. T.* expounded. The next sections deal with the *Unity, Date, Circulation, and Reception*, followed by a description of the *Object of the Seer* and some of his *Doctrines*. A detailed *Grammar of the Apocalypse* occupies pp. cxvii-clix, an estimate of the values of the various authorities for the text fills twenty pages: lastly we have a statement of the *Methods of Interpretation*, and a *Bibliography*. The Commentary proper extends to p. 226 of the second volume: on pp. 227-385 is the Greek text with *apparatus criticus*: on pp. 386-446 an English translation, with copious footnotes calling attention to the innovations. Some Additional Notes intervene between this and the indexes.

It will be convenient to state at the outset some of the positions adopted by Dr Charles. The Apocalypse is the work of John the Seer, a Palestinian Jew, who late in life emigrated to Asia Minor. The Gospel and Epistles are the work of another, who was probably John the Elder. John the Apostle was martyred by the Jews before A. D. 70. (Thus three Johns, not two, as has been commonly the fashion, are postulated.) That the Elder and the Seer 'belonged to the same religious circle, or that the author of the Gospel was a pupil of the Seer, is not improbable'.

The *Date* of the Apocalypse is about A. D. 95. In it the Seer used not only his own visions of various dates, but also Jewish and Christian sources of Neronian and Vespasianic dates. These various *sources* are dealt with at p. lxxxix. The author had written his Epistles to the Seven Churches under Vespasian: and in iv 1-8 he re-edits a vision of his own. Traditional material is used in vii 1-8: in xi 1-13 two sources written before A. D. 70 are employed: xii is a combination of two sources (written in Greek) re-edited: with xvii-xviii the case is the same.

The text as we have it has suffered from interpolation and in other ways. The interpolations amount to upwards of 22 verses, a complete list of which is given at p. lvii. The most considerable in bulk are i 8 (I am Alpha and Omega, &c.), viii 7-12 (the first four Trumpets), xiv 3-4 (These are they that were redeemed, &c.), xiv 15-17 (the harvest of the earth). Others are brief but important, e. g. iv 5 (which are the seven spirits of God), vi 8 (and Hell followed after him), xv 3 (the song of Moses), xvi 13 (evil spirits *like frogs*), &c., &c. For the moment I exclude xx 4-xxii from consideration.

There are also dislocations in i-xx 3, of which one seems deliberate, viz. viii 2 (connected with the interpolated four Trumpets: it should follow viii 5). The verses xiv 12, 13 (Blessed are the dead) are to follow xiii 18 (number of the Beast): xvi 5, 6 (words of the angel over the waters) follow xix 4; the angel of the waters is interpolated: xvi 15 (Behold I come as a thief) follows iii 3 (in the letter to Sardis): xviii 14-23 are wholly rearranged.

Further, there are lacunae. Several clauses are gone after xvi 10 (fifth vial: between 'his kingdom was darkened' and 'they gnawed their tongues for pain'). After xix 9 a not only is there an interpolation or dittograph of the angel forbidding the Seer to worship him, but an account of the destruction of the Parthian kings is lost: for (among other considerations) in xix 13 the Word has His vesture dipped in blood. In xviii 22 the words 'shall be heard no more in thee' should follow the mention of the pipers and singers as well as that of the flute-players and trumpeters, to make the series of parallels complete. In

xxi 22 we should read 'And the Lamb (is) the ark of the covenant thereof'.

For most of these depravations an editor is responsible. 'John died when he had completed i-xx 3 of his work, and the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right' (p. 1). Of this editor's shortcomings Dr Charles has much to say. Of the end of the book (xx 4-xxii) he has made a complete chaos. In the earlier portions we detect him by his deviations from the style and grammatical habits of the Seer. Thus he writes (xxi 5) ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου: whereas John would have written ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον: for where the participle καθήμενος is in the nominative or accusative, ἐπί, following it, takes the accusative: while καθιμένου would be followed by ἐπὶ τοῦ and καθιμένῳ by ἐπὶ τῷ. Again, in i 8 the editor has separated ὁ θεός from ὁ παντοκράτωρ by eight words, not understanding that the phrase is a stock rendering of 'God of Hosts' and therefore indivisible. Worse: in xiv 3, 4 he makes the 144,000 into celibates, and shews himself a narrow ascetic. In xiv 14-20 he has divided the Messianic judgement into two parts (harvest and vintage of the earth) and has assigned the first to the Son of Man, and the second and greater part to an angel. This 'betrays a depth of stupidity all but incomprehensible'. The prohibition to take from or add to the Book (xxii 18, 19) is also his, and much strong language characterizes it.

From the way in which I have recorded some of these matters, the reader will suspect that I am not in agreement with Dr Charles's view. That is no more than the truth. In spite of the very great care which he has devoted to the study of the grammar of the Apocalypse, I am not convinced that he is justified in setting aside this or that clause as not written by the hand of John. I do not trust the negative results of the examination of style as I must and do trust the positive: especially in a case like this, where it is admitted that the style is unique. Unique, but quite regular in its abnormalities, Dr Charles contends. There is the rub. In xvi 13 John ought to have written πνεύματα ὡς βάραχοι: the text gives ὡς βατράχους: ergo it is not John's. Thrice John speaks of lightnings and voices and thunderings in that order: in viii 5 we have thunderings and voices and lightnings: this, therefore, is the editor's work. To me it is not possible to be so certain.¹ And when

¹ I think Dr Charles may fairly be quoted against himself. In the commentary on xii (i 303) we read 'the evidence is distinctly against the hypothesis that we have here a recast of existing Greek sources from another hand or hands', for there is an 'overwhelming agreement in point of idiom and diction of this chapter with the style of our author'. But on p. lxiii 'our author most probably found these sources already in a Greek form, and the conclusion recorded in i 303 is here withdrawn'.

we are dealing with a book of the character of the Apocalypse I feel that abruptnesses and apparent interruptions of the sequence are to be looked for, and that to transplant the sayings 'Behold I come as a thief' and 'Blessed are the dead' may be to shew a very wooden—even a Prussian—view of what the Seer ought to have written. With somewhat similar eyes I view the excision of the first four Trumpets (viii 7-12). They 'are not original, but a subsequent addition, and deal only with cosmic phenomena; whereas the sealing in vii 4-8 prepares the reader to expect not cosmic but demonic Woes. The last three Trumpets are the three Woes announced by the Eagle (viii 13)'. Is there not a possibility that the first four Trumpets are actually indicated in vii 2, in the four Angels to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea? We should then have an arrangement corresponding to that of the Seals, in which the first four, the Riders, are marked off from the rest. I think something might be made of this view, which is not noticed by Dr Charles. It is not contended that viii 7-12 differ widely from their context in style: they are said to be 'somewhat different', but a foot-note points out affinities.

It is in the concluding section of the book, xx 4-22, that, as has been said, the 'Editor' is seen at his worst. Nothing but a drastic process of rearrangement and excision can restore consistency to the successive visions. The resultant order, apart from minutiae, is this:

- xx 1-3 Satan is chained for 1,000 years.
- xxi 9-xxii 2, 14-15, 17 The Heavenly Jerusalem the seat of Christ and the glorified martyrs, and the centre of evangelization of the nations for 1,000 years.
- xx 4-6 Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ.
- xx 7-10 Satan is loosed, the Holy City attacked, the foe defeated.
- xx 11-15 The final judgement.
- xxi 1-5 (rearranged), xxii 3-5 The new heaven and earth. The New Jerusalem which is to be everlasting.
- xxi 5-8 Words of God.
- xxii 6-7 (and other verses) Words of Christ to the Seer.
- xxii 8-9, 20 John's testimony.
- xxii 21 Final benediction.

Consistency is attained by this rearrangement, and one of Dr Charles's principal theses is that we must postulate consistency of thought and and a regular sequence of ideas in this book. Again I must say, there is the rub. The Apocalypse of John is a unique book: I cannot judge it by the standard of 4 *Esdras* or 2 *Baruch*, writers who (I believe in spite of all dissection-theories) carry out their plans from start to finish with comparative calmness and self-restraint. I can well believe that

John, as he approached the great *dénouement* of human history, would find it impossible to bind the mighty conceptions that possessed him into a frame. Every one must recognize that there are abrupt transitions, conflicting conceptions, if you will, in these chapters. Broken up into sections with intervening asterisks instead of standing in an orderly row of verses, they might give a truer idea of their condition. Such a device would, I believe, be more faithful to the spirit of the book than are the neatness and symmetry which result from rearranging the lines and purging away elements which cannot readily be fitted into the scheme we have laid down. Probably Dr Charles has made as good a case for rearrangement as can be made; but even so he does not avoid all awkwardnesses. 'The Seer does not say what became of the (first) Heavenly Jerusalem, but its withdrawal from the earth before the final judgement is presupposed', and of the second and eternal New Jerusalem very little is said.

One of the startling changes of text in these chapters is in xx 13: instead of the sea giving up its dead we read 'the treasures (of departed souls) gave up the dead which were in them'. Another is that xxii 11 (ὁ ἀδικῶν ἀδικεῖτω ἔτι κτλ.) disappears, adjudged to be an interpolation.

As to the general plan of the Apocalypse, set out in full on pp. xxv-xxviii, two points emerge. First, while Dr Charles postulates a regular progress in the visions, and dismisses all theories of recapitulation, he finds room for three proleptic sections, (1) the vision of vii 9-17, subsequent in point of time to the visions in xiii; (2) x-xi 13 Antichrist in Jerusalem, contemporaneous with 13; (3) 14, visions of the Church triumphant on earth, and of the judgement of Rome and the nations, which summarize the matter of xviii-xx. The other point is of a different kind. The Seer in xiii and elsewhere anticipates that *all* the faithful will be martyred by Antichrist. This, to my mind a very debateable view, is naturally of great importance. Its acceptance implies the acceptance of the rearrangement of the last chapters.

Another striking and interesting feature is the attempt to restore, in the translation, 'the poetical form in which the Seer wrote so large a part of the Apocalypse'. Similar restorations, it may be remembered, mark Dr Charles's versions of other Apocalypses, notably the *Book of Jubilees*.

To two highly important and valuable sections of the work I can do no more than call attention, namely, the study of the diction and grammar of the Apocalypse, and the very large amount of material contributed to the constitution of a text. The value of the authorities is discussed and estimated on pp. clx-clxxxiii. The place of pre-eminence is vindicated for A. Twenty-two cursives have been collated for this edition. In this department Dr Charles makes generous

acknowledgement of his obligations to the Rev. F. S. Marsh, and to other scholars.

It is inevitable that a reviewer should devote most space to the points in which he disagrees with the reviewed. I should be very sorry if I did not leave the impression on the reader that he will find in this work of Dr Charles's ample evidence of the labour that has been spent on it, and a mine of information about apocalyptic literature in general and this Apocalypse in particular. But I do think that it has defects, and that one of them is that the editor is too sure that he knows what the Seer ought to have written, and is too ready to rule out anything that runs counter to his view.

Ungracious as it may seem to end with further criticism, I must find place to record one or two points that need correction. On pp. xlv-1 there is a discussion of the traditions of John the Apostle's residence at Ephesus, and of his martyrdom at the hands of the Jews before A.D. 70. The first of these Dr Charles rejects, the other he accepts. Under the former heading he speaks of the silence of ecclesiastical writers down to A.D. 180 as to the residence of John the Apostle in Asia Minor. I find neither here nor elsewhere any mention of the *Acts of John*, and this omission is surprising and disquieting, for that book is an unequivocal second-century witness to the Asia Minor tradition, and should certainly have been taken into account somewhere and at some length. Under the second heading—the story of the martyrdom—I demur to the statement that De Boor's Papias-fragment comes from 'an Oxford MS (7th or 8th cent.)'. The Baroccian MS 142 is a paper book of the fourteenth century. Dom J. Chapman's work on this and the kindred fragment of George Hamartolus is worth consulting, as is also his explanation of the supposed confusion of the two Philips, Apostle and Evangelist (Charles, p. 1; Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, 1911).

I demur also to the words 'certain ancient writers imply or recount the martyrdom'. Those who are cited certainly do not recount it, in fact no writer does; and I should excise from the list (1) the *Martyrium Andreae* as a most shaky authority,¹ (2) Chrysostom, whose words cannot be made to bear the required meaning, (3) the Muratorian Canon, the exposition of which is very forced. The Syriac Martyrology of 411 is quoted in Greek, I know not why. Of the Calendar of Carthage this is said, 'there is the entry "Commemoration of St John Baptist, and of James the Apostle, whom Herod slew"'. Since in the same calendar the Baptist is commemorated on June 24,

¹ The opening paragraphs of this particular *Martyrium* cannot safely be taken to depend upon the ancient Acts, which, as Flamion has shewn, are themselves of the third century, and not early in that century.

it is clear that John the son of Zebedee is here intended.' But is it not certain that the feast of June 24 commemorated, here as elsewhere, the *birth* of the Baptist? In short, whatever may be the truth about the martyrdom, I do not feel that Dr Charles has made belief in it more reasonable.

I cannot, however, make a final end on this note. Dr Charles's work on the Apocalypse, if not final (what work is final?), has positive merits which go far to outweigh the defects I have had to notice. Questions of interpolations, dislocations, lacunae, sources (and may I add, plan?), still remain controversial: but in no other commentary can we find so full an exposition of three centrally important topics: the relation of the writer to the other books of Scripture, and to the rest of the apocalyptic literature; the ideas and beliefs which colour his visions; his style and diction; and the constitution of the text of his book.

Saint Jean: L'Apocalypse, par le P. E-B. ALLO des frères prêcheurs, Professeur à l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse). 'Études Bibliques': Librairie V. Lecoffre, J. Gabalda, Éditeur, Paris, 1921. Large 8vo, Introd. pp. cclxviii. Text with Translation and Commentary and Indexes pp. 373.

IN this substantial volume we have an excellent presentation of a more conservative view of the Apocalypse, written from the Roman Catholic standpoint. Dr Charles's work was not in Professor Allo's hands; he wrote just before its appearance. He has, however, made considerable use of the same author's *Studies on the Apocalypse*. Of all commentators he attributes the greatest weight to Dr Swete, 'commentateur profond, érudit et pieux'. 'Son ouvrage, qui pourrait presque être signé d'un catholique, est celui auquel nous devons le plus pour notre commentaire.' It is pleasant to read this tribute, and, generally, to note Professor Allo's intimate acquaintance with the work of English scholars. But, in fact, the whole book is pleasant to read: it is, moreover, adequately *documenté*, and, above all, sympathetic. It would be unjust and untrue to say that Dr Charles was not in sympathy with the Book upon the study of which he has lavished the best part of his time; but the fact remains that the stress he lays upon interpolations, dislocations, and other blemishes which he finds in the text has a rather derogatory effect, which I doubt not is quite out of harmony with his own real attitude towards the Apocalypse.

A very few notes on Professor Allo's main positions are all that can be given here. For him there are no dislocations or important inter-

polations in the text. He is willing in theory to admit the idea of the use of sources by the writer, but 'Il n'y a guère que xiv 14-20, la scène de la "moisson" et de la "vendange", avec son coloris et sa structure tout à fait hébraïque, qui nous inspire quelques doutes sérieux'. For him the writer is John the Apostle, and the date somewhere in the two last years of Domitian's reign. The Gospel, also the work of the Apostle, is slightly later. The gulf which separates the two books is bridged by the consideration of the very different environment of the author at Patmos and at Ephesus. 'L'Apocalypse . . . porte des traces de gêne, de précipitation, par-ci par-là même de véritables distractions . . . C'est l'œuvre d'un génie contrarié, que des circonstances extérieures ont contraint à livrer à la publicité, pour ainsi dire, son brouillon.' Then came the return from exile—'Rentré dans une existence normale, et, comme a su bien l'exprimer Ramsay, mûri définitivement par l'épreuve . . . le disciple bien-aimé devait, peu d'années après, donner à l'Église et au monde une œuvre plus sublime encore, son Évangile'. The large section of the Introduction which is devoted to the exposition of this thesis puts an unpopular view with clearness and force.

The plan of the Apocalypse is set forth on pp. lxxv-xciii. Professor Allo sees in vi—xi 18 the 'exécution des décrets du Livre aux sept sceaux', and in xi 15—xxi 8 the 'exécution des décrets du Petit Livre que Jean a reçu des mains de l'Ange'. In a previous chapter (vii) the Apocalypticist's methods are examined at great length, and stress is laid upon his habit of dovetailing one section of his book into another by means of anticipatory visions, and upon the constant presence of antitheses, of septenaries, and of a 'rythme ternaire'. In the setting forth of all this, musical analogies are often and effectively employed. Professor Allo's instinct for perceiving the literary and artistic greatness of the Apocalypse is to me a welcome feature in his book.

Needless to say, he supports many positions, besides that regarding authorship and date, which are strongly contested: I will single out one to which a lengthy excursus (p. 292) is devoted: 'Il n'y a pas proprement succession chronologique, mais plutôt simultanéité, entre les réalités du Millénaire et celles des visions précédentes'. 'La prophétie du Millénium, qui fait parfaitement corps avec les autres prophéties du livre, est simplement la figure de la domination spirituelle de l'Église militante, unie à l'Église triomphante, depuis la glorification de Jésus jusqu'à la fin du monde'. Whatever difficulties Professor Allo's readers may feel in accepting such propositions as this, they will at least not find reason to complain that he has failed to acquaint himself with the work of other scholars. His equipment for the task he has undertaken is thorough, and I can sincerely commend his book.

M. R. JAMES.

Les Actes des Apôtres, by ALFRED LOISY. (Nourry, Paris, 1920. 963 pages.)

M. LOISY has added to his portly commentaries on the Four Gospels another volume, on the same generous scale, dealing with the Acts. Even those who most dislike his treatment of the sacred texts—a treatment absolutely without reverence and often frankly contemptuous—must allow that M. Loisy is a fine critic. His learning is as massive as that of the Germans, and he has the acuteness and fine literary *flair* of his own nation. He has certainly not left the criticism of the Acts where he found it.

His opinion about the book is as follows. Luke, the author of the Third Gospel in its original form, wrote a straightforward narrative of the beginnings of the Christian Church, and especially of the travels of St Paul, whose companion he was, and whose career he described till his execution, which followed the two years' imprisonment at Rome. This document, which would have been very valuable if we had it entire, has been mangled in every possible way by an unscrupulous editor or editors in the first half of the second century, and has been turned into a framework for a mass of deliberate fictions, which fill up by far the greater part of our Acts. This fraudulent redaction may be traced with great probability to the Church of Rome. The key to the criticism of the whole book is to ascertain the object with which this redaction was compiled. This object is not, as the Tübingen school supposed, to issue an eirenicon between the Petrine and Pauline parties in the Church. 'We may say that after the year 70 the Judaising element counts for nothing any longer in the evolution of Christianity.' Rather, we must find the editor's object to have been the presentation of Christianity as the genuine and legitimate developement of Judaism, in order that the imperial government might cease to place the Christians outside the pale of toleration. The whole evolution of the original Church has been falsified with this object, and in particular the Pauline Christology, which has left its traces even on Mark, is whittled down. The speeches are ingeniously arranged with a view to this apologetic, and fictitious incidents (there is hardly a page of this vast book on which the word 'fiction' does not appear) have been narrated in order to shew what the attitude of Jews, Roman governors, and others ought to be towards the Christians. Gamaliel and Gallio are thus introduced as models, without any historical justification. Persecution was perhaps raging at the time, and the Jews were instigating it. To meet this need, the editor 'is not afraid to Judaize Paul and all Hellenic Christianity'. This 'Jewish mirage hides a mystical Christology, which belongs to a religion the object of which is the Lord Christ'. The ideas of the

early Church about the Holy Spirit, which are clear in St Paul, who does not distinguish the Spirit from the glorified and indwelling Christ, are confused and unintelligible in Acts. We may also detect with confidence a subordinate aim—the glorification of Peter, whom the Roman Church had already chosen as its patron.

In spite of the great ingenuity and acumen which M. Loisy often displays, grave objections to his method will suggest themselves in the minds of most of his readers. Our knowledge of the Church in the first century is not nearly copious enough to justify us in dealing in this drastic fashion with one of our most important documents. If the early Christians were as mendacious as M. Loisy supposes, we might well abandon as hopeless any attempt to reconstruct the history. But it is quite a mistake to suppose that a deliberate falsification on this scale would have been regarded as morally justifiable in the second century. The case of the Fourth Gospel is totally different. The second century knew what to expect in a 'spiritual Gospel'. It was a *genre* of literature which was then accepted and understood. But the Acts professes to be prose history; and the ancients were not destitute of a historical conscience. The Church of the second century, though poor in intellectual ability, was morally at the highest level (perhaps) that it has ever reached. And if an editor of this period had wished to perpetrate a historical fraud, he would certainly have done it very clumsily. M. Loisy says that he has been extremely clumsy; but that is not the impression which the book makes upon educated readers generally. Such stories, for example, as the scene where St Paul is brought before Gallio seem to most of us a graphic description of a by no means improbable incident. But the habit of disbelieving everything seems to have grown upon M. Loisy, till he is positively reluctant to admit that any statement 'peut être historique'.

This great commentary, then, will be used by scholars with respect, but not, I think, with agreement. The hypothesis of an honest narrative, overlaid and completely distorted by a rascally editor, is attractive to some critics, but it is dangerous by the very facility with which it can be made to explain everything.

W. R. INGE.

The Doctrine of Grace in the Synoptic Gospels, by HENRY TOWNSEND, M.A., D.D. (Methuen, London, 1919.)

The Catholic Doctrine of Grace, by G. H. JOYCE, S.J. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, London, 1920.)

DR TOWNSEND has broken fresh ground in the study he has made of one particular side of the religion revealed in the first three Gospels, or

has, at least, made a fresh map of the country. When we think of the great part played in Christian theology by the word 'grace' it is very desirable that we should know what light is thrown upon the subject in our earliest tradition. The work in question is divided into an introduction, which gives a review of ideas of grace in the Old Testament and Jewish Literature, and two books, the first discussing 'The Grace of God objective and subjective in the Personality of Jesus', the second 'The Grace of God objective in Jesus and subjective in human experience'. A wide area of investigation is covered, including the parabolic, miraculous, and eschatological material in the Gospels. The general conclusion is that the Gospels make it clear that Jesus manifested, and was conscious of manifesting, the grace of God in a unique manner, and that faith was the response to this grace. Thus, to make use of the German antithesis, Dr Townsend belongs to the 'positive', not the 'liberal', school of interpretation. He lays stress on our Lord's claim to forgive sins—but is he right in saying that the liberal view denies that He had such authority? Harnack does not, nor, though he is not a typical 'liberal', does Loofs: one could hardly prove the negative from Wernle's *Beginnings of Christianity*, though Wernle's position is not so clear. A curious point in this connexion is Dr Townsend's assurance that the woman of Luke vii 36–50 had met Christ before and been forgiven. The whole tenor of the narrative seems to me to point to exactly the reverse conclusion. One of the most valuable considerations in the book is the emphasis laid on the relation of grace to ethics, as when the author says 'In reality Jesus has no ethical system. Every attempt to give system to His Ethics will appear artificial unless His Grace is brought out as the inspiration of motive'. It is unfortunate that the style of the book does not help towards the easy following of an argument, which in itself deserves attention.

Though Dr Townsend has much to say about Grace, his sense of the word's meaning is best realized if the substantive is turned into an adjective, and the gracious will of the Father or of God is substituted for the Grace of the Father. There is hardly a suggestion of the idea of infused grace, which has played so large a part in the history of Christian dogma. Father Joyce, on the other hand, while he recognizes other meanings of the term 'grace', uses it in general of the sanctifying principle which effects a transmutation of human nature, raising it from the natural to the supernatural level, conferred first at baptism, increased by works of merit and by the reception of the sacraments, and rewarded by a blessedness in heaven correspondent in degree to the extent to which the soul has grown in grace during its earthly probation. Father Joyce writes lucidly and does not overburden his work

with technicalities or with controversial references to views other than his own, though he gives some space to the defence of the doctrine of merit. Augustine's saying 'redditur quidem meritis tuis corona sua, sed Dei dona sunt merita tua' might be taken as illustrative of his position at this point, and a strongly anti-Pelagian feeling is evident throughout the book. But when in his interpretation of justification he asserts that no support is to be found in Scripture for the teaching that 'God does not make us just, but reckons us just by a juridical fiction', one may take exception to the suitability of the last word in his sentence and desiderate a closer attention to the significance of the verb *δικαιοῦν*.

Such a treatment of the subject of grace as the author gives will depend for its appeal, to some extent at least, upon the reader's agreement with the premisses involved. One such premiss is the literal accuracy of the first three chapters of Genesis, and the possibility of dogmatic conclusions deducible therefrom by a process of formal reasoning. But even with this difficulty removed, it would still be necessary to ask whether the religious relationship of God with man can be adequately expressed through the idea of the infusion into man of a vital principle which seems to act on the soul, and to be capable of increase within the soul, as a spiritual substance.

It is natural to refer to Dr Oman's penetrating book *Grace and Personality* in this connexion; and it is noteworthy that along quite other lines than those which allow of any approach to the conception of grace as an infused principle of sanctification, he is able to arrive, though not through logical systematization, at profoundly impressive conclusions concerning man's moral and religious dependence upon and fellowship with God. It is with that dependence and fellowship that Father Joyce (and indeed every Christian) is finally concerned, and differences in presuppositions and definitions, important though they doubtless are, need not hinder one from gathering from him, as from Dr Oman, help towards a renewed appreciation and understanding of those great ends.

The World to come and Final Destiny, by J. H. LECKIE, D.D.
(T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1918.)

THERE are other virtues in Dr Leckie's Kerr Lectures, but not the least useful to the general reader is the simplicity of method and the natural character of the development of the discussion. The first part deals with 'Apocalyptic Forms' and outlines the conceptions of the Kingdom, of Resurrection, of Gehenna, and of the other elements in the eschatology presented in Jewish apocalypses and in the New Testament writings. The importance of this section consists largely in

the extent to which it is shewn that traditional imagery lies behind many of the New Testament statements which have been used in the construction of dogma, and in the diversity of the ideas met with throughout this literature. Now and then, as for instance when he points to the phrase 'death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire' as suggesting an idea of Annihilation in the Book of Revelation, and, therefore, as irreconcilable with the saying that the wicked 'shall be tormented day and night for ever', he seems to me to set up contrasts on the basis of an unsatisfying exegesis, but he has fairly expounded the difficulties in the way of the belief that one clearly defined eschatology descends to us from the New Testament.

The second part states and discusses in relation to the three theories of Everlasting Punishment or Everlasting Evil, Conditional Immortality, and Universal Restoration, the problem of final destiny. The lucidity and care with which Dr Leckie presents the arguments for and against each solution shews him at his best. He is particularly anxious to do justice to whatever true moral and religious interests have been conserved by the different eschatological doctrines and explain their persistence. But his argument that everlasting penalty is more tenable if it is divorced from the idea of unending sin needs reconsideration. It is the only passage in the book where the logic seems to me rather formal and unreal. The great value of the discovery of the true text *αἰωνίου ὑμάρτηματος* in St Mark iii 13, which is not discussed by Dr Leckie in this connexion, is that it moralizes, with an effectiveness otherwise impossible, any doctrine of everlasting punishment.

Dr Leckie's own conclusion tends in favour of a universalistic doctrine with the reservation that the reconciliation of all souls to God need not imply that they will all attain to the same spiritual heights. Thus he retains the thought of the abiding consequences of sin, and of 'eternal disability and loss' in the case of souls which have sunk themselves deeply and persistently in evil, even though they finally become citizens of the kingdom of God. The sterner side of the New Testament teaching remains as a warning against the supposition that in the moral life there are no ultimate risks.

As a speculative solution, which, at the same time, can find real support in St Paul for the notion of a final reconciliation, this theory has distinct attractions. But that the total impression of the New Testament favours it is less easy to affirm. Dr Leckie might dispute the legitimacy of the phrase 'total impression', in view of his analysis of the evidence contained in the New Testament books, yet it is probably the feeling that there is more real unity than he allows, and that such words of Christ with regard to the world to come as we possess do not by themselves in any way favour universalism, which is

likely to remain the chiefest obstacle to the restrained optimism of this interesting and attractively-written treatise.

J. K. MOZLEY.

The Message of Plato: a re-interpretation of the Republic, by EDWARD J. URWICK, M.A., Head of the Ratan Tao Department of Social Science in the University of London. (Methuen, 1920.)

CONVERSION, the new life, the narrow way, no thought for the morrow but treasure in heaven, to know God is eternal life, whosoever will lose his life for my sake and the gospel shall find it: it is not easy to define that which all these phrases stand for, but we have the idea vividly enough though we do not realize it. Mr Urwick says it is what Plato meant by the allegory of the cave and by the twice-divided line: it is religion, and Plato is religious through and through. So far most readers of Plato would agree with him: he is mistaken in supposing that all commentators, critics, and metaphysicians deserve rebuke.

Then he shews how Plato believed this higher life could be attained by education. The knowledge, indeed, which is the condition of attainment, is not knowledge in the vulgar sense. Quite another faculty than reason is the means. But that faculty belongs to men and can be brought out if the right steps are patiently taken. These steps are indicated in the *Republic*. Books i-iv set forth the training of the ordinary good citizen in the ordinary world; v-vii shew the soul perfect and free in the higher life; viii-x the dangers which beset the imperfect soul. But no soul need remain imperfect: the passage from the lower to the higher life is open, the proper discipline may be gradually used. All this is worked out with some diligence and is corroborated by analogy from Indian philosophy or religion. And in all this Mr Urwick contributes matter which the student of Plato will gladly consider.

Thirdly, he contends that the ultimate purpose of the *Republic* is not politics but the salvation of the several souls of men.

‘For every individual soul the awakening of Nous . . . the Ideal Condition is an ever-present possibility. But for Society no such awakening of Nous is possible. . . . The age of the Rishi Rajah [the philosophic king] has gone: the age of the world’s descent into the manifold has come. . . . We must work our way upwards with the help of “second best constitutions”, hemmed in with many laws; the perfect State, with its single rule of the Good, waits for us, a “pattern laid up in heaven”, to be reached when we have made our own way through the twilight of illusions. It, and its Wisdom-King, are not for the world—yet. “Nous is the possession of the gods, and perhaps a very few men”. But it, and its King, remain the eternal ideal, the one perfect State. . . . The *Republic* contains no Utopia, but only a “heavenly

model" of the perfect constitution, which the soul of man may copy, and so be saved'.

That is put temperately enough: no need to dispute how far it expresses the very Plato. That other question, what has Socrates to do with the *Republic*? Mr Urwick touches but slightly, nor is it very relevant to his argument. But the distinction between Plato the prophet of the higher life of the soul, and Plato the politician, despairing of all actual states, is pressed too far. Mr Urwick dislikes metaphysics so strongly that he will not allow Plato to be metaphysician, far less metaphysician through and through. He does not see that Plato begins where he leaves off, taking the higher life as given and straining all his powers to bring the mystical conviction into the clearness of reason. And part of that endeavour is Plato's politics. The bare letter of the *Republic* allows Mr Urwick to assert that the righteousness of the soul is the subject, the sketched state but the analogy. All we know of Plato's own history, all our continuous reading of the *Republic*, still forces us to take it the other way. Plato cared for Athens, and did not despair. He still hoped Athens might not merely be improved but get a new heart, just as a man may. Whatever he felt when he wrote the *Laws* (to Mr Urwick typical for Plato the politician) he wrote the *Republic* because he would have no more murder of a Socrates, but salvation for the city for which Socrates had died.

The value of Mr Urwick's book is not in its Platonism, but in his earnest desire to raise Europe from lower conventional imperial religion to real faith. This he urges without extravagance: 'The active and achieving West', he says, 'is right all through—except in the one thing needful'. He urges it with much wisdom and impressive sincerity. A reader who is equally sincere will have plenty of work for brain and conscience long after he has laid the book aside.

A. NAIRNE.

The Mind of the Early Converts, by CAMPBELL N. MOODY, M.A.
(Hodder & Stoughton, 1920.)

To students of Doctrine in its early stages this will be a unique and very refreshing book. Mr Moody has been a missionary in China in connexion with the English Presbyterian Mission at Shoka, and he has also made a close study of the literary output of early Christianity—the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement, and Origen. He finds the Chinese mentality extraordinarily like that of the early Christians, and in this volume he gives us a survey of the thought and teaching of the Early Church informed and permeated by the analogies he has found among his Chinese pupils. He has not gone to his study of these early Christian writings entirely *de novo*, or spurned

the guidance of expert scholars. He shews on every page his wide knowledge of the most recent literature of the subject. But he studies them all from his own point of view, and brings his own special experience to bear on them. The result is a most independent survey, with frank and original judgements and free criticism of many previous writers who have not, as he thinks, sufficiently realized the conditions of life and thought in the Early Church. Much of what Mr Moody says implies that justification by faith is the whole Gospel of Christ, and it is particularly this conception that he finds wanting in Christians of old and of China to-day. 'Apostles', he says, 'ancient or modern, may determine to know nothing but Christ Jesus the crucified. The converts are determined to know something quite different.' It is on this 'something quite different' from his conception of the Gospel that Mr Moody concentrates his attention in his survey of the rise of the Old Catholic Church. He states his aim as being 'to shed upon this theme some light from the Far East, and by this light, mingling with other lights, to shew how natural, and almost inevitable, were the conceptions, misconceptions, or partial apprehensions of our fathers in the faith'.

I do not always agree with Mr Moody's judgements, but I believe that many of them are penetrating and true, and I am sure that he often speaks out aloud what readers of early Christian writings have heard as whispers in their ears while they read, and it is a real help to the study of the subject that these whispers should be made as audible as he makes them. Students who have worked laboriously through other books will enjoy the breath of fresh air that Mr Moody offers them, but they will have to think while they read, even though they are already conscious (as, I imagine, few of them can fail to be) of the contrast which impresses Mr Moody between 'the greatness of the revelation' as interpreted by Paul and Peter and John, and 'the meagreness of its reception' by converts of earlier and of later times.

Is Christianity the Final Religion?: a candid enquiry with the materials for an opinion, by A. C. BOUQUET, B.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1921.)

THIS is an able and attractive treatment of a difficult subject. Mr Bouquet has realized that many of the questions with which apologists concern themselves touch only the fringe of the question which is really vital for modern thought. He is himself very much alive, and therefore he has felt constrained, as he tells us, 'to hammer out as best I may the fundamental grounds for maintaining the finality and absoluteness of Christianity': 'to live any longer upon the moral reserves of Christianity without solidly establishing its claim to finality has become

impossible'. It is really 'a candid enquiry' into the whole subject within the limits of 350 octavo pages of good type, which are full of true words, terse and often racy, going to the heart of the matter under discussion at the moment, alike in statement and in criticism. When he deliberately puts aside a question, such as that of the 'miracles' in the Gospel history, he gives sound reasons for doing so.

Mr Bouquet treats in succession of the nature of Religion and its continued existence, the possibility of an absolute religion already existing, the traditional valuation of Christianity, and the arguments used in support of this Christian point of view. There is much careful work in all this part of the book, and though the ground covered is extensive there is no hurrying over any of the important issues. Mr Bouquet confines his attention to recent writers on the subject, and Dr Figgis, Mr J. K. Mozley, and Mr Clutton Brock, and their arguments, are duly weighed and criticized. Special value, however, attaches to the remaining part of the book that deals with recent efforts to reconstruct the Christian view of the world, and especially with Professor E. Troeltsch's comprehensive survey of the ground. The summary of Troeltsch's essay *Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte* will help English readers to appreciate the point of view of one of the richest minds of the time (it may be supplemented by Baron F. von Hügel's articles in the *Constructive Quarterly*, March and December 1914, and M. E. Vermeil's careful study in the first two numbers of the *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*—the new journal of the Protestant faculty of the University of Strasbourg): and Mr Bouquet's *critique* of this work and of the many other reconstructions which he surveys (including those of Harnack, Loisy, Leroy, Eucken, the Theosophists, and Mr Wells), is of more than passing interest. So also are the concluding chapters 'Synthesis' and 'Consequences of this belief'.

Mr Bouquet in his introduction says that the subject has hitherto received little attention in England. That is a statement that would have surprised Dr Westcott, for instance. But it is quite true that the subject needs to be faced afresh with all the fresh knowledge and movements of to-day in view, and Mr Bouquet's treatment of it will help any one who is in search of an apologetic that is at once open-eyed and sound.

J. F. B-B.

Thesaurus Doctrinae Catholicae ex documentis magisterii ecclesiastici,
by F. CAVALLERA. (G. Beauchesne, Paris, 1920.)

THE value of Denzinger-Bannwart's *Enchiridion Symbolorum* etc. is well known, with its great collection of the definitions and declarations

of Bishops of Rome and Councils from the time of Clement to the year 1910, in the chronological order of the documents cited. Many students who have used the book must have wished for a volume in which the rich materials brought together were arranged under subjects, and it is this arrangement that the present volume gives us, beginning with 'Revelation' and ending with 'the Last Things'. We are not given, of course, materials for the history of Doctrine, except so far as that is contained in successive pronouncements which are regarded as authoritative by the Church of Rome, but these are given as regards each subject in chronological order, and the student's work is thus made very much easier. The task of classification must have been very laborious, and the editor deserves our best thanks. The book is admirably printed, and no pains have been withheld to give all the help that type and indices can afford. A chronological index of the documents cited in the book gives also the works from which they are extracted.

J. F. B-B.

The Ethiopic Didascalia, by J. M. HARDEN, B.D., LL.D. (S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, 1920.)

THIS is the first complete text of the above document that has been published. The edition of T. P. Platt, 1834, was made from an imperfect MS and contains only about half of the work. The text from which Dr Harden now translates rests on a comparison of four MSS in the British Museum. The *Ethiopic Didascalia* answers in content to the first six books of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (those based on the third-century Didascalia which is preserved in a Syriac version, and partly in the early Latin translation edited by E. Hauler), and the greater portion of the seventh book. It differs from the (unpublished) Arabic Didascalia which, in the form in which it occurs in most of the MSS, 'corresponds with the first six books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, with some omissions . . . and many changes in the order of the subject-matter', but contains six additional chapters. There is, however, a second Arabic recension, of which only one MS is known, and this agrees in content with the Ethiopic. All three of these versions open with a preface stating the occasion on which the apostolic teaching was delivered. The same preface appears at the beginning of the MS of the Syriac Didascalia edited and translated by Mrs Gibson (*Horae Semiticae*, No. 1, 1903); but as this MS is very corrupt and contains several interpolations from later documents, the preface also is probably borrowed from one of the Arabic recensions; it is anyhow no part of the third-century work.

VOL. XXII.

D d

I can see no reason for believing that (as Baumstark has suggested, and the editor is inclined to think) the Ethiopic document forms a step between the older Didascalia and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In all reasonable probability it is taken from the latter, and it is therefore a work of very subordinate interest. But no document of this class can safely be neglected, and Dr Harden has done good service in making the present one available. As I do not know Ethiopic, I cannot venture either to criticize or praise his translation, but it conveys the impression that the translator is equal to his work. The Introduction, too, is helpful; but the section on 'The Church Orders in general' is hardly adequate, and suggests that the writer is not quite abreast of the latest literature bearing on his subject; he makes no mention of some important, and now generally accepted, conclusions as to the origin and growth of a large group of these Church Orders.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

Le Livre de Jérémie: traduction et commentaire, by A. CONDAMIN, S.J.
(J. Gabalda, Paris, 1920.)

IN the preface to his commentary Fr Condamin tells us that it was virtually completed in July 1914; he has, however, taken advantage of the delay in publication to notice some of the more recent literature both on the writings of the prophet and on the Old Testament in general.

The arrangement of the book is good and a little unusual to English eyes. The whole of Jeremiah is divided up into sections, each with an appropriate heading; and then each section is dealt with as a separate unit. First comes the translation itself with footnotes in small print on points arising from the text (in many places the spacing might have been better done, as the text and the notes upon it come on different pages), then follows a longer note on the literary and historical criticism of the whole section.

The translation seems to be scholarly and accurate, as befits a scholar of the author's reputation, and the style is not without a touch of distinction; at times, however, it might appear that too great sacrifices have been made on the altar of some particular metrical arrangement (the extent to which Fr Condamin applies such arrangements can be seen by a glance at p. 60). Not that great liberties are taken with the text, after the manner of Duhm; Fr Condamin is far too cautious in his treatment, and in many places he finds even Cornill's emendations more than he can accept. On the whole, in textual as in other matters, he is content to fall into line with the more moderate of English scholars, not of course without due deliberation and independent thought.

In the notes Fr Condamin shews a very wide knowledge of the work of previous writers on the prophet, and gives a considerable list of authorities consulted; many critics of the present day might be disposed to find fault with him for paying too great attention to the comments of the Fathers (undeniably interesting though some of them may be) and to an older generation of scholars. On the other side, however, it may be urged that much good work done in the past is in danger of being overlooked. But if Fr Condamin turns to the older commentators more frequently than is usual to-day he is in no sense of the word obscurantist, and when he differs from modern scholars he gives good reasons for so doing. An instance of such a difference is to be found in his emphasis upon the wide distinction between Jeremiah and the 'false' prophets who also claimed to speak 'in the name of Jehovah'; modern critics are disposed to deal much more sympathetically with the latter and do not necessarily regard them as consciously insincere.¹ Another point of difference which may be worth mentioning is the denial that by 'the enemy from the North', who figures so largely in the earlier chapters of Jeremiah, was originally meant the Scythians.

In his treatment of the Prophecy against Babylon (l 2—li 58) Fr Condamin goes against the bulk of modern scholars in regarding it, not as a single oracle, but as a collection of fragments. In this I think that he is probably right, though when I wrote my own commentary I held the more usual view; a further consideration of his arguments and of those contained in the admirable article by Mr. T. H. Robinson in *J. T. S.* xix pp. 251 ff has led me to modify my own views.

The introductory chapters of the volume are concerned mainly with the text and structure of Jeremiah; so much so, that the teaching and environment of the prophet receive scarcely adequate treatment, e. g. little more than two pages are devoted to the theology of the book. It is true that there are many references to other writers for additional information, but in spite of much good and suggestive matter these chapters, in my opinion, are a little weak and below the high level of the rest of the volume.

Fr Condamin deserves the gratitude of all scholars for his translation and arrangement of the text; and though his work as a whole adds but little to our knowledge of the prophet and his times, it is an interesting and suggestive summary of what had previously been done; above all

¹ In his very kind review of my volume on Jeremiah (Westminster Commentaries) in *Rev. pratique d'apologétique* Fr Condamin argues this question at some length; since, however, the place assigned to the 'false' prophets depends upon one's conception of the meaning and scope of inspiration, space will not allow me to reply to him here.

it is well calculated to do good service in disseminating newer ideas of Old Testament scholarship in regions where from lack of sympathetic presentation they have hitherto had little chance of taking root.¹

L. ELLIOTT BINNS.

A preliminary investigation of the Cabala contained in the Coptic Gnostic Books, and of a similar Gematria in the Greek Text of the New Testament, by F. BLIGH BOND, F.R.I.B.A., and T. S. LEA, D.D. (Blackwell, Oxford, 1917.)

The Apostolic Gnosis, by the same. (Blackwell, Oxford, 1919.)

THAT the ancient system of using letters for numbers lent itself to the numerical interpretation of words, that the Pythagorean tradition which attached mystical values to numbers persisted throughout antiquity, and that traces of these beliefs are to be found in the New Testament is generally admitted, but perhaps inadequately realized. The authors of these two studies maintain that a Gematria underlies the whole of the New Testament text. It is reasonable to expect this in the sayings of our Lord, who was Himself a τέκτων, and this is 'the Key of the Knowledge' (Luke xi 52) of which He spoke. The writers anticipate that their recovery of this Key will help scholars to decide between various readings, and arm the Church with an apologetic which will appeal to the thinking man.

We will quote a single example of the application of the new method. Gematria supports the usual interpretation of the parable of the Drag-net, for by Gematria

ἰχθύες κόσμου ἐν σαγήνῃ Κυρίου	= 3349
ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ὁμοία σαγήνῃ	= 3349
Λόγος Κυρίου· μεγάλη σαγήνη σωτηρίας	= 3349

The Church is the Net and Christ is the Great Fish.

Χριστὸς ὁ ἰχθύς	= 2769
ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἡ σαγήνη	= 580

Finally Α·Ω· τὸ Μυστήριον Κυρίου	3349
	= 3349

From this characteristic example readers of the JOURNAL will draw their own conclusions.

J. M. CREED.

¹ There are a number of misprints in the volume, e.g., p. viii, *lahve* for *Iahve*; p. xliv, *Mac Curdy* for *Mc Curdy*, &c. There seems to be no consistent system of printing the Heb. pointing; sometimes it is given in full, sometimes in part, and sometimes omitted entirely; and this diversity of treatment does not seem to depend on the importance or otherwise of the vowels in the particular note.

BABYLONIAN RESEARCH IN AMERICA.

1. Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts, vol. iii. *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*. By ALBERT T. CLAY.
2. University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section, vol. i, no. 2. *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*. By HENRY FREDERICK LUTZ.
3. University of Pennsylvania, &c., &c., vol. xi, no. 3. *Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur—Lists of Sumerian Personal Names*. By EDWARD CHIERA.
4. University of Pennsylvania, &c., &c., vol. x, no. 4. *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*. By STEPHEN LANGDON.

IN friendly rivalry with the scholars of Europe, American students of the immense mass of miscellaneous documents recovered from the sites of the ruined palaces and temples of Babylonia continue to swell the volume of the never-ending stream of texts and more or less probable translations which, day by day, are adding to the material available for the reconstruction of that ancient world which, however little the fact may be generally recognized, lies at the foundation of modern ideas and even modern science.

1. Of Professor A. T. Clay's *Letters from Erech* I need hardly say more than suffices to express my unqualified admiration of the beauty and completeness of the book. We have here a series of some seventy-six autographed plates, comprising two hundred cuneiform documents, preceded by an elaborate index of personal and other names, many of which, of course, are already well known from other sources of the period (522-486 B.C.); e.g. those of the kings Nebuchadrezzar, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius. Only one of the letters is addressed to a woman—a man named Calbâ writes to his mother Bu'itu. The royal letters have a special interest, apart from that of rarity; three of them being, as it would seem, from the pen of Nebuchadrezzar himself. The whole collection comes from *Warka*, the site of the ancient Erech (see Gen. x 10), one of the oldest cities of Babylonia and the principal seat of the worship of the great Goddess-Mother Ishtar (see the Epic of Nimrod, *passim*). The letters mostly relate to the management of the property of 'The House of Heaven' (E-ANNA), the great Temple of Erech.

This work cannot fail to prove extremely useful for purposes of class-instruction as well as for private study. It is much to be hoped that the promised transcription and translation of these interesting texts will not be unduly delayed.

2. Dr Lutz has given us ninety-five plates of miscellaneous texts, including letters, hymns, prayers, exorcisms, incantations, and what

appears to be a school-exercise consisting of detached sentences in Sumerian with interlinear 'Akkadian' (i. e. Semitic Babylonian) translations. The texts are well written ; but the translations, though helpful to the student, leave much to be desired—a deficiency partly due to uncertainties of meaning, but partly also to the translator's imperfect command of English. The explanatory notes are far too brief ; and the lines both of texts and translations should have been numbered for convenient reference. I have noticed a good many slips, such as *šurgamma*, 'to shout' (p. 24), which should rather be 'Grant thou !' (= *šurqamma*), or this (p. 29) 'The bolt of the heaven thou hast removed' as a rendering of GISHGAL ANNAGE GAL-IMMINIKID ('The doors of heaven thou hast opened'). KIDA DINGIRENEGE is 'Discloser' not 'Encloser' of the gods (p. 32). 'O Shamash, god of the totality, thy greatness in heaven *does not remove presage*. In the sphere of the heavens thou art the chief of the fullness of its region' hardly reproduces the sense of DINGIR BABBAR DINGIR SHARRA GALZA ANNA ME NUNLAGHLAGH | UBSHU ANNAGE SAG LA KUR(GIN?)-BI MEN: 'O Sun, God of the Universe ! Great Splendour (?) Heaven's decree not traversing ! In the heavenly region the source of its plenitude of brightness art thou !'

LÙ MAGH DAM IDÊ-BAR NU-ZU, i. e. (when it is dark) His Majesty fails to recognize his Spouse ; lit. *High Man spouse see not know*—a Chinese type of sentence. 'The mighty one will not know the look of a woman' is inexact, to say the least. A common formula of direction to the Exorcist, URUDU NIGLIGGA URSAG ANNAGE, &c., is thus rendered by Lutz: 'The copper of strength of the hero Anu whose terrifying roar seizes away whatever is evil, take ! Where its roar is given out bring it ! Verily it shall be thy supporter ! May the copper of strength of the hero Anu with its awful roar help thee !' I suggest as a more correct and intelligible version : 'The potent bell (or gong), "Heaven's Champion" (the name of this particular bronze implement of the sorcerer-priest), whose alarming din drives away evil, take in thy hand. Set him (the patient) down where the din is made. Thy assistant it will prove. May the potent bell, "Heaven's Champion", whose din is awe-inspiring, assist (thee) !'. The use of bells, gongs, tomtoms, and other instruments of percussion to scare away demons is a familiar feature of ancient religion. All blemishes notwithstanding, the book may be heartily commended as a repertory of much new material which workers in the same important field will be glad to have at their disposal.

3. Dr Chiera's volume furnishes us with lists of Sumerian Personal Names, derived like the similar lists already published, from documents of the Temple School of Nippur. It is a useful work of reference, evidently compiled with great care, and of considerable interest to those

who, like the writer of this brief notice, may happen to possess a collection of tablets from the same locality.

Naturally I do not find all Dr Chiera's renderings equally convincing. It is difficult to believe in such names as 'Enlil is a *decree*', 'Enlil is my decree', 'Enlil is the decree of heaven and earth'. In these cases ME probably means 'lord' (*bêlu*), not 'decree' (*paršu*). And if LUGAL-GHAMATIL means 'May the King give life to me!', must not URLÛ-GHAMATIL be 'Servant of "May-the-Lord-give-life-to-me!"', rather than 'Servant of "May the Lord live for my sake!"'?

There is a brief but informing introduction; and the volume concludes with thirty-five autographed plates.

4. I have already examined the claims of Mr Langdon's so-called *Epic of Paradise* in *The Athenaeum*, No. 4709. Here I find the same defects. With all his industry he seems to lack the instinct of scholarship. He has no sense of humour, and his language not seldom reminds one of Babu-English. The texts here published (35 Plates) are of course valuable for the study of ancient religion; but they are far from justifying their editor's theological inferences. Mr Langdon lightly bridges moral gulfs and equates things essentially disparate. He calls an eulogium of the old king Dungi '*Messianic*', speaks of his '*Messianic Promises*', and dubs him 'the god-man', 'the divinely born king *who was sent by the gods to restore the lost paradise*'. The italicized words are mere phantasy. They find no support in the liturgical poem to which he refers us (PSBA. 1919, 34). That the old Babylonian kings boasted a divine origin and claimed divine honours as the earthly 'Sons' of gods, is no discovery of Mr Langdon's. It has long been known that such was the case, as in other Oriental monarchies. The names of Dungi and some of his successors have the prefix 'god' (DINGIR), not only in hymns, but also in numerous business documents dated in their reigns.

Mr Langdon talks of 'the *mater dolorosa*, or the virgin goddess'; but when we turn to his texts we are reduced to wondering if he knows what the term 'virgin' implies; for he translates the phrase AMA MU(NU?)GIGGA AMA NUBARRA 'The mother virgin, the mother courtesan' (p. 266), but also 'The harlot-mother, the hierodule mother' (p. 293)! How can NUGIG (*qadishtu*, a temple-prostitute) mean both 'virgin' and 'harlot'? It is not more likely than that MININGEGE in the former line can mean 'began discourse', and in the latter 'slays' (her son!). But space forbids further criticism; and I take my leave of the author in words opportunely provided by himself (No. 13 Rev. 22): 'Oh honored one, the exuberant, alas, alas!'¹ C. J. BALL.

¹ Perhaps what the verse really says is 'The Exalted One shrieketh Woe! woe!' (e-lum e-la-lu, &c., not as Langdon, e-lum-e la-lu, &c.). This at least would be in better agreement with the context.

CHRONICLE

CHURCH HISTORY.

MONSIGNOR CUTHBERT BUTLER, in his *Benedictine Monachism, Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule* (Longmans, 1919), speaks with the authority of special experience as well as of scholarship. The personal touch is felt, for instance, when he discusses (p. 227) the authority and election of the abbot, who had, in St Benedict's system, 'practically unlimited discretionary power', to which, however, responsibility was a counterpoise. This combination of responsibility with power, justified, in all kinds of fields, by experience, is in ecclesiastical matters raised to a religious principle. In discussions of episcopal rule, for instance, it is often forgotten, and in any case it is badly replaced by checks, administrative or constitutional.

The book has already come in for much criticism during the too long interval between its appearance and its being noticed here. But some of this criticism seems to assume that the book had a different purpose from that which the author explains. He did not set out to write a history of the Benedictine system; had he done so some of the criticisms might have been justified. His aim is to set forth the ideal of St Benedict, indicating some essential changes due to the history of the order. A full discussion of the abuses which appeared would be not only unnecessary but out of place. The author, to whom the history of Monasticism is indebted for much sound and brilliant work, is far too good a historian to overlook the existence of abuses: it was enough for his purpose to indicate them, as he does, for instance, on pages 361 f: to have described them in detail would have been not only beside his point, but would have obscured it. We shall do better to accept the book for what it intends to be, and, taking it so, we have every reason to be grateful for it.

The author refers with merited praise to previous works such as Dr H. B. Workman's excellent *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal* (1913) but he himself has the advantage of describing Benedictinism both from within and with experience.

St Benedict's own ideal is described (pp. 24 f and 92). It was (1) 'a school of God's service', with nothing harsh, nothing burdensome. Of course he started from what was already practised, but his rule of life was less severe than existing models. It was also (2) a Rule for monks living in community, a family life under the Abbot (p. 184) as Father with absolute power. Benedict's 'most special and tangible contribution to the development of monasticism was the introduction

of the vow of stability' (pp. 27-28 and 125). By it each monk became for life a member of a permanent family from which he could not wander. 'This idea of "the monastic family", at any rate in its concrete realization, was St Benedict's.' But (3) he had no intention of founding an Order: each Abbey was to be 'a separate entity', standing in isolation. The 'congregation', or assembly representing monasteries, began with Cluny, and national chapters with the Benedictines only came in at the beginning of the thirteenth century. (4) At first the Benedictines had for object the sanctification of the soul and the service of God under a community life after the Gospel counsels, but without any special work. A monk's service was in self-discipline, prayer, and work. Hence first came prayer, and above all the canonical offices in choir, termed the 'Opus Dei'. But the celebration of these offices was not the whole purpose of the institution. Then (5) came the service of work, manual labour (largely superseded later on by the choir offices, p. 296), and reading. The former work was natural to Italian peasants, but, as the class of monks changed, it became less prominent, and the latter became more important. Intellectual life and work had as such 'no place in St Benedict's programme' (p. 333). 'The tradition of studies and learning, which in after times made an entry into the Benedictine monasteries, is to be traced back to Cassiodorus. But to the reading of Holy Scriptures or the Fathers much time (three or four hours daily) was assigned. And thus in time (1621 f) arose the Maurists (p. 338 f) with their massive learning.

Later changes modified the Benedictine type, and especially ordination, which very soon became the rule, as that great authority Edmund Bishop assured the author. 'This change from the lay to the clerical state was the most vital of all changes that have taken place in the Benedictine life' (p. 294). It led to the abandonment of manual labour on the one hand, and greater frequency in the celebration of masses on the other. And as a consequence monastic servants multiplied. Then followed St Benedict of Aniane (c. A.D. 748-821), almost a second founder, with his reversion to severer life, and with additions to the canonical office. Thus the original ideal and rule was greatly modified.

The educational work of the order (322 f) is amply discussed. Some teaching was needed for the boys from the first received into monasteries who were intended for monks. But the 'external' schools, educating men either as clerks or laymen for the world, were another matter. St Boniface, with his English ideals, founded such schools at his monasteries in Germany: they were indeed essential for his missionary work. But Benedict of Aniane forbade them. Then the Cluniac movement kept up this hostility, and education gradually passed from

their hands. But since the Reformation the Order has returned with renewed and more general activity to the older use of external schools.

This short account of the book serves to shew its interest and importance. It would be easy to quote other passages also of great interest, such as that (p. 301) on the elements of earlier monachism discarded by St Benedict, which include the eremitical life, bodily austerity, contemplative life apart from work, and prolonged psalmody; such as that on the evils brought in with feudalism (p. 361 f), with the opinion of Edmund Bishop that the English Benedictines came better out of feudalism than did others, sounder in 'things religious, intellectual and temporal'; and such as that in present elections of abbots. He tells us that his term of office at Downside ends in 1926, when he will be close on seventy years of age, and therefore unfit in his own view for re-election. All will wish longer years to a great Benedictine and (it may be added) Cambridge scholar. This book of his adds to a debt already great.

Some useful monographs, which ought to have been noticed before this, have been either published before the writers were able to complete them as intended, or else because the writers laid down their lives in the war. The first place must be given to Mr Edward Spearing's *Patrimony of the Roman Church in the Time of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge University Press, 1918). Mr Spearing had passed from the Perse School to Emmanuel College, and after honours in History and in Law had become a solicitor, but still kept his old studies and tastes. A career which, to judge from this memorial, edited with great care and skill by his sister (Miss E. M. Spearing, late Fellow of Newnham), was full of promise was cut short at Delville Wood in September 1916. He had intended a comprehensive history of the Patrimony, but this book, of necessity, is confined to the time of Gregory the Great. For that period it is full, accurate, and adequate. The growth, government, organization, collection and expenditure of the revenue from it is sketched with thoroughness and ample discussion of all matters needing it. The editor is to be thanked for the presentation of her brother's scholarly work, which reaches a high standard and will be of the greatest use.

Much work has of late been given to 'the False Decretals', but English books or essays are few. The excellent article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is not too well known. Mr E. H. Davenport, in his Lothian Essay of 1914 (Blackwell, Oxford, 1916), is thus something of a pioneer. It has a small but useful bibliography, to which might be added Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* (pp. 345-347), where the reasons for holding the Decretals a forgery are summarized, and also the still useful if somewhat biassed and old-fashioned *Cathedra*

Patri of Greenwood (book vi, chs. vi-vii). Prof. Tout, in his *Medieval Forgeries*, has some useful remarks on the mediaeval forger and his motives. In five chapters Mr Davenport deals with (1) the circumstances; (2) the substance; (3) the influence; the nature of the Decretals (4) as a forgery and (5) as a reform. Appendices discuss the date and the relationship to other collections. A fuller work would have been more welcome, but so far as it goes the treatment is sound. The general importance of bishops might have been even more emphasized: among the Franks after Charlemagne there was an attempt to rule the king such as the later Papacy made with more success. The Chorepiscopi might have been discussed at greater length. As to the place of origin Mayence and Rheims are rightly dismissed: Tours, after Fournier's discussion, is held more likely: this result seems correct, but I should for myself support Tours even more strongly. The writer is undoubtedly right in assigning a marked superiority to later French over German critics, but, as he says in his Preface, German works might have been used even more extensively. Mr Davenport will do English readers service if he follows up this praiseworthy beginning.

Mr E. L. Woodward's interesting and able study of *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire* (Longmans, 1916) was published when the writer was home on sick leave, and claims only to state the main facts about the question: how far was the struggle between Orthodoxy and Heresy really a political struggle between the Imperial power and the nations under it? For the full answer to the problem of the association between Heresy and Nationalism later histories, such as those of the Hussites and the Gallican struggles, would have to be surveyed. Dr Figgis had discussed 'National Churches' in a lecture, too little known, in *Our Place in Christendom* (Longmans, 1916), but the earlier centuries raise the question, which Mr Woodward discusses with a knowledge of detail and power of generalization which make us specially happy that he has been spared to History and Oxford. Throughout, external politics come in as a disturbing force, above all at the Reformation, and in the Early Church, Africa, Egypt, and Syria, force upon us the question this book raises. Justinian in the east and the Barbarians in the west come next. The general statement (p. 65) that 'Christianity has always shewn itself incompatible with a pure nationalism' might be questioned, but reservations like this, which might be made by a reader, do not take away from the interest of this suggestive study.

The new and revised edition of Dr Gore's *The Church and the Ministry* (Longmans, 1919) is especially useful, not only because it is a revision of perhaps the best work on one side of a long controversy, but also because the revision is made in the light of later discussions,

and since the appearance of the *Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry*. And, above all, the revision has been made by Prof. C. H. Turner. In the Preface Dr Gore points out some conclusions where he differs from the essayists in the above-mentioned volume. He is generally in agreement with Dr Armitage Robinson in his rejection of a special 'charismatic ministry' distinguished from the local ministry of presbyters, bishops, and deacons, which was, as he says, held to be equally charismatic. On the other side, he thinks that Dr Armitage Robinson 'underrates the evidence for the existence of an "order of prophets clothed with an authority only short of apostolic"', see chap. v p. 233 f. But he further thinks that he is wrong in countenancing 'Lightfoot's statement that the episcopate was formed out of the presbyterate by elevation'. His arguments in support of this fundamental criticism are to be found in chap. vi and in note A ('Dr Lightfoot's Dissertation on "The Christian Ministry"' p. 311 f). Note M (Dr Hort's view of the Apostolate) should also be mentioned.

It is needless to say that peculiar value belongs to such a restatement of a very full earlier work. It is a great advantage for a student to see exactly where a competent scholar finds it well to touch up, to emphasize, or to correct, earlier impressions and conclusions. And those who know Prof. Turner's careful and minute habits of work will, with Dr Gore himself, value to the utmost a revision made by him. It is not, perhaps, superfluous to say that even English discussions of these matters have suffered greatly by the discontinuity in English theological scholarship and thought which came in the later eighteenth century: it was a great loss that the background of solid scholarship, which lay behind many works like Archbishop Potter's *Church Government*, was allowed to disappear, and was only badly replaced by the mingling of first-rate knowledge of fact with elaborate theory which marks modern German scholarship.

One interesting difference between Dr Gore and Prof. Turner may be mentioned. It concerns the interpretation of the well-known passage in St Clement of Rome about the origin of the ministry. Prof. Turner thinks (*Essays* p. 112) that the only succession of which Clement 'speaks in so many words is the succession of presbyters in office in the local church', although 'the whole weight of his argument rests on the one principle of a divinely constituted hierarchy, in which every link of the chain is indissolubly bound to the one before it'. Dr Gore here (p. 283) takes Clement as speaking of the institution of bishops.

In the appended Notes special attention should be paid to Note B (*The early history of the Alexandrian ministry: the evidence of Eutychius*), Note D i (*On Canon XIII of Ancyra*) by Prof. Turner, Note E (*Supposed ordinations by presbyters in East and West*), Note K (*The origin of the*

titles 'bishop', 'presbyter', and 'deacon' with reference to recent criticism), and Note L (*The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*). Such careful work, whether altogether fresh or a re-sifting of former writing, is not only useful in itself, but is a lesson to students as to the gain for scholarship from reconsideration and controversy, when conducted as controversy should be.

Mr B. L. Manning's book *The People's Faith in the Time of Wyclif* (Cambridge University Press, 1919), the Thirlwall Essay for 1917, has already and rightly reached success. It uses excellently much and varied material, and it belongs both to religious and literary history. It would have been better still if the religious controversies and tendencies of our own days did not obtrude themselves as they do at times, although Mr Manning is studiously fair and impartial. A wider study might have caused him to be less surprised at the existence in the Middle Ages of conflicting tendencies of thought and life, and when he passes outside his special field his steps are less firm than within it. Laud was not so much responsible for the *Declaration of Sports* as he seems to think; this S. R. Gardner's balanced account serves to shew. But this is of little weight compared with the general excellence and great interest of the book as a whole.

J. P. WHITNEY.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1921 (Vol. xcii, No. 183 : S.P.C.K.). O. C. QUICK The miracles in the Creed—H. R. MACKINTOSH Christianity and absolute idealism—D. JOHANNES LEIPOLDT The Sahidic New Testament—A. E. BAKER The religious development of Mr H. G. Wells—C. S. S. HIGHAM The early days of the Church in the West Indies—A. E. J. RAWLINSON The Revelation of St John—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1921 (Vol. xix, No. 3 : Williams & Norgate). E. UNDERHILL Sources of power in human life—L. J. WALKER The psychology of the *Spiritual Exercises*—T. BATY Shinto—B. A. G. FULLER The mechanical basis of war—G. SPERANZA The newest freedom—L. H. WILLIAMS Prince Kropotkin's philosophy in the light of to-day—H. RASHDALL Is conscience an emotion?—F. J. C. HEARNshaw Mediaeval conceptions of the Kingdom of God—B. W. BACON What did Judas betray?—J. TALBOT English education in the light of the new psychology—A. D. RITCHIE What is the good of knowledge?—R. KEABLE A people of dreams—J. P. LILLEY Wordsworth and interpretation of Nature—E. I. FRIPP John Brownword : poet and schoolmaster at Stratford-on-Avon—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, April 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 124 : Hodder & Stoughton). B. B. WARFIELD Jesus Christ the propitiation for the whole world—A. C. WELCH Jeremiah and the essence of religion—R. HARRIS The Odes of Solomon and the Biblical Targums—W. S. WOOD The ministry of women and St Paul—J. HUNTER Baldwin Brown.

May 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 125). E. W. WINSTANLEY Jesus and Baptism : the evidence of the Fourth Gospel—W. E. BARNES Psalm cxxxix : the Wanderer's psalm—M. JONES The Hellenistic world behind the New Testament—A. M. POPE The genesis of the Roman Epistle—H. A. KENT The forgiveness of sins in the Old Testament—J. HUNTER Alexander John Scott.

June 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 126). H. T. ANDREWS The origin of Christianity in the light of modern criticism—E. SHILLITO The

sequel to Job—A. C. DEANE 'Not into temptation'—H. J. CADBURY The purpose expressed in Luke's preface—J. M. SHAW The relation of physical death to sin—J. HUNTER Alexander John Scott: II—A. C. WELCH Jeremiah and religious reform.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Journal of Religion, March 1921 (Vol. i, No. 2: University of Chicago Press). A. P. FITCH What is the present attitude of College students toward organized religion?—E. D. STURBUCK The intimate senses as sources of wisdom—S. MATHEWS The functional value of doctrines of the Atonement—C. M. CASE Religion and the concept of progress—E. I. BOSWORTH Some resources of the modern preacher—E. E. HAY Christianizing Assamese folkways in marriage and family life—H. S. COFFIN, G. B. SMITH, F. J. MCCONNELL Is there a religious breakdown of the Ministry?—A. E. HAYDON Why do religions die? a reply—G. CROSS Does a philosophy of morals tend to undermine the Christian faith in a personal God?—Book Reviews.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1921 (Vol. xix, No. 2: Princeton University Press). W. L. BAXTER 'Smooth stones out of the brook'—B. B. WARFIELD Oberlin Perfectionism—D. E. JENKINS Faith and fellowship—P. W. CRANNELL The Bible in Shakespeare—Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield (1851-1921)—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue de l'Orient chrétien (Vol. xxii, No. 1: A. Picard, 82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris). A. PÉRIER Un traité de Yahyā ben 'Adī, défense du dogme de la Trinité contre les objections d'Al-Kindī—S. GRÉBAUT Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine, III: Traduction du Qalémentos—L. VILLECOURT La grande lettre grecque de Macaire, ses formes textuelles et son milieu littéraire—S. GRÉBAUT La Pentecôte et la mission des apôtres—traduction: Contributions à la philologie éthiopienne—A. WILMART Un discours théologique d'Eusèbe d'Emèse: le Fils image du Père—Mélanges—Bibliographie—Courtes notices.

Analecta Bollandiana, April 1921 (Vol. xxxix, Nos. 1 and 2: A. Picard, Paris). Le révérend Père François Van Outry—H. DELEHAYE Martyr et Confesseur—P. PEETERS 1. Les traductions orientales du mot Martyr: 2. Un miracle des SS. Serge et Théodore et la Vie de S. Basile, dans Fauste de Byzance—M. COENS Vita sancti Hilarii Auciensis confessoris in Cenomannorum finibus—H. QUENTIN La liste des martyrs de Lyon de l'an 177—R. LECHAT Lettres de Jean de Tagliacozzo sur le siège de Belgrade et la mort de S. Jean de Capistran—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, April-July 1921 (Vol. xvii, Nos. 2, 3 : 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). P. FOURNIER La collection canonique dite 'Collectio xii partium': étude sur un recueil canonique allemand du XI^e siècle—M. VILLER La question de l'union des Églises entre Grecs et Latins depuis le concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence (1274-1438)—H. PINARD La théorie de l'expérience religieuse: son évolution de Luther à W. James—L. LAUVAND L'oraison funèbre de Théodose par saint Ambroise: discours prononcé et discours écrit—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue Biblique, July 1921 (Vol. xxx, No. 3: V. Lecoffre, Paris). E.-B. ALLO La synthèse du dogme eucharistique chez Saint Paul—M. G. BARDY Cérinthe—P. DHORME L'emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien—Mélanges—Chronique—Recensions.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, April 1921 (Vol. xx, Nos. 1 and 2: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). R. REITZENSTEIN Iranischer Erlösungsglaube—H. GRESSMANN Das Gebet des Kyriakos—F. C. CONYBEARE Two notes on Acts—H. KOCH War Klemens von Alexandrien Priester?—G. KITTEL Die γενεαλογίαι der Pastoralbriefe—H. WINDISCH Englisch-amerikanische Literatur zum NT in den Jahren 1914 bis 1920—R. REITZENSTEIN Origenes und Hieronymus—Miszellen.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~FIELD & CLASSICAL~~

The Ohio State University



3 2435 028393387

Journal of theological studies.
BR1J88

001
V21-22

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY BOOK DEPOSITORY



D	8	AISLE	08	SECT	11	SHLF	04	SIDE	7	POS	12	ITEM	023	C	3
---	---	-------	----	------	----	------	----	------	---	-----	----	------	-----	---	---